

·THE
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An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XLII

JANUARY—MARCH

1932

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

May I express my great appreciation of the kind thought you had for me when you invited me to address this Convocation? I find it difficult to refuse an invitation which gives me an opportunity of meeting young men and women who will be called upon to contribute in however small a measure to the building of a new India.

I congratulate the recipients of the degrees on their successful completion of the prescribed courses of study. I congratulate them more on the exceptional opportunities which they will have to serve, with their gifts and talents, this great country in its hour of need. The life opening out before them will test and discover how far the time spent in its University has been able to produce in them what may be called the 'University' mind.

Understanding.

I take it that this University was founded in pursuance of the policy of the Government to encourage unitary and residential Universities in which unofficial social contacts count for more than official lectures and examinations. An understanding of life fostered by the social and athletic activities, by the clash

* Delivered by Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., at the University of Lucknow, on 5th December, 1931.

of personality, by the interchange of opinion, by the testing of views, is more important than even intellectual gifts. 'Understanding' does not mean learning or skill but what the French proverb suggests 'To understand all is to forgive all.' It helps us to feel the complexity as well as the mystery of life. There is so much in it of which we know little. The man of understanding does not profess to have an opinion on everything and does not sum up an author in a phrase or a civilization in an epigram. He has the openness of outlook, the freedom and flexibility of thought, the capacity to imagine other states of mind. His mind possesses space and air and is thus free from dogmatism and is ever ready to sympathize with views which it does not share. Understanding in this sense is what enables our thoughts and desires to be subordinated to a chosen end, what makes life yield its full significance.

Understanding is not something which can be measured by the tape or weighed in the balance and delivered to the students by the members of the faculty at the Convocation ceremony. It is a contagion that one catches. The ancients symbolized culture which is acquired in a college to a torch that is passed on from hand to hand down the generations. This lighted torch is a dangerous gift. It has stirred many an upheaval, started many a conflagration. It symbolizes the spirit of revolution, the cleansing fire which burns the wood, hay, and stubble that have come down to us. If we are afraid of the upturnings of the soil, of the social, economic and political upheavals consequent on the spread of this fire, we should not go near a University. 'We may as well shut it down.'

The Spirit of Youth.

If University education is to enable us to anticipate needs and meet new situations, it should not be hampered by obsolete thought and tradition. An educated man is not one who lives in petrified illusions but is released from the burden of inert

ideas. He preserves the sense of wonder and curiosity and his mind is fresh and adventurous. The spirit of a University is the spirit of youth. In Plato's *Timaeus* we read that one of the Egyptian Priests who was of a very great age said : 'O Solon, Solon, you Hellenes are but children, and there was never an old man who was a Hellene.' Solon in return asked him what he meant. 'I mean to say,' he replied, 'that in mind you are all young ; there is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science hoary with age.' The Greeks had no venerated classics or hoary books to check their free speculation. They never suffered from the weight of the past. Somewhat the same idea underlies the Sanskrit saying : *Vimarśa-rūpinī vidyā*. The sense of discrimination, the spirit of criticism is the essence of education. The University has to foster the type of mind that does not take the usual for granted, that makes conventions fluid, that does not believe that its ways of thought and life are a part of the eternal order of nature. A mind that is young in spirit has the saving grace of scepticism. It has confidence in its capacity to face the new. If a University produces men who are low-spirited, who play for safety, care for comfort, are afraid to take any risks, then that University has failed in its essential task. If it takes hold of the young with all the fulness and ardour of their youth and turns them into timid, selfish, conservative men, if it petrifies their ideas and freezes their initiative, the University has failed as a University. It is the duty of man to move on. He is a born adventurer. "Here have we no continuing city but we seek one to come." •

It is a common delusion to assume that our young men are free-thinking and that they are delivered from the bondage of authority and tradition, that each young graduate is working out a new code and devising a new creed from himself. I wish it were so but nothing of the kind is happening. The modern mind is singularly servile to its teachers and leaders. It will believe almost anything it is told. It is intellectually timid and prefers to take its opinions from others. Every demagogue is

hailed as a newly discovered prophet and the latest fashion is welcomed as a new revelation. Our young men are not able to resist appeals to their passions and prejudices and in many cases we find that their voice of reason is hushed and their vision is clouded by the appeal to the selfish claims and interests. Timidity and conservatism are the general habits of mind and they are the greatest dangers to society. The classical age of Greece terminated, as we all know, with a 'failure of nerve.'

Political Unrest.

There are brief periods in the life of individuals, decades in the history of peoples, which through the intensity of the emotions they produce and the results they achieve are worth centuries of ordinary life. India is passing through such a historic period. The passion for political freedom is the greatest ferment at work. Even the left wing politicians would not care to deny the immense services rendered to this country by the early British administrators who established peace and security in territories which were frequently subjected to the ravages of contending hosts. But it would be equally futile to overlook the loss of self-respect and manhood of the nation incident to foreign rule. The present condition of mental and moral decay consequent on political subjection and economic depression is engaging our attention. The study of Western history and institutions has roused in us a love of freedom and a sense of self-respect. Love of liberty is a native instinct of the human soul. Freedom is not coveted as a means for any further end of efficiency of administration or economic prosperity. It is not a means to any other end, it is itself the highest end. Lord Acton in his *History of Freedom in Antiquity* (1877) says: "A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor and weak and of no account but free, rather than powerful, prosperous, and enslaved." A nation has the right to gain experience of self-government even at the price of less efficient

government. The strong desire to embody the ideas of freedom and self-determination in definite political institutions has become a burning passion owing to a number of factors of which the chief are, the poverty of the country, middle-class unemployment, low literacy, high death rates, costly civil administration, a heavy military budget, and the Great War fought avowedly for the principles of freedom and self-determination. I do not believe that there is a single Britisher who is loyal to his own history and true to his own traditions who will deny the legitimacy of India's claim to Indian rule. Every country in the world exhorts its citizens to buy its own goods and it cannot be a crime if we encourage our own industries. If our leaders demand that we should control our own political and economic affairs, it is the natural result of the policy of Great Britain in this country.

The clock of time can neither go back nor stand still. It is impossible for the British statesmen to go back on their past and attempt to rule India by force. Repression cannot stop the growth of legitimate political aspirations, even as violence on our part cannot further it. It is deplorable that some of our young men in their impatience for political freedom are attracted by the cult of violence. Its destructive nature is not properly understood by those who resort to it. If it is allowed to grow not only will it postpone the day of India's liberation but will leave behind it a legacy which will make civilized existence difficult. It is our duty to make the path of reason and reconciliation more attractive to them. It will be a great day not only for India and Great Britain but for the whole world if a just settlement is arrived at by which India is content to remain a member of the British Empire, without sacrifice of her pride, self-respect, and freedom of independent nationhood. Great Britain, I dare say, has not forgotten how she lost the North American Colonies and retained the South African Union. India will not refuse to remain a member of the British Empire, if such membership means connection with Great Britain for

mutual advantage and not control by Great Britain for her own interests.

The problem is not solved, however, if responsibility for the Government of India is transferred to Indian hands. It is a fond illusion to think that everybody will be happy and contented the moment India obtains freedom to manage her own affairs. Swaraj cannot cure all ills. Referring to the Reform Bill, Sydney Smith said : " All young ladies will imagine, as soon as the Bill is passed, that they will be instantly married. School boys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished and that tarrant tarts must come down in price; the corporal and the sergeant are sure of double pay ; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics." Simply because Home Rule for India is obtained, we need not think that we will have plenty to eat, enough to drink, good clothes, pleasant homes, good education, and sufficient leisure for all. Self-government does not mean that all heads will become hard and all pillows soft. We cannot make an Utopia to order. The first essential for achieving political freedom as well as for guarding it when attained is a juster social order. We must build a social structure rooted in principles of truth, freedom, and equality. The University men are both the builders and the material of the new structure, and if they go out of the University and enter life imbued by the principles of honesty and adventure, vision and courage, they will help us to build the new India which is yet to be.

The Present Crisis.

There are periods in the life of every country when the interests of the whole demand the sacrifice of private claims. The European nations in the Great War lived in one of such periods when their citizens set aside their individual comforts and interests for the sake of the national well-being. It is not true that such periods occur only when nations are threatened by external enemies. When a flood or a famine overtakes a land,

a situation arises when the interests of the whole country dominate those of the individuals who compose it. To my mind, our country to-day, is faced by a crisis of the first magnitude. It is not war or revolution or national bankruptcy but internal disruption that is threatening us. The new India which we are attempting to build is being strangled at its very birth by anti-national forces. In the hour of our awakening we find ourselves surrounded by forces which make for our continued bondage. The failure to reach a communal settlement has had grave reactions. Faith, security, and hope are displaced by a new distrust, a new anxiety, a new uncertainty. We have lost the spirit of courage and experiment associated with progressive nations. Mighty nations in the past had been doomed to decay because they could not change in response to changed conditions. History found them useless and swept them aside in its onward march. If we are to preserve ourselves, we must use the lighted torch, the cleansing fire, the spirit that rebels. We must wrestle with the past that oppresses us, the relics of barbarism that threaten our very life, the fantastic notions about elemental facts that militate against decent living. We do things in our daily life which are a disgrace to our humanity. We eat food, wear clothes, and enjoy comforts, while those who produce them are dying by degrees in unhealthy surroundings and bad economic conditions. We repress our natural sympathy with those who suffer because it does not pay us. An acceptance of large-scale injustice is the price we pay for our comforts. We applaud an aberration which denies human rights to millions of our kith and kin, and, to our lasting shame, we confound it with religion.

The Mediæval Mind.

Your education has been in vain if you are not protected from the dangers of dogmatism. No opinion is true simply because it is handed down from the past, and we cling to it with

life, you are tempted to say what you are expected to say and not what you really think. It will be your task to discriminate between wise and dangerous leadership, between a competent, constructive, courageous one which looks to the future and a wasteful, destructive one which clings to the past. The older generation will soon pass away and you will step into the breach. You will have unique opportunities of showing your worth in this period of national stress. You will be called upon to fight the strongholds of ignorance and selfishness by hard thinking and bold effort. You cannot hope to drift on a tide of patriotic emotions into a ready-made Utopia. You will have to prepare for a new order by hard work and hard thinking. You will not fail the country at a time when it stands in need of your service and guidance, if you remember the ideals which your University has put before you and stand up for courage and justice, truthfulness and fair-play. Time will show whether you are anxious for ease and comfort or truth and suffering, whether the University has developed in you qualities of courage, determination, and self-denial or made you into snobs much too respectable, much too self-satisfied, much too ease-loving and afraid to do anything. Will you help India to break her bonds or will you bind them faster? Will you make out in your lives that it is a libel against you to say that a life of service and suffering has less attraction for you than one of career and comfort? Time will answer. Farewell.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

The task that awaits one called upon to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy is by no means enviable. Paradoxically enough, an address of this kind on Indian Philosophy ushers itself as a 'stranger from afar,' and engenders at once an atmosphere of acquired unfamiliarity or academic aloofness. Accordingly, our minds are at a moment's notice switched off with a violent wrench, as it were, along new lines of thought and we seem to enter the dreary lumber-room of antiquated thought-products, or, at least, a museum of antiquities and curios, where we continually miss the warm and breathing beauty of that flesh-bound thinking which our hearts found delightful elsewhere. Besides, what renders the task doubly difficult is the immensity of the scope of Indian Philosophy in reference to which a broad, general survey, of the kind attempted here, is bound to prove rather pointless or vague, and thus fail to do justice to its individuality no less than to its myriad-minded interests. In point of fact 'Indian Philosophy' connotes not merely one department or constituency alongside of others, but an entire dominion in itself; and it is high time that we acknowledged the dominion status which it is, by its very nature, entitled to. But in justifying this higher status, and collaterally the much-prized individuality of Indian Philosophy, one need not go so far as to claim, on its behalf, an awful isolation that even defies comparison with all else. Such an attempt, launched in pursuit of a fancied superiority, defeats its own end. For in

claiming an incomparable eminence for it, its apologists remove it from the only sphere where the superiority in question can, if at all, be substantiated. Indian Philosophy has unduly suffered in the past under the pressure of an embarrassing charity and extravagant enthusiasm on the part of its well-meaning apologists, both at home and abroad. But they would be well advised to remember, that moderation is a virtue that has its efficacy, here as elsewhere. All that this exaggerated sense of the individuality of Indian Philosophy has earned for itself, as it needs must do by way of Nemesis, is a summary dismissal, by every average Historian of Philosophy, as being theology or mythology rather than philosophy. While I believe—and in that belief I yield probably to none—that Indian philosophic thought has, down the course of ages, maintained a well-marked individuality, I do yet think that it need not, and assuredly does not, suffer by comparison and that its individuality is to be assessed at the thought-exchange of the world. It is the early inspiration which I received, during my student days, from one of my revered teachers that has taught me to believe that a study in Indian Philosophy must be either comparative or nothing. The so-called comparative method, which makes out its engrossing concern to be the accentuation of the points of affinity to the utter neglect of the points of divergence between differing systems of thought, Eastern or Western, must have doubtless missed its vocation. It has the effect of bringing down all systems of thought to the dead level of a barren uniformity, and thus stultifying itself under the incidence of that Night 'in which all cows are black.' The enormity of the situation is heightened all the more when the affinities in question are sought to be explained as cases of conscious or unconscious borrowing. Believing as I do in fundamental human unity, I am persuaded to think that every such discovery of close parallelism furnishes just the evidence needed for a belief of this kind—a unity which, as respecting differences, exhibits itself as a unity in variety, and not as a bare uniformity.

Nor is the task rendered easier by specialising in some select branch of Indian Philosophy, or by tackling some specific problem thereof with a specialist's knowledge and aptitude for research. In a task of this kind a specialised knowledge or training is too apt to act as a handicap rather than an asset. On account of his preoccupation with points of technical interest and the sectional point of view, the specialist is eventually driven to the position of one who cannot see the wood for the trees. A similar fate overtakes the specialist in science when he turns a philosopher. Much of the crude generalisation and wild theorizing that we come across in the philosophical world of to-day is traceable to this source. As a case in point, reference may be made to the growing invasion of Metaphysics by Physics or Mathematical Physics. Time was, when Physics had to beware of Metaphysics, but in view of the indecent haste and extravagant charity with which it has been the fashion, in some quarters of recent philosophical thinking, to court the categories of the special sciences, it is time we sounded the warning:—"Metaphysics! beware of Physics." Such coquetting of Metaphysics with Physics conduces to the lasting benefit of neither, but ends in the sterilisation of the philosophical impulse. Dazzled by the glamour of a new discovery in the domain of the sciences—as for example, the doctrine of Relativity in Mathematical Physics—the thinkers of a particular school have not infrequently been seduced into a cosmic expansion and consequent falsification of a principle whose meaning and efficacy lie in its limited application. Like the son of Kish out in search after his father's asses and eventually founding a kingdom, the innocent time-axis, out to demonstrate its necessity over and above the already known three axes of co-ordinates, has in certain quarters acquired a foundational importance, not at all sought for but thrust upon it. To bring Metaphysics into line with Science is unquestionably a move in the right direction, but to set up, in the name of Metaphysics, absolute claims on behalf of any of the special sciences is a monstrous aberration of philosophic thinking. The

crying need of the hour is, accordingly, a 'defence of philosophic doubt' or an academic skepticism, in view of the steady advance of new-fangled categories of the special sciences threatening in the end to swamp the field of metaphysics. The enthusiasts after progress in philosophical research probably proceed upon the principle that it is the early bird that catches the worm; but what they obviously fail to reckon in their enthusiasm is that the cause of philosophical research 'they also serve who only stand and wait.' It is not too late in the day to profit by the acceptance, even in its restricted application, of the Hegelian dictum 'that 'the owl of Minerva takes its flight, only when the shades of night are gathering.'

Happily Indian Philosophy has never in any age fallen an easy prey to the Idol of the scientific method or of scientific specialism in the domain of philosophical thought; and a faithful presentation of Indian philosophy must see that it does not succumb to this temptation. Kindred herewith is the danger that proceeds from an intemperate passion for historical scholarship which, instead of keeping within the legitimate bounds of Indology, has invaded the sphere of Indian philosophy. In a dissertation on Indian philosophic thought mere historical, and even philological scholarship, have undoubtedly their respective use. But they are made grotesque, if they are thrust into the forefront and made to do the duty of what a philosophic interpretation of thought-types primarily stands for. In a task of this kind, handling of original texts and citation of accredited commentaries have assuredly their proper place, but a philosophic interpreter must at all costs refuse to remain in the outskirts of Indian philosophy as a mere hewer of texts and drawer of commentaries. Indeed, accumulation of texts is one thing and illumination quite another: where many are the accumulators, only a few are torch-bearers. Philosophy, as it has been truly remarked, is largely a question of proportion; and it is reassuring to note that Hegel saw things in their proper perspective when he observed that 'in thought and particularly in speculative

thought, comprehension means something quite different from understanding grammatical sense of the words alone, and also from understanding them in the region of ordinary conception only.' The writers that are lacking in this indispensable qualification of 'comprehension' or 'knowledge of the matter, about which so much ado has been made,' are to be compared, in Hegel's opinion, 'to animals which have listened to all the tones in some music, but to whose senses the unison, the harmony of their tones, has not penetrated.'

To one gifted with this innate sense of 'comprehension,' the spirit of Indian Philosophy becomes all the easier of comprehension. If, as Prof. Whitehead puts it, 'the safest general characterisation of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato,' I should like heartily to endorse the statement and take it as the very text of my discourse—subject of course to the substitution of the word '*Indian*' for European and '*Vedantism*' for 'Plato.' Truly, that is where the heart of India beats; and it is that devout student of Indian thought, namely, Max Müller who has, by virtue of his invaluable gift of intellectual sympathy, recorded this heart-beat in his well-known verdict that the Vedānta 'is clearly the native philosophy of India.' Indeed, if philosophy is but life brought to the focus of self-consciousness, then, there could be no more accurate characterisation of the Vedānta. His concluding reflection, that "with the Hindus, the fundamental ideas of the Vedānta have pervaded the whole of their literature, have leavened the whole of their language, and form to the present day the common property of the people at large" may further be taken as an excursus on the initial statement. Now, the phrase 'native philosophy' may, for aught we know, easily be paraphrased into the much too complacent assurance that we are all 'born Vedāntists.' If it means no more than that ideas of the Vedānta permeate and enliven the cultural atmosphere in a way in which those of other indigenous systems of thought do not, then the interpretation is clearly beyond challenge. Indeed,

it is no senseless exaggeration to say that every Hindu is suckled at the breast of the Vedāntic *ethos*, but it is just possible to gloat upon a mere possibility and thus for ever remain a suckling in the realm of mature philosophic thinking. While it is true that of all persons it is the Hindu that has in him, *ceteris paribus*, the making of a true Vedāntist, it is none the less true that a mere potentiality may be glorified into an actual possession, and thus rendered abortive. In the sphere of intellectual achievements—least of all in that of philosophic pursuits—there is no established law of inheritance whereby one can claim to be a born legatee of a traditional faith; in fact philosophic persuasion, like freedom, can never be made a gift of, it has always to be earned.

That there has gone on steady evolution of Indian thought, culminating in the Vedānta as its *terminus ad quem*, is also the pronounced verdict of *Vijñānabhikṣu*, the classical exponent of the Indian attempt at philosophical synthesis. According to *Vijñānabhikṣu*, three distinct levels or grades may be distinguished in the evolution of Indian philosophical thought—the *Nyāya*, the *Sāṃkhya*, and the *Vedāntic* level of philosophical thinking. On the *Nyāya* level (*bhūmika*) what is established, on the refutation of the *Chārvāka* doctrine of the Soul as the bye-product of Matter, is the distinctness of the individual soul from the body, the senses, and the mind. The *Sāṃkhya* level goes beyond it so far as it holds that the subject is distinct from the cosmic matter of experience and primal source of all, the *Prakṛti* as the equilibrated state of the three Reals or *Guṇas* of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. Finally emerges the level of the *Vedānta*, at the furthest limit of this process of differentiation, where it comes into full view of the 'truth' of all such differentiation in the non-difference of *Prakṛti* from the principle of subjectivity which is unitary in character—the absolute oneness of Being which is spiritual in essence. According to a more detailed scheme,¹ the systems (*Darśanas*) may be arranged in a

1 As worked out by Dr. B. N. Seal in his illuminating *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy*.

logical order, the *Nāstika*, the heretical or atheistic set in three divisions : *Chārṇvāk*, *Bauddha* and *Jaina*, ascending from a naïve Naturalism or Materialism through a critique which grew more and more subjective and negative and ending in absolute relativism (*Anekāntavāda*) ; and the *Āstika*, the orthodox or theistic group in three main divisions : the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, the *Sāṃkhya-Pātañjala*, and the *Mīmāṃsā* (*Pūrva* and the *Uttara*, the prior and the posterior), ascending from a pluralistic Realism through a Critique of Experience (in the form of *viveka* or logical discrimination) to a Pragmatic or a Rationalistic Absolutism.

Now, it would be nothing short of mid-summer madness to suppose that the Vedāntic absolutism—the doctrine of the oneness of Spiritual being—sprang perfect into existence, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, and may be found in a full-fledged form in the Hymns of the *Rgveda* which, by common consent, mark the germinal beginnings of Vedāntic thought and culture. While it is true, as a matter of principle, that there is a continuous development of thought from the *Rgveda*, which is but Vedānta in the making, to the *Upanishads* or the *Vedānta* proper, one must not construe this principle of thought-continuity with a literalness that strikes at the very root of the notion of development. In fact, it is not possible, within the meaning of the law of all development, to have the flower along with the fruit for the simple reason that the decay of the flower is the condition of the appearance of the fruit. The attempt, on the part of those well-meaning apologists of the Vedāntic thought as a whole and in detail, to claim immutable perfection on its behalf is symptomatic of the absolutist's Absolute which, on Bradley's rendering of it, 'has no seasons, but all at once bears its leaves, fruit and blossom.' Nothing is more to the point in this regard than the dictum of the late Prof. Wallace that "all development is by 'breaks' and yet makes for continuity."

The genetic study of the Vedānta and of the Systems or *Darśanas*, in their historical affiliations, unquestionably points to

the *R̥gveda* as their common philosophic ancestor. Although there is scarcely to be found a more sympathetic expositor of the Hymns than Max Müller, his characterisation of these as 'the babbling of child-humanity,' when read out of its context, may appear to have made no allowances for all the crudity and immaturity that must necessarily appertain to all embryonic existences in a state of gestation. Justified essentially as this estimate is, yet the discerning student of philosophy would discover in this so-called 'babbling' the primeval utterance of those truths 'which we are toiling all our lives to find.' It is no wonder, then, that the average critic in whom this gift of sympathetic understanding is conspicuous by its absence will discover in the *R̥gveda* nothing but the symptoms of a low and degenerate type of civilisation—in which the entire gamut of animism, spiritism, ancestor-worship and the like is traversed, along with the constant concomitance of a prevailing polytheism, bringing in their train the worst form of sacerdotalism and priestly tyranny. But the fact remains that despite the child-like naïveté characterising most of the Hymns, they do, for the most part, reveal a philosophical frame of mind in 'those obstinate questionings of sense and outward things' that sooner or later press upon the mind, alike in the history of the individual and of the race. Distracted by innumerable demands on his allegiance to the gods of the Vedic pantheon, the *R̥gvedic* thinker in a mood of sceptical despair has insistently harped on the strain—"Kasmai Devāya havishā vidhema"? "To what God shall we offer our oblation?" One need not be anxious for a defence of 'philosophic doubt' as expressed herein; nor need it be construed as a 'Hymn to the Unknown God' together with the Pauline associations as found in the *Acts*. It is not that doubt which paralyses all enquiry at the start, but is, strictly speaking, a methodological doubt which, as the indispensable prelude to all inquiry, has everywhere proved so fruitful in the service of a philosophic construction. Viewed in its proper perspective, it stands at the cross-ways of two divergent trends of thought.

It heralds, on the one hand, 'the twilight of the gods' in a far more radical sense than what Nietzsche could have understood by the phrase in question, and on the other, the dawning of a new era of philosophic earnestness which at once revealed the main drift and crowning achievement of R̥gvedic speculation. The effort at philosophic comprehension of the diversity of experience—which is typical of this celebrated Hymn—at once admits its author into the ranks of philosophic thinkers of all ages and of all climes. Take, for example, the beautiful line—“*yasya chhāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ*” or “(the being) whose shadow is immortality as well as mortality (*i.e.* deity and humanity)—which impresses as much by the elegance of its expression as by the depth of insight, and we cannot help admiring the first fruits of the effort after comprehension.

The prolific myth-making of the *R̥gveda* has often been made a target of attack by its critics. For better or for worse, the first flutter of the new-fledged philosophic impulse on the Indian soil clothed itself in poetry of unending charm, with an abundance of myths, as the machinery just meant for the purpose, standing to the credit of a fertile imagination or creative phantasy, native to the soil. This characteristic of early Indian speculation, by no means uncommon in the history of speculative thought in other lands, attests *inter alia* the truth of Vico's dictum that 'poetry is the first operation of the human mind.' Now, no one need be apologetic for the poetic or mythical representation of philosophical doctrines as systematically carried out in the *R̥gveda*. Even the purists among dialecticians, while labelling the myths of Plato as mere lacunæ or lapses in his otherwise rigorous logic, have yet to acknowledge that there is in all of these a rich kernel of truth concealed under what is mere myth. The relation of the two, viewed in a time-perspective may be pithily expressed by saying that the myth is but truth in the making. There is, however, no denying the fact that a poetic or mythical representation of philosophical doctrines at the present day would at once be tabooed as being a matter of

historical anachronism. Even Plato refers in the *Republic* (Bk. X) to an 'old feud between poetry and philosophy' and condones the 'noble untruth' of poetry and the imitative arts in general in so far as they tend to lead one astray from the strict pursuit of truth. The so-called 'feud' to which he refers is an interesting study in psycho-analysis. It is only an objectification of a crisis in his mental history precipitated by a growing conflict between the two fundamental tendencies of his nature. For, it is no mere exaggeration to say that Plato was primarily and temperamentally a poet, but a philosopher by profession. When, therefore, he was ordaining the exile of the poets from the ideal Republic, he did not know—such was the irony of the situation—that he was signing the warrant of his own extradition from the Ideal State. Indeed, much of the authority that attaches to Plato's pronouncements on the 'first truths' is due to the dual rôle in which he appears, and the double voice with which he speaks. It is Plato, the poet, that conceived or had the vision of the world of Ideas or archetypal Forms; it is Plato, the philosopher, that sought to justify the 'vision' with regard to the things of sensible experience. Accordingly, the poetic or mythical presentation of the Hymns of the *Rgveda* has nothing *prima facie* to invalidate their truth-claim.

It is not merely as a stepping-stone or prelude to what was destined to crystallize later as the Spiritualistic absolutism of Vedāntic thought, but within the frontiers of the *Rgveda* itself, we notice no less than three well-recognised strata or levels of speculative thought—namely, Naturalistic polytheism, Spiritualistic monotheism and Speculative or Agnostic monism. Even this tripartite division fails to do justice to Rgvedic speculation, and, for the matter of that, to Indian thought and culture as a whole. There may, roughly speaking, be distinguished six stages in the history of human civilisation and culture, and it is usual to reckon six stages in the development of a philosophical doctrine or thought-type, the second half recapitulating the first half on a higher plane and thus constituting what has been

aptly called the method of spiral progress.¹ The first in the original (first) half is the Magic stage which invariably expresses itself in social instinct and postulates embodied in rituals. The second is the Myth stage in which the ingrained mythopœic activity of the race bursts forth in the form of myth, folklore, beast fables, etc. The third is the Symbol stage which evinces a growing maturity in symbolization and sublimation of myth and ritual. Now, the fourth stage in the series (which is but the reproduction of the first on a higher plane in this spiral of progress), is the stage of Dogma manifesting itself in varying degrees of conceptual abstraction—in pictorial imagination, in *vorstellung* and in creeds. The fifth is the stage of Rationalisation proper with its elaboration and perfection of the conceptual apparatus in the form of Critique and Dialectic—of *Pārvapaksha*, *Uttarapaksha*, and *Siddhānta*. The sixth and final stage in the series is the stage not of *θεωρία* merely, but of *πραξις*, of *sādhana* or réalisation. Applying this formula to the famous doctrine of *Karma* and its evolution in the history of Indian Culture we have the following series. The first stage is that of *Yajña karma* as ritual drawing its inspiration from the instinct of continued personal existence or will-to-live and expressing itself in ritualistic performances for heaven (*svarga*), and from the instinct of race-preservation and manifesting itself in rituals for fertilization, fecundity, or race-multiplication. The germinal beginning of this law of *Karma* makes itself felt also, in this very first stage, as certain *samskāras*, family and tribal customs, as sacraments and the like. The second is the stage of myth-formation which crystallizes as the myth of the double path of *prayāna* (outward journey) and of *punarāvṛtti* (return journey), of Heaven and Hell and the like—pointing unmistakably to what is known as the doctrine of the transmigration of souls or metempsychosis. The third stage in the evolution

¹ *Vide* the illuminating notes on this point in Dr. B. N. Seal's 'Syllabus' already referred to above.

of the law of *Karma* is that of symbolization or sublimation of *Yajñas*, *Tapas*, *Samskāras*, as rituals—such as we have in the different Upanishads and the *Gītā*. The fourth stage which marks the beginning of conceptual formulation naturally expresses itself in the Dogma of *Karma* conceived as a Law along with the entire paraphernalia of *sañchita* and *prārabdha*, accumulated and initiated, *Karma* together with the idea of a cyclical existence. The fifth stage is that of Moral causation and its dialectic revealing itself in a code of injunctions and prohibitions (*vidhinishedhau*), *niyoga* or injunction being the ground of *Karma*.

- It is on this stage that a rational enquiry into the relation between *karma* as Law and free will of man and *karma* and *Iśvara* or Moral Governor of the universe, is fully envisaged. The sixth and final stage in the development of the law of *Karma* is the emergence of the notion of value (*purushārtha*), intrinsic and instrumental, of *πραξις* and *Sādhana*, and of the relation of the Way of *karma* (*karmamārga*) to the *Summum Bonum* (*Paramapurushārtha*) and Redemption (*Moksha*) as a final release from the domination of the inexorable Law of *Karma*.

Reviewing the growth of *Rgvedic* speculation as a whole and its importance for all subsequent thought in general, and of the *Vedānta* in particular, one may justly observe that the significance of the *Rgveda* in the making of the *Vedānta* lies not so much in any positive contribution towards it, but in preparing the field for the reception of the *Vedānta*. Although the main lines, on which Indian thought was destined to develop hereafter, lie prefigured herein, the value of the *Rgveda* is to be measured by what it aspired to be and was not in actuality. It begins with that infantile wonder, and its native hue of creative phantasy, which is not, as yet, 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Later, reflective thought supervenes and seeks to introduce system and order into the reign of riotous fancy and lawless myth-making. Once criticism is aroused, the mongrel method of allegorizing is steadily on the wane until the repugnant elements in the patched-up unity break asunder and dissipate

it altogether. Before the noon-day glory of the achievements of reflective thought, the twilight of mythopœic activity does admittedly pale away into insignificance, and thus all its findings are safely relegated to a forgotten chapter in the history of human search after truth. Nevertheless the *R̥gveda*, with all its backwardness, may truly be said to have succeeded in what it seems to have failed in: its twilight of god-making and allegorizing eagerly anticipates the dawn of a new intellectual era. Its failure, if it is to be called at all by that name, is but a triumph's evidence—an evidence of the perpetual urge of reflective thought in the eternal quest after truth. In this long and arduous pilgrimage, the truth-seeker is too apt to be deterred on the way-side by alluring allegories and myths masquerading as philosophic truths. Accordingly in the making of the Vedānta no prayer is more to the point than the one that has gone forth from the heart of *Īśāvāsyaopanishad*:—"The face of truth is covered up by a shining disk; that dost thou, O Sun-God, remove so that the true essence of Being may be revealed."

Now, the whole point in referring to the Vedānta as the acknowledged *terminus* or end, indicating the high-water mark of Indian philosophical thought, is to force into prominence the philosophic import of the category of End—which is but the insight that the end is not the final stage of a process of development that merely succeeds or supersedes its predecessors, but is the informing spirit of the whole, distilled, as it were, into its successive phases, all and sundry. Hence, the End in its interpretative function is as much operative at the beginning as at the *de facto* end of anything. Verily, the first shall be last and the last shall be first! This is precisely what the Aristotelian *τέλος* implies on a judicious rendering of it. Premising, therefore, that the Vedānta is just the focal point where a vast range of thought gathers itself up into internality and epitomises itself, we place ourselves at the *πὸν στῶ* of Indian philosophy wherefrom alone it is possible to command a synoptic view of the whole. Barring the few heretical schools, what all the other

schools of Indian philosophy unite in enforcing is the message of the autonomy of the Spirit—that spiritual freedom which is born of ‘self-recognition.’ To know and to be free—this has been the message of all alike; and, as the orthodox schools will add, to know in a corporate as well as individual capacity, to know in the company of seers handing on the torch of enlightenment from age to age, and to bring that corporate wisdom to a luminous personal focus. Such a knowledge alone can have a redemptive grace in itself. This is clearly the message that sits enthroned in its majestic simplicity at the heart of the *Vedānta*, and has at all times its ready appeal for those that have ears to hear. There is hardly any serious student of the *Vedānta* who has not felt the direct impact and edifying influence of the well-known passage in the *Īśopanishad* where the mighty seer of old, bathed in the full-orbed splendour of the life-giving message, exclaims with an invocation to the Sun as the very symbol in the world without of that greatness or sublimity which is the soul’s all own: “O thou all-sustaining, solitary, all-controlling Sun, descended from the Lord of all beings, do restrain and centralise all thy streaks of light that I may behold thy blissful countenance;—forsooth, I am the very Being that abides in thee.” Assuredly, this is a pregnant utterance of unique historical importance and charged with epoch making significance for the entire history of Indian thought and culture. But evidently more is meant here than meets the ear; and it was reserved for the illustrious Śaṅkarāchāryya to rise equal to the height of this great argument and to give the exact bearings of this historic pronouncement. Quite in keeping with the underlying spirit of the utterance, Śaṅkarāchāryya has voiced in unmistakable accents what was left unvoiced, but none the less clearly suggested. He avoids, on the one hand, the aberrations of devotionism which imports a ‘feeling of absolute dependence’ up to the liminal intensity of a ‘creature-consciousness’ and, on the other, he steers clear of egoism which, by a misplaced emphasis easily slips into the egotism that is at the farthest remove from the

attitude of worship itself. Proceeding thus he brings to light the edifying implications of the cult of spiritual worship when he sums up his comments in the forceful words : “ Moreover, I do neither beg of thee in the manner of a slave ” (*kiñcha, aham na tu tvām bhṛtyavadyāchē*).

Cryptic and negative as it is in formulation, the statement is clearly symptomatic of a radical change in outlook. Figuring as the dividing line between the R̥gvedic and the Upanishadic age, the change in question bespeaks a momentous influence in the history of Indian religion and culture—a spiritual Renaissance in ancient India that compares, not unfavourably with the no less significant transition from the bondage of the Leviticus unto the freedom of the Gospels. What is specially noteworthy in this spiritual awakening is that there is no more of that paralysing spectacle of the human worshipper being awed into submission—no more of coaxing and cajoling, petitioning and propitiating beings, supposed to possess benevolent as well as malevolent impulses. In place of stupefying admiration that thrives by working upon the baser instincts of man—fear of retribution and hope of reward—one has here that elevating trust in the spiritual dignity of man which is the best mini-stration to religious worship. ‘ Fear of the Lord,’ as it has been truly observed, ‘ is the beginning of all wisdom.’ But it is only the *beginning*—and neither the end nor the essence of wisdom. The cult of spiritual worship must necessarily be in a minor key where man shrinks into the comparatively insignificant position of a bare point on the circumference, bereft of the central importance he is by nature entitled to. On the contrary, a cosmic expansion of the soul of the worshipper, an identification of it with the Spirit behind this mighty frame of nature, is the surest way to kindle those higher emotions and aspirations that possess the specific flavour of worship. The atmosphere of spiritual freedom, which the Vedānta at least breathes, does not come within the range of the cheap criticism that it means no more than that there is freedom outside

the prison-house—a gospel that ‘ comforts while it mocks ’ those that lie imprisoned. It is, truly, a gospel of freedom that greets even those brows that languish behind the prison-bars, provided they would enter into a conscious participation in a birth-right that is eternally theirs. The orient light that once shone forth still shines undimmed with the passage of time that makes history; and the voice that once was heard, hushed as it is to eternal silence, still cries out from its own ashes : “ Seek ye first this freedom of the spirit and then all else shall be added unto you ! ”

While discussing the ideal of a free man’s worship in *Vedānta*, one is inevitably reminded of the nature of ‘ a free man’s worship ’ as understood by Mr. Bertrand Russell. Strangely enough there is not merely verbal similarity but remarkable doctrinal affinity between the two up to a certain point, beyond which there is a complete parting of ways. Both begin by emphasising the primary need of the emancipation of intellect from ‘ interest ’ or ‘ desire,’ its ‘ last prison-house.’ The free man, in Mr. Russell’s view, is to be freed from ‘ sick men’s dreams,’ such as rewards in heaven and the like, and thus qualified for the ministration in question. Indeed a relentless rejection of all petty private interests, and the cultivation of a temper of judicial neutrality must undoubtedly be put in the forefront as being an essential pre-requisite for a votary of truth; for, these alone have the efficacy of purifying the intellect, and predisposing it in such a way as to make it a fit recipient of truth. That is just the reason why, among other pre-requisites, the renunciation of all self-centred interests and apathy towards enjoyment of the fruits of one’s actions, whether here on earth or hereafter in the life to come (*ihāmutraphalabhogavirāgaḥ*) is demanded of the student of the *Vedānta*. By way of justifying, as it were, this initial injunction, Śaṅkarāchāryya observes to the following effect : “ If men’s inclinations were not regulated, establishment of truth would be impossible on account of endless diversity in their power of apprehension.”

Then, again, both are firmly lodged in the 'subjective' or 'parochial' character of moral or practical life which is rooted in the distinction between good and evil, and they discover the essence of wisdom or spiritual freedom in that 'contemplative life' which, as a distinctly 'higher good than that of action' goes 'beyond good and evil.' Accordingly what Mr. Russell recommends is 'that the elimination of ethical considerations from philosophy is both scientifically necessary and—though this may seem a paradox—an ethical advance.' The Vedānta would readily acquiesce in this position but with a difference of emphasis. Although, the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* (III. i. 3) lays down that 'the wise before entering into the taintless, supreme, unitive life, leave behind them all good and evil,' the Vedānta does not subscribe to an unqualified rejection or 'elimination of ethical considerations,'—no matter if such elimination be construed an 'ethical advance.' The Vedānta does not go in for such 'advanced' views on the subject and prefers to rest in a sublimation rather than elimination—as clearly evidenced by the verdict of the *Bhagavadgītā* (XV. 15) that 'the entire practical or moral life finds its consummation or fulfilment in the theoretical.'

Now, as to their respective divergence. The freeing of the intellect from 'desire,' its 'last prison-house,' is, admittedly, a salutary prescription so far as it goes, but one has to see that it does not go too far, and end by throwing away the babe along with the bath. In carrying out this purificatory rite, one stands in danger of making a holocaust of the abiding or permanent interests of life—in a word, the values, along with the changing or ephemeral interests—and thus carrying the process beyond the saturation-point of a total indifferentism. Such is, indeed, 'a free man's worship,' which, in the phraseology of Mr. Russell, represents the typical outlook of a 'weary but unyielding Atlas' with its faith pinned to what he expresses with the force of an epigram, 'the gospel of unyielding despair.' It may have an 'austere beauty' to recommend itself; but its austerity turns

out, on closer inspection, to be mere 'sham heroism' and its beauty only a borrowed glory. There is surely no heroism in renouncing things which a man has no right to renounce; nor is there any moral grandeur about a martyrdom that is as gratuitous as it is foolhardy. Indeed, if we care to read between the lines of a 'free man's worship'—without allowing ourselves to be carried away by its insidious rhetoric—we cannot fail to detect in it a morbid passion for passionlessness, a sentimental yearning after martyrdom for its own sake, which has neither sanity nor seemliness about it. 'But if martyrdom is to be proclaimed as a gospel for man, it must be more than courageous; it must be in the best sense wise and profitable.' There is at least no justification for the sorry exhibition, and that in the name of intellectual honesty and scientific disinterestedness, of that spirit of bravado that lies on the surface of the gospel of 'unyielding despair.' There is no doubt a species of courage that is born of despair. But bravery is one thing and bravado quite another. There is, accordingly, more sanity in the counsel—"Because thou must not dream, thou needst not then despair!"

Moreover, the 'gospel of unyielding despair' is but a sad travesty of what man has, during the ages past, understood by religious faith and worship. Indeed, it is only by straining the resources of language that this phrase can be made to serve as the keynote of a free man's worship. Truly, it is neither deserving of the name of '*worship*' nor that of a '*free man*.' On the one hand the 'proud defiance' labelled on its face is at the farthest remove from the attitude of worship; on the other, a stupefying admiration for, and a craven submission to, an 'unconscious power,' trampling on our cherished ideals, give the lie direct to the spirit of '*worship*,' and that of a '*free man*.' In point of fact, the gospel of 'unyielding despair' is not the gospel of a '*free man*,' but of a bondsman, enchained like Prometheus to the bed-rock of naturalism. For, what is exactly missing here is that Promethean spark that can by a miracle, as it were, transform

the gospel of 'unyielding despair' into an evangel of elevating hope—a hope that has potency enough to re-create itself out of its own wreck. The fear of relentless matter rolling along—and, as the psycho-analyst will assert, the proud defiance is but the paralysing fear turned inside out—may faithfully reflect the scientific temper, but it is conducive neither to intellectual honesty, nor religious edification. Summarily speaking, the sense of being overwhelmed and paralysed into submission by an unconscious, albeit stupendous, power and the sense of defeatism, born of despair, negate the very spirit of worship. The free man in the republic of the *Vedānta* does not confess to an indigence of this kind. He does not appear as one craving a kind consideration, nor does he stoop to conquer. He appears as one asserting his spiritual birth-right, and that is what invests his pronouncement with an authority and importance all its own. When all is said and done, the fact remains, however, that whatever we may choose to think of its merits as a philosophical dissertation, there is no disputing the point that 'A Free Man's worship' is destined to rank, by sheer force of its 'austere beauty' and stylistic charm, if not, also, in respect of its philosophic depth or vigour, as one of the masterpieces of English literature, and, certainly, as one of the philosophical classics of our age. Passages after passages may be quoted to show the consummate artist he is, and it will be readily discovered that their appeal lies not so much in any lure of intellectualism, but in the æsthetic effect produced by words of chiselled beauty and vivid imagery. While, therefore, we feel unconvinced by his logic, Mr. Russell impresses us with a peculiar persuasiveness that defies analysis into reasons.

Now, as the critic will probably interpose here and make the pertinent enquiry, how does all this tall talk about spiritual freedom square with the ingrained authoritarianism of Indian philosophy? Does not the dogmatism, inherent in the inveterate habit of appealing to the *Śruti*, which has its necessary counterpart in the strait-jacket method of clothing itself in the age-long

Sūtras, suppress free thinking and thus sound the death-knell of all philosophy? Is not this faith in dogmas an unconditional return to Authority which runs counter to the spirit of the times, to the very spirit of modernism in thought and culture—modern philosophy itself being ‘Protestantism in the sphere of the thinking spirit, the story of a philosophic pilgrim’s progress from Authority to Freedom? Admittedly, there is much force in this criticism. But we so often forget that there are always two sides to a question. It is undeniable that knowledge or truth in the keeping of Authority proves an initial handicap for the philosophic inquiries. For when truth hardens into tradition, it stifles the very life-breath of the free spirit of inquiry which alone is the inspirer of all philosophy. A tradition may be true; but only a living insight can be philosophical. Thus the very essence of philosophy is a studied unconcern for all kinds of tradition so far as they are merely traditional. Indeed, nowhere is the maxim ‘follow precedents’ treated with scant courtesy as in the realm of philosophic thinking, so that it appears as if for every such thinker there is only a foreground and no background. Well might the philosophers claim on this count precedence over the scientists and historians and say to them: “With you ‘follow precedents’ is the working motto; while ours is the task to create and not merely to follow precedents.” Accordingly, the Authority that acts as a deadweight and impedes the free movement of thought, the Authority that predisposes and proselytises the intellect of man and thus prejudices the philosophical issue, spells the very death of the life of free thinking. It becomes all the more sinister and dangerous when it comes to be invested with a glamour of sanctity as being the ancient depositary of all wisdom or truth, and before that august Presence man with his questioning impertinence is brow-beaten into submission. Here Authority comes to acquire an honorific sense, charged with emotional value, and demands allegiance not because it is old or traditional but because of its possessing superlative or transcendent merits.

On the other hand, we cannot afford to forget or minimise the importance of Authority or of dogmas in the economy of our spiritual life. Surely, Authority, as the custodian of dogmas that prescribe the limits beyond which the private judgment and mysticism of man may not go astray, is an invaluable asset for humanity. What blurs our vision of this home-truth is the haze of emotional hypnosis induced by the witchcraft of the magic phrase 'This Freedom!'—the craze of the modernist. But freedom from what?—one may pertinently enquire. Not surely an 'unchartered freedom' to drift endlessly which leads nowhere and 'tires' at the end. Humanly speaking, such a freedom can not be sought for its own sake. Here, as elsewhere, freedom has to be saddled with safeguards so that it may be pressed into the service of philosophic thinking. That is why unbridled reasoning (*nirāṃkuṣatāṇāḥ*), or argumentation for the sake of argumentation—wherein the license of free thinking so often terminates—has never found favour with the Indian mind; and, as a matter of fact, it has been placed by Śaṃkarācāryya under a perpetual ban. For, in India at least, philosophical thought has never been an intellectual pastime merely, cut off from the moorings of all other values of life. This is a fact that has to be accepted as such, and the judgment in question should not be surreptitiously converted into a judgment upon fact.

The much-needed adjustment of the respective rights of Authority and Free thinking, of Dogma and Criticism, or of Faith and Reason, has been effected, once for all, in the domain of Indian Philosophy. Here, again, Śaṃkara appears in his representative capacity. Assuming at the very start that even ratiocination or dialectic is recognised by us so far as it is ancillary to *Śruti* or revealed knowledge (*Śrutyaiiva cha sahāyatvena tarkasyāpyabhyupetatvāt*), he proceeds to lay down that 'it is only such dialectic or reasoning as is subservient to the *Śruti* that is accepted here, as being contributory to experience' (*Śrutyānugrhitā eva hyatra tarko'nubhāvāṅgatvenāśrīyatē*). Thus while it is true 'that Śaṃkara took up a fairly submissive

attitude in regard to the authority of the Upanishad texts,'¹ his 'subjection to authority is not necessarily inimical to philosophical spirit' and the much too common imputation of unphilosophical authoritarianism stands redeemed in the recognition of what has been accurately described the 'internalizing of authority.'² This is evident from the frequent insistence on Śaṅkara's part on *anubhava* or *anubhūti*, that is, experience in its integrity which personalises the impersonal certitude of *Śruti* (*Anubhāvāvasānam cha 'Brahmavijñānam*). Nothing short of the certitude of personal experience will meet the requirements of the situation. As it has been rightly observed, 'the human mind is so constituted that only intrinsic evidence necessarily compels assent. No matter how great the authority of the witness, assent is impossible unless the truth in question is luminous to us, is felt as such by us.'³ Accordingly, Authority ostensibly imposing a bond does not, after all, bind, for the fetters that are thus forged are of our own making, and the undoing of these is also ours. Likewise, one can subscribe to dogmas without being a dogmatist. A dogma works not by mechanical dictation but by illuminating inspiration—not by annexing or annulling the rights of private judgment or mysticism but by giving ungrudging recognition to these. Dogma is thus experience in the making, and faith or belief which has an air of dogmatism, to begin with, is but reason cultivating itself. Thus is also struck a balance between Dogmatism and Criticism, which have so far appeared in irreconcilable antithesis. Rooted as he was in inflexible orthodoxy, Śaṅkara had yet the sufficiency to assign to reason its proper rank and function even in the matter of attaining unto the highest bliss of mankind. So runs his verdict that 'a man who somehow espouses a creed without prior discussion or critical reflection is dispossessed of beatitude and incurs evil.' (*tatrāvichāryā yat kiñchit pratipadyamāno*

¹ W. S. Urquhart, *The Vedānta and Modern Thought*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ Coffey, *Epistemology*, Vol. II.

niḥśreyasāt pratihanyetānarthañcheyāt). So far as Śaṅkara is concerned, it is a pronouncement which is hardly ever given the prominence it deserves in respect of a foundational importance attaching to it. This is typically illustrative of the spirit of Hindu orthodoxy which, though depending in the end upon a provisional faith, employs a faith that *enquires*. This is clearly indicated by the function and importance of *jijñāsā* or critical inquiry in the making of Indian philosophy. Thinking always proceeds by questioning experience, and unless there be in evidence this questioning spirit or *jijñāsā*, the search after truth becomes an impossibility. Now, what is it exactly that this *jijñāsā* stands for? By *jijñāsā* the author of the *sūtra* “*Athāto Brahmajijñāsā*” suggests, as the *Bhāmati* declares, a ‘doubt’ and a ‘value’ that is an object of our quest (*jijñāsayā sandehaprayojane sūchayati*). Thus the enquiry (*jijñāsā*) is the *ratio cognoscendi* of doubt, while doubt is the *ratio essendi* of enquiry (*jijñāsā tu saṁsayasya kāryyamiti svakāraṇam sūchayati*). It is this very doubt, finally, that gives the impulse to philosophic inquiry (*saṁsayascha mīmāṃsārambham prayojayati*).

The ‘steel frame’ of the *sūtra*, so the critic will further contend, serves as the natural embodiment of the spirit of Indian philosophy, which is largely under the controlling lead of Authority; and the natural affinity that is noticeable in this regard argues a pre-established harmony between the two. Now, the *sūtra* has been defined as ‘a short aphorism of minimum possible words, of unambiguous meaning, of the nature of epitome, possessing omniformity, unbroken continuity and flawlessness.’ “The *sūtra* is so called,” observes *Vāchaspati*, “because of its multivocal character.” It is exactly here that lie at once the strength and weakness of the *sūtras*. The extreme terseness of the *sūtras* which spells their congenital weakness has its own historic justification. In the absence of present-day printing facilities, the entire mnemonic (i.e., *sūtra*) literature that had to be improvised could not but invoke a rigidly compact form

despite the risk of obscurity and ambiguity. The same enforced necessity of abbreviation that engenders this 'anæmic helpless state of the *sūtras*, invents a remedy in the prescript of periodical infusion of new blood from concrete flesh-and-blood existences of commentaries and scholia. Thus embodied and vitalized the *sūtras* prove to be a tower of strength and fountainhead of inspiration for the commentaries with which they appear in constant conjunction—by providing a mariner's compass to the individual commentators who might otherwise navigate in an uncharted sea without being ever brought to definite moorings. Hence it is not merely from an historic necessity that the *sūtras* came into being, but the recognition of their need proceeds from a principle. They are mainly designed to arrest the rampant growth of unfettered free thinking that leads nowhere, at least, not to the establishment or discovery of truth. Thus the *sūtra* form has the effect of pruning away the rapid accretion of rival commentaries and expositions, destitute of a survival-value. The temperamental bias of the Indian mind against chronicling or conserving historical data or individual peculiarities explains this natural predilection for the *sūtra* form. In a wider reference the same tendency expresses itself in the instinctive preference not for personal, but corporate, immortality.

The *sūtras*, accordingly, are conservative—illustrating in a limited manner what we understand by 'conservation of values.' 'So careful of the type' the *sūtra* seems, 'so careless of the single life.' It is this very conservatism that has ensured the historic continuity and perpetuity of the doctrines of a particular school in defiance of the spoil of ages. "For the Western philosopher," as writes¹ Dr. Urquhart with the added authority of one representing Western philosophy, "it is true that our little systems have their day and cease to be" whereas "in the Vedānta, as well as in other Indian philosophies, we may notice

¹ *The Vedānta and Modern Thought*, p. 9.

a remarkable unity of development more closely knit than in Western philosophy.' Indeed, the *élan vital* of Indian thought has from time immemorial carried forward the undying past into the living present which it interpenetrates, and thus, pressing on the frontiers of the unknown, created fresh channels of thought. Viewed thus, the *sūtra* form stands close to the formula of 'creative evolution.' That seems to be also the drift of Prof. Rādhākṛiṣṇan's suggestive phrase—'the constructive conservatism of Indian thought.' This innate conservatism of Indian thought, with its retrospective outlook towards antecedent conditions, does not, however, land us in sheer emptiness. The *sūtra* does not leave us, in the end, with a barren, abstract, colourless universal that rides roughshod over the particular. It is the universal in the particular and the particular as embodied in the universal,—or to use the oft-quoted phrase 'the concrete universal'—that is not merely the 'secret' of Hegel, but the 'open conspiracy' of the Real.' So does the *sūtra* justify its essential character as *viśvatomukham* emulating, in capacity and function, a myriad-minded personality. Furthermore, it is in reference to the *sūtras* in their constant conjunction with *bhāṣyas* or commentaries, that Indian thinkers have achieved a much-needed solution of the standing conflict between the timeless or unhistorical and the temporal or historical character of truths. If the vocation of the philosopher is to be a 'spectator of all time and all existence,' he must have the eye to discern in time 'the moving image of eternity.' This clearly reveals an attempt to take time seriously, and at the same time not to lose touch with eternity. If truths 'wake to perish never,' neither antiquity nor modernity can either add to, or detract from the validity of these. Mr. Bertrand Russell's dictum that the recognition of 'the unimportance of time is the one gateway of wisdom' surely has its force in this regard. What the *sūtras*, finally, seek to emphasize is just this interplay of timelessness as well as historicity of truths—this dance of eternity before the footlights of time—and the guarantee that all our temporal

strivings after truth survive in the *sūtra* 'when eternity affirms the conception of an hour.'

In assessing the spirit of Indian Philosophy at the thought-exchange of the world, one must see that it does not undervalue its own thought-currency in order to secure an international credit. Metaphors apart, the individuality of Indian philosophy is a priceless legacy which must be maintained in its integrity. It is simply its demand to be spiritual or spiritually free. It may or may not be in tune with the spirit of modernism or of antiquity, but it is there and must make itself heard across the centuries. In the spiritual economy of the universe there can be no meaningless duplication of functions. It is because and so far as East is East, and also West is West that they can and must meet to their reciprocal advantage at the philosophical exchange. No one knows what cross-fertilisation may mean in the world of thought. It has been said that the Ancient (Greek) philosophy is thoroughly national, the Mediaeval is un-national or cosmopolitan through and through, while Modern philosophy is international in outlook. "The roots of modern philosophy," as writes one European historian of philosophy, "are sunk deep in the fruitful soil of nationality, while the top of the tree spreads itself far beyond national limitations. It is national and cosmopolitan together; it is international as the common property of the various peoples which exchange their philosophical gifts through an active commerce of ideas." Nothing could be a more accurate transcription of the cult of internationalism that has its roots struck deep in the soil of nationality. Ah, there is the rub! Mischief, they say, always lies about the root. Nor is the root a faithful index of the thing in question. "By their *fruits* ye shall know" and not by their *roots*. If, however, we refuse to abide by this *a priori* injunction, let us have the courage of facing facts, fair and square. An International outlook is the cry of many, but the prize of the few. It remains a pious hope until and unless the making of the international mind is an accomplished fact. The method

of working it out from the roots upwards has been tried and found wanting; why not try the other—namely, of working from above downwards? That is why the Upanishadic sage, with unerring prophetic vision, declares that this ancient holy fig tree (symbolising the Infinite and the Eternal, the *Bhūmā*) has its roots in heaven and its branches spreading downwards (*Urd-dhvamūlo'vāksākha esho'svatthaḥ sanātanaḥ*). This is, however, no mere dream of some future possibility, of some 'far-off divine event,' no mere vague aspiration of the Futurist but is verily the everlasting Real, dwelling in us 'nearer than our hands and feet,' as 'the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls.' It is easy to deride the notion and take to the blunt Johnsonian method of refuting an ideal by kicking against it. If, in short, it is contended that such a vision of the Infinite in the finite is too good to be true, the *Vedāntist* at least will meet that contingency by saying that the vision is too good *not* to be true. It is no mere remote theological mystery but, God be thanked, it is interwoven with the very texture of our everyday experience. Accordingly, the *Vedāntist* starts on his career with *Brahmajijñāsā*, enquiry into *Brahman* as the supreme good of man, sustains our interest therein with the perpetual reminder that it is the *Bhūmā* that alone is to be enquired into (*Bhūmātveva vijijñāsitavyaḥ*), and closes on the high-pitched key:—"Do thou enquire into that. Verily that is Brahman." (*Tadvijijñāsasva tad Brahmeti*).

. To the pragmatist mentality such a high-strung faith will hardly make any appeal; it will confess to a still lingering scruple as to its workability on the weekdays of 'ordinary thought' despite its usefulness on the Sundays of 'speculation.' It is neither the place nor the occasion to attempt a detailed examination of the pragmatist creed, but what one should like to point out, by way of criticism of the incorrigible pragmatic method of rule-and-compass, is its insufficiency in determining the truth-claim of a philosophical doctrine. In the region of metaphysics—which is, even on the realistic

hypothesis, an empirical study of the non-empirical—there could be found no better guide than the precept :

“ Not on the vulgar mass
Called ‘ work ’ must sentence pass.”

If we are persuaded to believe that “ ’tis not what man *does* which exalts him, but what man *would do*, ” it applies with all the greater force to the case of a metaphysical creed.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

THE LIGHT-HOUSE KEEPER

Spend, spend thy fury spend, O blustering Sea,
Waste, waste, waste on my rockbound fortress strong,
Safe in my ocean Home I laugh at thee
For unheld natures canst not last too long.

Mount, mount and splash the rending welkin's cheek
That snaps its threatenings thyself to devour
And thy unruly craze to curb doth seek,
But I am safe within my ocean Tower.

Go there is room enough to lose thy rage,
To set in gloss thy tossing, unkempt mane,
Thy knitted, frothy brow to assuage;
Go rule thy restless self thou boundless Main.

Now has the guiding Eye its light withdrawn,
And frightened noises bellow urgently;
Ah! list the howling blast play ravage on
The billowy bosom of the savage Sea.

Perchance some simple Ship of goodly souls
Doth innocently seek a watery grave,
Undoubtful that all treacherously rolls
The Deep; her dark fate if I might I'll save.

I'll search the jealous Blue with danger beams
And pick its lamentations for a sound
Retreat; and with my apish sun's red gleams
The sail shall ride her knots though tempest bound.

How many vessels has my mandate turned
From such a doom, when irate Nature drowned
This danger in her tears, her evil spurned
She tore my roots for spite, and failing, frowned.

Then split thy snorting rage, O wild, wild Sea,
I'll warn the merchant of his hidden plight;
Be spendthrift of thy hate, O riotous Sea,
For I am safe within my Castle Might.

JOHN J. PINTO

THE INLAND FISHERIES OF BENGAL

An Aspect of the Fish Problem in India.

To agriculture the Government of India have devoted considerable attention, but the related subject of Fisheries has been almost entirely neglected. So neglected that the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was "struck with the comparative failure to develop the fisheries of the country as a source of food."

The Commission dealt, however, with the fisheries only from the viewpoint of the nutrition of the cultivators, researches on which it considered "to be of first-rate importance to the improvement of Indian agriculture, as the problems investigated so closely affect the efficiency and prosperity of the cultivators....." On fish as an element in the agriculturist's diet, which generally excludes meat, the Commission expressed the opinion that: "Improvement in the cultivator's diet holds out such promise of improvement in his general health and the addition of fish to his diet impresses us as being so much the most promising way of preserving it over large areas of the country that we are more than justified....." in making very general recommendations for the improvement of the fisheries of the country. It need hardly be added that an adequate fish supply is also required by the urban population, not only because of its undisputed nutritional value, but because it assists that dietical variety which modern standards of living demand.

In spite of the considerations, however, no *co-ordinated* effort has yet been made to exploit the enormous fish-resources of the country. Local Governments have from time to time considered the fish-problems in their respective provinces, but their enquiries have been usually sporadic and narrow; and, with the exception of the Madras presidency, no Province has a really

efficient fisheries department at present. Bengal, the premier province, has no fisheries department at all! Yet its inland fisheries are not excelled, either in area or potentiality, by any other similar fisheries outside America and Canada, and it is not surprising that the Agricultural Commission regarded their development as "one of the most urgent measures of rural amelioration," and, it may be added, of national progress. A brief general survey of the fish problem in Bengal may therefore be of value.

The inland fisheries of Bengal cover an area of not less than 8,000 square miles in dry season. The most important fisheries in the province are in the Sundarbans—a vast tract of over 5,700 square miles of forest, swamp, estuaries, islands, and rivers, communicating with each other by means of small channels. Though practically unexploited, this area is remarkable for the abundance and excellence of its fish. In 1914, Mr. Southwell estimated that the Sundarbans fishermen, in spite of unseaworthy boats and lack of transport facilities, actually exported in the previous year an average of approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons of fish (including dried fish) per day, while at that time the best English trawlers working in good waters only averaged a daily catch of about two tons. Mr. Southwell accordingly estimated the minimum average annual yield at about 7,339 tons, but there can be no doubt that this is an under-estimate even under present conditions, while proper development of the Sundarbans fisheries would result in the annual yield being increased beyond calculation at the present moment.

Next in importance is the fish supply afforded by *tanks*, for every good Hindu feels it his duty to provide a tank in his village. The culture of fish in such tanks is extensive, but unsystematic and unscientific. It is also much affected by the monsoons when large quantities of fish may escape.

The *jheel* fisheries are also extensive, but are dwindling in importance, because these *jheels* are being rapidly reclaimed for cultivation. Moreover, they are generally overfished and are

often out of the way, some of the best *jheel* fisheries, for example, being found in the Khulna and Jessore districts, which present many difficulties in the way of adequate transport.

The *canal* and *paddy fields* fisheries are unimportant, the former because they are cleaned out annually, the latter because they are dependent on the monsoons, when the floods cause the escape from the rivers into the paddy fields of fish eggs and fry, which perish as the water recedes. The food fishes of these areas should, therefore, be transferred to the rivers.

The *foreshore* fisheries of Bengal have been almost entirely neglected, though there is an anaemic industry at Balasore. How neglected they are the statistics for 1912—13 clearly prove. During this period only about 83 tons of fish were imported into Calcutta, while Puri, which is an equally good fishing district in the vicinity, yielded less than two tons.

Some Important Food Fishes of Bengal.

The food fishes of Bengal were dealt with by Sir K. G. Gupta in his first report, and it is not necessary to mention more than a few of important food fishes, the supply of which can be increased by research, propaganda, legislation and properly capitalised industry.

The most popular among the purely fresh-water fishes are those belonging to the carp-family (Cyprinidae), especially the *Rohu* (*Labeo rohita*), *Katla* (*Catla buechanani*), *Mrigal* (*Cirrhina mrigala*) and *Calbasu* (*Labeo calbasu*). These fishes are found in our rivers, and flourish in still-water areas, where they attain a considerable size, the *Katla* even attaining a weight of 26 lbs. and more in five years. The growth rate is, therefore, very rapid (rarely less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per annum) and this, together with the fact that carp-eggs and fry can be easily and chiefly obtained, makes carpiculture a sound financial undertaking. These advantages, however, have not led to carpiculture in Bengal on a scientific and productive basis.

The life-history of these carps causes the species to sustain very heavy natural losses. They spawn at the commencement of the rains, and their buoyant eggs are carried into the paddy fields and similar places, with the destructive results to which I have already alluded. Large numbers of eggs are also swept seawards by the current, especially in the case of fish spawning near the estuaries. When the natural losses are so heavy, protection becomes doubly necessary, and in this case may be effected by forbidding the capture of these carps in the months of May and June, when they are in the gravid state. Another point which carpiculturists may note is that, though eggs are very much cheaper than fry, it is much more economical to buy fry for cultural purposes, as carp-eggs are the favourite food of certain voracious fishes, and very often batches of so-called carp-eggs are heavily contaminated with the eggs of these enemies.

A large number of other purely freshwater fishes is consumed in Bengal, but these are favoured mostly by the poorer people. Apart from the other carps, these species belong mostly to the snake-headed fishes (Ophiocephalidae) and the Cat-fishes (Siluridae), such as the Sol (*Ophiocephalus striatus*) and the Singi (*Saccobranchus fossilis*). The famous Koi or Climbing Perch (*Anabas scandens*) has achieved its reputation not only because it is considered very nourishing, especially for invalids, but because the structural peculiarities of its respiratory system enable it to live out of the water for long periods, and even to travel considerable distances over dry land.

Coming to the food fishes which live both in fresh and brackish water, we find that most of the species belong to the Cat-fish family, such as the Boal (*Wallago attu*) the Aor (*Macrones aor*), the Tengra (*Macrones vittatus*) and the Silond (*Silondia gangetica*). The most famous of this class of fishes is, however, the anadromous Hilsa or Indian Shad (*Hilsa ilisha*). Its migrations begin in the monsoons, spawning occurring mainly in September and October, after which the fish return to the

sea. Unlike the carps, the life-history is not adversely influenced by natural conditions, as the eggs are not buoyant, hatch in about nine days, and are seldom, if ever, deposited more than six hundred miles from the sea. They are, therefore, rapidly carried along by the current and generally reach the sea, or at least the lower part of the estuaries, before hatching, thus enabling the fry to develop in their natural habitat. For these reasons, Mr. Southwell believed that legislation for the protection of *Hilsa* was unnecessary, but Sir K. G. Gupta and Dr. Bainsi Prasad, the last scientific Director of Fisheries in Bengal, both believed protection to be necessary, for there is evidence that the supplies of *Hilsa* are declining, and we ought to take a lesson from the United States where in 1879 the Shad was nearly exterminated.

I have said that natural conditions favour the development of the Indian Shad, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that it is *only of good flavour during the spawning season* (July to October), the returning "spent" fish being of little account for the table. Yet they are caught in large numbers while ascending and it is this which Sir K. G. Gupta wished to prohibit. He, therefore, recommended a close season between November and February, and pointed out that the Hindu religion prohibits the eating of *Hilsa* between the last day of the Durga Puja and the Sripanchami-day—practically the same period. Legislation alone will not, however, increase our supplies of this excellent fish, though it will materially protect it from possible extermination. Co-ordinated research is also necessary.

Of the estuarine fishes of Bengal little need be said. They include some of the finest marine food-fishes known to us, such as the renowned *Bhekti* (*Lates calcarifer*) and the *Topsi* or Mango-fish (*Polynemus paradiseus*). The well-known "Bombay Duck" (*Harpedon nehereus*), which gets its unforgettable aroma from the presence of a resinous sap known as 'asafotida,' is also common in our estuaries, especially near the Sandheads. Colonel A. Alcock, F.R.S., the eminent marine biologist,

rightly believed that the *Bhekti* fishery alone would pay handsomely, and when it is remembered that five other sea-perches related to the *Bhekti*, all of which are good eating and furnish first class isinglass, are found in the estuarine waters of the Bay of Bengal, the industrial possibilities of the Sundarbans will be better appreciated. The Sundarbans also afford many other delicately flavoured fish, such as the pomfrets and mullets, while large numbers of other fish, such as species of *Sillago*, which Col. Alcock regards as "akin to good whiting," and soles, flounders, cat-fishes, herrings, ribbon-fish, eels, sharks and rays are also to be found. All these fish are of commercial value, either as food or for the products, such as isinglass, oil and skins, which they yield. And besides the fisheries proper there are the crabs, prawns, and edible molluscs, which are so common in our estuarine waters. The Sundarbans is indeed a gold-mine awaiting intelligent exploitation.

The Fish Requirements of Bengal.

We have seen from the above remarks how extensive are the potential fish resources of Bengal, both in variety and quantity. The inland fisheries of the province represent, moreover, the sources of its major fish-supply, yet this supply is entirely inadequate. In 1908, Sir K. G. Gupta estimated that 40 millions, or not less than 80%, of the population of Bengal are fish-eaters, and the 1921 Census Reports show that much the same estimate would hold good for to-day. Calculating the required daily consumption of fish per head per diem at 4 ounces this investigator found that the annual consumption per head per annum would be one maund or about eighty lbs. The total annual fish-requirements of the province would, therefore be nearly one and a half million tons.

How inadequate the supply is the imports of fish into Calcutta indirectly show. In 1912-13, the total imports only provided 26 (27.45%) of the actual requirements of the

900,000 people in Calcutta, 720,000 of which, on the basis of Sir K. G. Gupta's calculations, would be fish-eaters. In 1922-23, the total imports to Calcutta had increased to 15,970 tons, representing roughly 50 of the requirements of the fish-eating population of the city. These figures are, of course, based on rather arbitrary calculations, but they nevertheless show how considerably the average demand exceeds the average supply. Yet the richness of Bengal as a fish-producing area should enable it to do more than completely meet its own demands, and if the valuable sea-fisheries were also properly developed it would even eventually be in a position to export fish on a really profitable scale.

The Causes of the "Fish Problem."

It will be obvious from what has been said above that the causes of the inadequate fish-supply of Bengal are directly traceable to the destructive and incompetent methods and ignorance of the poverty-stricken fishermen, most of whom are in the hands of profiteering middlemen, and to the lack of proper transport facilities. This state of affairs must naturally be largely attributed to official negligence, for with an efficient fisheries department, striving to improve the fish-supply by sound co-ordinated research and by educating and improving the lot of the fishermen, working with the aid of a far-seeing Government and effective legislation, our fish supply would soon be materially increased. An adipose fishery board and sporadic attempts to break up the present fish-rings would not do more than ameliorate the present condition to some extent. It may be said, of course, that climatic conditions are against the organised development of our inland fisheries, as most marketable fish breed during the rains, when the water area is more than doubled and myriads of eggs and fry are carried away from their natural habitat only to perish when the water recedes. Much of the damage caused thus could, however,

be avoided by catching the eggs and fry and transferring them to breeding tanks, or putting them back in the rivers.

It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss the fishing methods in use in Bengal. The reader who is interested in the details is referred to Sir K. G. Gupta's Reports. It will suffice to say here that fishing operations in the province are casual and unscientific, the opportunism of the fishermen causing them to destroy their own future prospects by intensive fishing over small and productive areas, until their stocks are almost completely depleted. The wholesale destruction of eggs and fry for the sake of the inconsequential amount per 1000 which they fetch is so common among the fishermen that urgent educative and legislative action is necessary if the better food-fishes of Bengal are not to be almost completely destroyed. This destruction is particularly rampant in the smaller rivers and *nalas* which, when the floods are over, are cut off from the main rivers by means of fixed engines, thus preventing the return of the fry to their original habitats. They are then caught with nets of very fine mesh, and the damage done has to be seen to be believed. And where the *nalas* are large they are partitioned into smaller areas by means of dams to facilitate the annihilation.

How little regard the average fisherman has for the future is even better proved (for here there is no financial gain) by the fact that in the Chilka Lake they, together with the other lower class inhabitants of the shores, collect the spawn and eggs that float near the edges and eat them as an additional dainty. The loss of fish-life occasioned by this practice is incalculable. Sir K. G. Gupta drew attention to this fact, and pressed for legislation prohibiting it, in 1908. But fourteen years later I remember that I found it common in the Lake area and I have no doubt that it is still so.

Equally important as reasons for our inadequate and expensive fish-supply are the methods of acquiring fishing-rights and of the disposal and despatch of their catches available to

the fishermen. In the main rivers the fishing rights belong to zemindars or to the Government, who lease their rights (for trifling sums in the case of Government), which are again re-leased in small lots by the lessee at excessive prices, thus immediately raising the cost of fish. Moreover, the lessees are seldom interested in anything more than the collection of their rents, and have little regard for the evils of over-fishing or the economic condition of the fishermen.

The middleman is the next link in a vicious chain, and an extremely important one even if his influence has been somewhat exaggerated. There are many such middlemen between the fishermen and the consumer, but the principal ones are the salesmen and the *Nikari*, who collects the fish and forwards them to the salesmen, and has extensive control wherever there are important fisheries. Usually in debt, the unfortunate fishermen are incapable of freeing themselves from the hands of the *Nikaris*, and the results of this system are that by the time the fish reach the consumer its price is several times (Mr. Southwell estimates it at six or seven times but it is probably more) that at which the fishermen sold it.

The next important factor which contributes to our inadequate fish-supply is the lack of proper transport facilities. No care is taken to prevent rotting, for ice is not used, either because it is too expensive or not available, heavy losses being occasioned in this way as long distances have to be traversed. The lot of the fish exporter is also made more unhappy by the difficulties put in his way, and the lack of courtesy and consideration said to be extended to him by the railway officials. I make this statement on the authority of Mr. Southwell who charges the railway officials with extorting heavy sums from the exporters, and remarks that this practice should be strictly and heavily punished. Conditions have improved, however, since Mr. Southwell wrote. •

The last inimical factor with which we have to deal is inadequate and ineffective legislation and control. The Fishery

Act IV of 1897 could be applied to Bengal, but Mr. Southwell says, "It is an unfortunate fact that no operative fishery laws exist in Bengal." With this aspect of the matter we will deal later.

Suggested Methods of improving Bengal's Fish Supply.

The main lines along which our fish supply could be increased and improved would be the education of the fishermen, extension of financial support to them, better transport facilities, and effective legislation, which will not only control the fishermen but protect their interests.

The education of the fishermen is a matter for a competent fisheries department with an energetic, sympathetic and capable propaganda staff. The fishermen must be taught the folly of destructive fishing methods, even if such methods result in immediate gain, and the value of co-operative effort. Fishermen's co-operative societies must be started and encouraged by financial aid from Government. A real effort must be made to free the fishermen from the clutches of the middlemen, and the grafting tactics of transporters, for with increased prosperity the fishermen would themselves appreciate the value of modern methods and work more intelligently in consequence. It is desirable that the lessees should work their lots themselves where the fishermen do not run their sub-lots on a co-operative basis, and capital should be interested in the formation of fishing companies. A start has already been made by private companies and Co-operative Societies in Bengal, but they need greater encouragement.

As the Sundarbans fisheries are the most important in Bengal, their improvement may be considered in some detail. Apart from the considerations mentioned above this would lie in the provision of better transport facilities by the Government and the Railways. In 1914, Mr. Southwell estimated that a good start could be made for an initial outlay of Rs. 88,000, which would provide two 75-foot launches to ply in the vicinity of

Matla and Khulna—the chief collecting stations—and two ice plants at these stations. He believed that the launches would be sufficient to carry the fish to the railheads and thence to Calcutta. The working cost of the launches and ice-plants would be less than one-third of the proceeds of the sale of the fish per annum, and would greatly facilitate the despatch of fish in a healthy condition. Better railway facilities are also urgently required. Special fish-coaches with a cooling plant should be provided, as ice-packing is at best an expensive and inconvenient method. The increased transport would soon repay the capital outlay on such coaches, and, as the railways are public utility services, public health and convenience should be their first consideration. On the credit side it must be said of the Indian railways that they provide transport facilities at most of the bigger fishing centres, at rates comparatively cheaper than those obtainable in England, but a further decrease in the rates is not only desirable but may be regarded as a sound economic proposition.

The Need for Efficient Legislation.

Fisheries legislation in Bengal should follow the general principles of (a) *Directly constructive legislation*, such as the reservation of special areas and the provision of fishways and passes over dams and weirs; (b) *Fish-protection legislation*, such as the determination of close seasons, the minimum size limit at which specified kinds of fish may be sold, and the nets which are permissible, the prohibiting of the taking of spawn and fry without special permission (which should only be granted for breeding purposes), the forbidding of obstructions to the ascent of fish to their spawning grounds, and the prevention of injurious influences affecting fish life, such as the pollution of rivers; (c) *Fishermen-control legislation*, such as the issue of conditional licenses, leases and permits, abuse of which is strictly punished. Legislation for the control of fish products belongs properly to trade and commercial legislation.

In Bengal, there is little or no operative legislation, though in the Punjab and other places in India, fisheries Acts providing for most of the principles of fishery legislation are in force, though few rules, if any, have been made under these Acts. In this province, comprehensive fishery legislation may not be immediately possible, and in fact any sort of legislation may meet with opposition, as Mr. Ahmed's experience in 1910 proves. He endeavoured to deal with the construction of fixed engines, to fix the minimum mesh of nets at three inches, and the size at which *Rohu*, *Katla*, and *Mrigal* may be sold at ten inches, but was unsuccessful. There seems to be no reason, however, why such legislation should not be possible, even when the peculiar social fabric of the country is taken into consideration. "There is clearly room (said the Agricultural Commission) for further development in conservancy work along these lines in all provinces."

Detailed fishery legislation depends, of course, upon sound scientific knowledge, but we know enough at present to prohibit, for example, the capture of carps during the months of May and June, and to forbid the sale of the four principal species below a specified size. In the case of the Indian Shad we also know that a close season between November and January should be declared.

It should not be difficult, with the co-operation and sympathy of the zamindars, not only to administer such laws, but to begin legislation to control the fisherman. All laws should be binding on the lessees where the lands belong to Government, and should also be applicable to private waters where such waters communicate with public waters. A system of simple fishing licenses should also be started. The revenue therefore would contribute most of the cost of a fisheries department, as experience in other provinces proves. In Japan, licenses are very elaborate and provide an enormous revenue.

It is essential, however, that all laws should be fair, that they should be justly administered, and that all possibilities of

abuse in their administration by subordinate officials should be minimised. This is not done everywhere. In the Punjab, for instance, section 6 (1) of the Fisheries Act provides that "*Any police officer, or other person specially empowered by the local Government in this behalf, may without a warrant arrest any person committing in his view a breach of any rule made under section 3 or any prohibition notified under section 4*" (*Italics mine.*) An amendment states that "no police officer below the rank of Sub-Inspector shall be so empowered," but in any case the possibilities of persecution and extortion under this section may be readily imagined. Fisheries administration is a matter for trained fisheries officials, not ignorant policeman, and there can be no doubt that the powers of subordinate police and customs officials should be restricted. In Bengal, no such provisos as that found in the Punjab Act should be tolerated.

Lastly, the rights of the fisherman should in every way be safeguarded. They should at all times have the right of appeal to the authorities against punishments, and if still aggrieved should be in a position to file a suit in the Civil Courts, or in the Criminal Courts if they have been assaulted. They should feel that, no matter how humble they are, they will at all times receive justice, and in this connection co-operative organisations would be a great help.

• *The Need for an Efficient Fisheries Department.*

The need for an efficient fisheries department and the improvement of Bengal's fishery resources has been already recognised for more than a quarter of a century. In 1906, Mr. K. G. Gupta (now Sir) of the Indian Civil Service was placed on special duty to investigate the fisheries of Bengal, and a year later he visited the chief fisheries of Europe and America with a view to studying their bearing on our fisheries problems. Sir K. G. Gupta, who in Bengal had the help of Dr. B. L.

Chaudhuri, the well-known Ichthyologist, submitted two splendid reports on the result of his investigations, making at the same time detailed suggestions for the improvement of our fisheries. Apart from legislation, Sir K. G. Gupta suggested the organisation of "a Government agency for the conservation and development of the fisheries of Bengal," and recommended that this agency should be constituted after the model of the Scottish Fisheries Board with a salaried Commissioner and an Advisory Committee of six honorary members. He stressed the necessity for Government initiative, of propaganda, of systematic pisciculture, of model factories for showing the processes of curing, manufacture of fish-oil, extraction of isinglass from the bladder and the conversion of fish-refuse into fertilisers, of scientific investigation, and of the encouragement of indigenous talent for fisheries work. He accordingly recommended that two Indian students be deputed to Europe and America respectively, that laboratories be started at Puri, Diamond Harbour and Bhagalpore or Monghyr for observations on marine, estuarine and freshwater fish respectively, and that the central station, aquarium, and fisheries museum be situated in Calcutta.

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal replied that "Mr. Gupta's recommendations are receiving the careful attention of the Lieutenant Governor," and to the credit of the Government it must be said that some effort was made to carry out Sir K. G. Gupta's suggestions. In 1908, Mr. K. Ahmed, C. S., was appointed Commissioner of Fisheries, Bengal, and shortly after a Board, more or less on the lines advised by Sir K. G. Gupta, was constituted. Its personnel however, was heavy as, apart from the official members, the seven divisions of Bengal, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the National Chamber of Commerce, the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta, the British Indian Association and the Bihar Landholders' Association (!) were represented on it. With such a constitution it was not unnatural that many of

Mr. Ahmed's suggestions, such as those concerning legislation, were rejected, and that the Board soon became a dissentient and inefficient body as a prelude to an early death.

The Government also deputed two Indian students to Europe and America, who on their return did as good work as circumstances and their previous training permitted. Further the trawler *Golden Crown* was purchased and the services of Dr. J. Travis Jenkins were obtained as Fishery Adviser to the Government. The scientific results of the work of this trawler (which was sold after two years, working) are very extensive and valuable, and though its activities did not result in immediate financial benefits, they have laid the basis for the intelligent exploitation of the fisheries resources of the Bay, when the men and money are forthcoming for such work. On the whole it may be said that Sir K. G. Gupta's and Mr. Ahmed's work gave a great impetus to fisheries work in Bengal, though it was not very long before its force died away.

Soon after the dissolution of the Board the Department of Fisheries, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was started, Mr. T. Southwell assuming the Directorship shortly after its inauguration. Mr. Southwell and his assistants did much useful scientific, piscicultural and propaganda work, though the adverse conditions under which the Department laboured precluded the possibility of any outstanding results being achieved. The last scientific Director was Dr. Bainsi Prasad, now Superintendent of the Zoological Survey of India. A half-hearted attempt was made to continue the department after Dr. Prasad's departure, but little or nothing was done, and in 1923 the Department was abolished as a "measure of economy." These are the words with which the Agricultural Commission has tempered its criticism of the present position; it did not reflect that even with a more or less bankrupt Government the question of economy does not arise where a well-run fisheries department is concerned.

This is the amazing position in which the richest province in India finds itself to-day. Yet, in spite of all the criticisms

which one may bring against the deceased Department of Fisheries in Bengal, it accomplished much work of real value. Between the years 1906 and 1914, the imports of fish into Calcutta showed a marked decline, Mr. Southwell remarking in 1915 that "the details given in the following pages clearly prove that the imports are decreasing materially year by year." At this time, (1914-15) the total imports were approximately 4,628 tons. but in 1917 they had risen to 11,638 tons, and in his report for that year Mr. Southwell rightly indicates that this increase is in a large measure due to the work of his department. The imports since then have been steadily increasing and in the last year (1922-23) for which I have figures they had reached 15,970 tons.

These are not the only considerations which should have prompted the Government to continue and expand the Department of Fisheries instead of abolishing it. The success of fisheries departments in other provinces should have showed that a fisheries department in Bengal could be equally successful. Madras has what is probably the best fisheries department in the Indo-Malayan region. It has done splendid research, it has organised and developed every aspect of the fisheries of the Presidency, it has inaugurated co-operative societies of fisheries to which good fisheries are leased, and its officers have done educational and socio-economic work even to the extent of lecturing fishermen on the evils of drink! Moreover though it is not run as a commercial undertaking (apparently a fatal policy for Government concerns), it is run efficiently, and the result is that the income has equalled and even exceeded the expenditure for many years. Even in the small Punjab Fisheries Department there is the same relation between income and expenditure, most of the income being derived from the revenue resulting from legislation.

On the whole the results prove that every fisheries department in the country, even when indifferently run, has been of material advantage to the area it serves. The Government should,

therefore, give their earliest attention not only to the reconstitution of the fisheries department in Bengal, but to the formation of an Imperial Fisheries Survey, as Mr. Ahmed recommended nearly twenty years ago. Patchwork will not do. Fishery Boards, or under-staffed, under-financed Provincial Departments, unrelated to each other, will not solve India's pressing fish problem. And even when properly staffed and financed, provincial departments involve considerable duplication and consequent wastage of money. We must, therefore, view with regret the Agricultural Commission's advice that "if the financial situation does not permit at present of the reconstitution of the (Bengal Fisheries) department, at least one officer possessed of the necessary qualifications should be placed on special duty to promote interest among local authorities....." Too much money has been wasted in India already on tentative experiments of this nature. What the country needs is an All-India Fisheries Department—well-equipped, well-staffed, well-financed—organised after a thorough investigation by experts into the fisheries resources of the country and of the best, co-ordinated and economical way of exploiting them. And if the real importance of the Indian Fisheries is realised a Commission of experts would be appointed to investigate them.

On the organisation of such a department I do not feel competent to speak, but it would seem that it should assimilate the Provincial Fisheries Departments, though they may be accorded the necessary degree of freedom and individuality. Its maintenance should not be heavy. The Madras Fisheries Department spends more than Rs. 3,00,000 per annum (income practically balancing expenditure) and if the facilities afforded by this Department be utilised, an expenditure (which should also be largely balanced by income) of a further Rs. 3,00,000 should give the country the beginnings of an ideal Fisheries Department. Of its work little need be said. It should be scientific, educative and administrative, and it should control and co-ordinate the work done in the provinces. The practical

fisheries work done in the provinces should be met from provincial budgets when the provincial revenues from fisheries taxation do not cover the expenditure. When such revenues exceed the expenditure they should be devoted to the development of the local fisheries at the discretion of the Director of the Survey. Given such a survey and the organised team work (instead of isolated pieces of research, done at the whim of particular workers and seldom properly completed) which it should inaugurate, and the capitalists such an organisation would encourage, it is not too optimistic to prophesy that India will become one of the richest fish-producing countries in the world, with Bengal holding pride of place among the provinces.

(References: It is neither possible nor necessary to give here all the references, such as the *Bulletins*, *Reports* and other publications of the Bengal, Punjab and Madras Fisheries Departments, which have been consulted, but it was felt that a few of the principal papers on which the above remarks are based should be recorded for the benefit of those who wish to pursue the matter further.)

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CEDRIC DOVER

TO RABINDRANATH

Thou noblest and the best in all the land
Oh! let me hail thee on this glorious day.
Recall thy happy muse for us to stand
And march along the wide and weary way.

Bewitching art and song of joy to pray
In fond the life and world by thine own hand,
Now, Master-poet and Prophet of Eastern band
Delighted we are to read in thee a lay;

Reminding deepest deep of beauty divine
An orient light of Ind on earth I see
No nobler poet than thee; in you combine

An art, wisdom and song itself to me;
Thou singer of truth; countryman of mine
Hollo! happier days I wish as happy be.

V. H. PANDIT

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

Introductory.

There are many phases of rural uplift work clamouring for attention but the scheme suggested in this brochure concentrates attention on two aspects only —and these not the least important —namely, increase of production and improvement in the working efficiency of the villager.

The scheme is adapted from a similar organization found in actual operation in parts of Japan where, under Government encouragement, a large measure of success has been achieved. Records of villages exist in that country which, under the operation of such a scheme, have increased their income five-fold or more in the course of twenty years. Progress under the scheme is measured from year to year by the gross earnings of the village population and schedules are prepared which enable single families, as well as the village population collectively, to think in figures and to provide themselves with the means of measuring their progress in comparison with their own past as well as with other neighbouring villages.

Agriculture is conducted in Japan on the principle of family management on a small scale and it plays the same important rôle as in India. The same handicaps, also, operate in both countries, namely, the small size of the holding, over-population and indebtedness, but in India there is in addition illiteracy which has deepened the impoverishment of the rural communities.

The rural population is at present the least able to help itself and on account of its overwhelming numbers, even a small improvement in its condition will mean a great gain to the country at large. The betterment of this population has become

without question one of the most outstanding problems of our time. The great growth of population revealed by the recent Census is a warning that the occasion demands a more vigorous programme of agricultural reform than any attempted in the past necessitating large organizations and strong popular support for its success.

Object of the Scheme.

According to the latest Census, India contains no less than 350 million inhabitants or about one-fifth of the entire population of the globe. The recorded figures show that 9 per cent. of this population is literate, 90 per cent. of it resides in rural areas and 73 per cent. earns its living from agriculture. The country is undeveloped in the modern sense; the population, though growing rapidly, continues to be predominantly rural. Whether due to the peculiar seasonal conditions, or because the country is not organised for the production of wealth, about one-fourth of the entire population, although capable of working, remains idle for the greater part of the year, and among the remaining number also there is an alarming amount of short employment. The result is, small output of work, disproportionately small production, low earning power, and poverty beyond any knowledge which Western nations have of it.

Of late years problems affecting the rural population are attracting attention and in many quarters a genuine interest is being evinced to improve the lot of the villager. Public-spirited citizens, Government officials, university professors, graduate volunteers and others are carrying on village surveys. A certain amount of statistical and other information has been gathered and illuminating reports have been written about village social and economic life. But action of a definite kind has been overdue for some time now. It is true, in a few places, particularly in the Punjab and in the Bombay Deccan, actual reconstruction of village life has also been attempted. But most of the work

done has been of the nature of investigation. The disease has been diagnosed but it has not been found easy to devise effective remedies. This is due to the inherent difficulties of the problem, and to the population being illiterate and lacking in initiative and power of co-operation. Some of the remedies suggested have been very elaborate, and for that reason they are not such as to promise appreciable results within a reasonable time. It is therefore thought necessary to sacrifice thoroughness, to some extent, if thereby the chances of introducing a workable scheme could be improved.

In what follows a rural improvement scheme suited to local conditions is outlined. The scheme aims at increasing income in villages by increasing production from agriculture, by extending subsidiary occupations and industries and by increasing the hours and output of work as practised by the village communities. It aims at progress by laying emphasis on production, in other words, by appealing to the self-interest of the villager. It attempts, at the same time, at increasing the working efficiency of the villager, by initiating a system of home discipline, by providing for vocational or occupational training and by extending educational facilities as widely as local resources might permit. While external aid is fully availed of, its primary object is to give full play to the villager's capacity for self-reliance and self-expression.

Village Improvement Association and Council.

To give the reader some idea of the agency required and the methods that will have to be followed in introducing the proposed scheme, it might be useful to describe the organization witnessed in one of the model villages of Japan. The village in question had an association consisting of the headmen of families in the area, or house-masters as they were locally called, for the purpose of increasing production and occupations and its material prosperity generally. This Association met twice a

year in Conference. At these Conferences, questions pertaining to the wants and desires of the village in respect of production and occupations, and to the funds and measures required to promote both, were considered and discussed and, with the assistance of the Council of the Association, a programme of work and budget of expenditure was drawn up. Enquiries showed that the expenditure was met by contributions from the members of the Association (*i.e.*, headmen of families), every farmer's family paying its share according to its estimated income or earning capacity.

The Conference carefully examined every measure suggested with a view to increasing production and income, whether from agriculture, subsidiary occupations, industries or service. Experienced leaders and business-men, who had studied rural problems, were invited from the neighbouring cities to advise the people how occupations might be multiplied, production increased and the prosperity of the village promoted. Lectures were delivered, discussions, fairs and exhibitions held, and the Conference was wound up by a visit to the village Shinto temple, where divine blessings were invoked on the undertakings initiated by the Association.

The Village Council with its elected Chairman, who is usually the village chief, and Vice-Chairman, who generally is the school-master, constituted the executive body of the Association. It usually met once a month to give practical effect to the policies and programmes of the half-yearly Conferences. This was attempted by distributing the work to be done among the village headmen and enlisting their close co-operation and also seeking advice and help, from persons of light and leading outside the village, whenever needed.

A similar Association with an executive committee and headman can be brought into existence, to serve the same purposes, with similar results, in any Indian village, or group of villages, whether situated in a British province or in an Indian State.

Village Unit.

According to the 1921 Census, the average population of an Indian village is about 418 persons.* Taking 4·9 persons per family, such a village should contain about 85 families. A village of this size will not have sufficient resources in men or money to carry on the work of the Village Improvement Association. But if the village contains, say, 500 families or more, it may be expected to provide the resources needed to work the scheme. Otherwise, in order to find the requisite number of qualified literate men and adequate funds for the purpose, it will be necessary to form a circle of, say, 4 to 6 villages into a Union (if the villages are of the size of the average Indian village mentioned) and to make the central village in the circle its head-quarters.

A similar measure was adopted in Japan in order to render village administration efficient. Formerly there were 70,000 distinct villages and hamlets in that country. That number is still there, but by grouping them for administrative purposes in the manner explained, the number of rural administrative units has been brought down to about 12,000.

Where a number of villages or hamlets are grouped together in this way, the Central Council appoints separate local representatives for each village or hamlet to carry on the duties with the aid of the executive staff of the Association.

The house or family is the unit recognised in Japan for the purpose of estimating the produce and income and for supplying the funds needed to maintain the staff and activities of the Association. The same unit will be most appropriate for the conditions of India. The headman of each family, or any

* The average population of a village for India as a whole is 418 persons; that of a village in the Bombay Presidency is 562; in the Madras Presidency 710; in the Bengal Presidency 512; and in the Indian State of Mysore 309.

member of the family who administers its affairs, should, as in Japan, be held responsible by the Association and by public opinion, for contributing the family's fair share of the work and expenses of the Village Improvement Association.

Uplift Work in Isolated Villages and Hamlets.

Although in the great majority of cases it will be necessary to adopt the village union system just described, yet the scheme can be introduced into, and worked in, any individual village or hamlet, however small. But in such cases, it is necessary that the responsibility for working the scheme should be shouldered by an influential *inamdar*, headman or leader, who understands the scheme and who, at the same time, enjoys the confidence of the people of the village and has sufficient strength of purpose to persevere until substantial results are achieved.

Statistics of Production and Income.

The improvement in earning power or the well-being of a farmer's family, or of a village as a whole, from year to year, should be gauged by the increase in his or its income, which again should be regularly estimated or valued. The income of a farmer's family will depend on the nature and variety of the occupations pursued by himself and the members of his household. It usually falls under three heads :—

- (1) Agricultural produce,
- (2) Products of subsidiary occupations and minor industries, and
- (3) Income from labour or service : all other miscellaneous incomes.

Under each of these heads, particulars should be given of the quantities or amounts and values of the products, services, etc., as far as available, though values should be given in every case.

The family Income Register (*vide* Table I) should be filled in by the headman of the family himself or by a house-to-house enquiry conducted by an official of the Association.

The income may consist of the produce of the fields cultivated by the family, the products of home industries and occupations, the proceeds of sale of milk and milk products and vegetables and other sundry produce, money earned by plying carts for hire, wages of labour or service rendered to people within or outside the village, and other sources. Income from investments, remittances from family members residing abroad and every other source should be similarly ascertained and brought into account in the Family Income Register (Table I).

The amount of income earned from every source is totalled up for each family and the aggregate income of the village is then obtained by adding together the incomes of all the families. From this total should be deducted the value of services rendered to people residing within the village. The net total arrived at in this way will represent, as near as can be, the gross income of the village. This should be recorded in the village Income Register (see Table II).

This table is intended to register in reasonable detail the quantities and values of each of the principal crops, products and services which, in their aggregate, will represent the entire production and income of the village during the year. The total quantity of any particular commodity produced in it in any year will thus be available for comparison with corresponding production in subsequent years.

The figure representing the village income in rupees, divided by the number of families, will give the average income per family; the same figure divided by the number of persons in the village, will represent the average income per head of the village population. These results should be also exhibited in Table II.

To serve the purpose of a ready test, especially as to whether the village is *gaining or losing in production and prosperity*, the total income should be recorded from year to year for a series of

years in the Progress Register (Table III). This table is also designed to include statistics of progress in education, culture and discipline as explained below.

The officials of the Village Association should prepare these tables under outside or expert supervision for a few years. The headman of each family should be induced to prepare the Family Income Register (Table I) himself, if he can, with the aid of the officials of the Village Improvement Association. Otherwise, it should be prepared by the officials themselves from year to year, where necessary, with the help of persons in the confidence of the family, and the results embodied in Table II. Tables II and III should be preserved as a permanent record in the Village Office and copies of the same exhibited in the village hall (or *chavdi*) for public information.

Ways of Increasing Production and Income.

The Village Association should carry on propaganda to educate the people in rural economics. When the villagers begin to realize the significance of the figures given in the Tables, they may be expected to change their present wholly conservative outlook and try new ways of increasing production and income, and economising expenditure.

Production from agriculture may be increased by increasing the area cultivated ; by extending irrigation from tanks, canals and wells ; by consolidating holdings ; by providing special credit facilities ; by growing more profitable crops, such as commercial and fruit crops ; by using better seed and manure, including where necessary green manure ; by removing insect pests ; and generally by practising scientific methods and co-operative principle both in cultivation and finance.

The subsidiary occupations and minor industries that may be encouraged are : hand-spinning and weaving, silk reeling, carpentry, smithing, leather-work, pottery, brick and tile-making, carpets, mat, basket and rope manufacture, live-stock improvement, fishing and the like. Besides these age-old known

industries, the newer home industries practised abroad which are more profitable and which require a knowledge of science and special skill should be introduced, gradually or rapidly, according to the diligence and enterprise shown by the village community concerned.

Under labour and service will come hiring tools and machinery, farm and domestic service, plying carts for hire, collection and sale of manure and fuel and such other pursuits.

When the economic implications of rural occupations are better understood, the farmers might be expected to start on a career of reform. They may learn to produce, locally, as far as they can, the greater part of the commodities they consume and to manufacture finished products for sale. They may learn to reduce the cost of farm operations by sharing the use of each other's bullocks, farm tools, and personal labour on the co-operative principle. They will also learn to diversify the industries and occupations, according to the special resources and conditions of each locality, instead of carrying on the same on a monotonous scale for every village group or unit.

Profiting by Comparison.

The data thus collected may be compiled also into charts or graphs in a form which may carry conviction to the villager, and hung up in the village hall or office as is done in the villages of Japan. Records of the kind exhibited in Tables II and III would indicate to the intelligent villager at what rates the production and income of his village have varied in the past and what causes have contributed to such variation. The longer the period for which the records are maintained, the clearer will be the past history of the village in material prosperity. In some Japanese villages such records are available for 25 years or more, showing the importance which the practical Japanese nation attached, early in their career of reform, to the measures calculated to promote the economic well-being of its rural population.

By comparing the results from year to year in this way and the same with those of their neighbours, the people of the village will know not only at what rate they have progressed with reference to their own past but also how they are faring relatively to other villages. The knowledge, thus derived, would create a spirit of healthy rivalry and enterprise among them, to put their opportunities, capacity and resources to the fullest use.

Improving the Working Capacity of the Villager.

The adult persons of a village will become efficient working and earning members of their respective families if they are instructed in the 3 R's and taught habits of steady work, industry and thrift. These habits should be inculcated by means of school lessons, other forms of propaganda and lectures. The responsibility for this would rest jointly on the Government agencies in control of education and on the headmen of families, immediately concerned, who would be the persons to benefit most by maintaining a high level of working efficiency among the members of their households. The Village Improvement Association should maintain the necessary propaganda to ensure that heads of families take active steps and do their duty faithfully by the village in this respect.

The first measure needed in this connection is home discipline to train the body, the mind and the character of the villager, and to educate him in practices of self-reliance and self-help. The requisite training would fall mainly under the three following heads :—

(1) Every adult member of the family should be induced to work for about 8 hours a day and 6 days in the week. The task and hours of work may be varied according to age, state of health, working capacity of each member and the time of the year. When the work is light, the hours may be longer. In the busy season, the agriculturist has to work from early dawn till late in the evening or, as is said in Japan, from

star to star. If only the farm population acquires the habit of a regular 8 hours gainful occupation in the slack season, that single acquisition alone may prove the salvation of the community.

(2) Every member of the family should be instructed to cultivate the saving habit so that the family may at no time fall into debt for unproductive expenditure. Experience shows that it is easy to earn a rupee—hard to save one. The ignorant villager is badly in need of lessons in thrift as he is often so improvident as to barter away even his land—his only source of livelihood—to meet the expenses of a social function, like a marriage or a funeral.

(3) The qualities of frankness and trustfulness should be specially fostered so as to remove the prevailing distrust, and apathy born of distrust, and to promote teamwork and brotherliness between neighbours. At harvest time and in emergencies, the cultivators do help one another even now, but a closer and more deliberately planned co-operation in many more fields of endeavour, bringing manifold benefits with it, is possible, and it can only come by special instruction, exhortation and example.

A second measure necessary to increase the number of earning members in village families is to make provision for the giving of manual and business training, and instruction in some trade, occupation or profession. Now-a-days innumerable subjects come under the dominion of training. Vocational training has been a neglected feature of Indian life everywhere hitherto, and special provision will have to be made by the Village Improvement Association and the Government jointly to meet this need in future. In this connection it may be mentioned that the village population in Japan is placed in close touch with model farms and agricultural machinery. Agricultural courses are given in the villages in classes which are held at night time except in the busy season. Village industries are encouraged by subventions from the Village Council, the District, Prefecture or the State according to circumstances.

A third measure is education. Although treated as a subsidiary measure in connection with the uplift scheme, yet it must be recognized that education is the root of all progress. Government maintain educational institutions to a certain extent and the Village Improvement Association should add to the facilities when and where it can. In the Japanese villages, nearly 60 per cent. of the local taxes is spent on educational institutions in the village itself.

It is not proposed to enter into the details of these measures beyond stating that every effort should be made to increase facilities by providing night classes, reading rooms, travelling schools, weekly or other village meetings and classes and societies and clubs for professional training. At a later stage radios, cinemas and lectures by broadcasting may come in. Adult classes should be specially encouraged as a speedy means of spreading literacy. The responsibility for extending education and training to prepare men and women for industrial and business careers rests on every one concerned—Government departments, Village Improvement Associations of the kind referred to above, and philanthropists and public-spirited citizens.

A record of the progress achieved in family discipline, occupational training and general education may be included in the Progress Register of Income and Education already mentioned (see Table III).

Relations with other Local Organizations and with Government.

The main thing to secure under this scheme is *increase of income*. If this is assured, the people will be better able to provide for all village services and amenities. The Village Improvement Association should accordingly confine its attention to problems and activities connected with *production and income* and to the training needed for that purpose. The ordinary administrative functions of the village should be left to the

existing official agencies and kept quite distinct. If it is thought that any of the other village services such as road maintenance, conservancy or water-supply should also be entrusted to local unions or self-governing bodies, other rural voluntary associations or committees may be separately formed for the purpose as is the common practice in Japan. In every village in parts of Japan, there is an education society, a young men's association, a girls' society, an agricultural association and an industrial association of some kind or other. In some villages there are also an irrigation association, a credit association, selling association, producing association, purchasers' guild, and so on. Army people when they return to their village usually form an association of their own for local military men.

In India similar associations may be formed, wherever needed, if there is sufficient local enterprise for the purpose, but the duties of the Village Improvement Association proposed should not on any account be enlarged to embrace such services.

Under the Japanese law, Village Unions may be formed voluntarily for any joint purpose and they are made to function through elected councils. The Village Improvement Association referred to in this note presumably comes under this category. The suggested Village Improvement Association in India may include in its working agency the officials of the Village Government also, but the Association, to be successful, should be built up and maintained by the voluntary effort of the people themselves. It should receive every help, advice and encouragement from Government but should function *independently*, that is, be as little dependent as possible on official initiative. But with liberal encouragement from Government, such a scheme can go forward on a mass-movement scale.

It may be of interest to state in this connection that Village Government in Japan, which consists of a Village Council of 8 to 12 persons chosen by the people themselves, has wide discretionary powers. The office of headman is usually honorary and he is elected by the Council. District officials, such as,

Inspectors of Agriculture, Industries and Sanitation, working under the Prefectural Governors, visit the rural areas from time to time to *advise* the village officials in the execution of their duties. The Village Council collects the State as well as local taxes and has control of roads, elementary education, registration, conscription, water-supply, sanitation and other services.

When the Provincial Governments in India become autonomous, as they are shortly expected to be, the very first step to be taken in the interests of the rural population should be to grant self-government to villages in a liberal measure similar to that functioning in Japan. Self-governing villages would soon create a much-needed spirit of self-help and constructive effort among the local population leading to healthy developments in every sphere of activity,—economic, social, cultural, recreational and the like.

Inauguration of the Scheme.

Some of the model villages in Japan owe their business success and prosperity to the exertions of leading citizens who took up village uplift work as a matter of patriotic public duty. These men organized village associations, prepared improvement schemes and rules for operating them, and watched the progress of the schemes from stage to stage till the village folk acquired sufficient experience and enthusiasm to carry on the duties themselves without outside help.

In this country also the guidance and help of such leaders—public-spirited men, *inamdars*, local headmen and businessmen—will be needed for the introduction of the scheme at the commencement. For each individual village or village group to begin with, the services of such a leader who understands the general principles and full implications of the scheme will be invaluable. The scheme affords an opportunity to leaders who have a passion to serve the people, and there are many such now-a-days. After some experience one such leader will be

able to guide the movement over a dozen or more units with the aid of volunteers. If the movement extends, arrangements may be made to give a six-months' training to volunteers in an institution specially started for the purpose. In course of time men, fired with missionary zeal and competent to serve as volunteers, will come forward from the local areas themselves and the neighbouring Taluka towns. Under the scheme, young men who start work as volunteers may begin work with a bare allowance, just sufficient to cover their maintenance, and may be expected later to create for themselves and the population around new sources of profitable employment on village agriculture and industries. The need to harness literate young men to rural work is admittedly great. The Universities of India are making available young men of discipline and culture in large numbers and it seems justifiable to use them to a reasonable extent on betterment work in the rural areas of the country.

If the subject is taken up on a mass-movement scale with the support of Government, there should be a Central Advisory Association and Council consisting of members of the provincial legislature, Government officials, leading agriculturists and business-men, established at the headquarters of every Province or State, to guide the movement. Such a Council will be also able, with the help of this movement, to establish new industries and occupation and reduce unemployment in the country.

Summary and Conclusion.

The primary object of the scheme adumbrated above is in the first instance to increase production and income in villages and next to make a better worker and citizen of the villager. The agency to work the scheme will be the Village Improvement Association consisting of heads or principal members of families residing in the village or villages comprising the unit (or circle). The executive work of the Association will be attended to by a

Council of 7 to 12 members and a head-man elected by the Association. One or more literate men, chosen where possible from the village itself, will be utilized for the clerical duties of the Association. The village unit will consist of one large village or a group (or circle) of several small villages, so chosen as to contain a sufficient number of families (usually not less than 500) and so constituted as to be capable of providing the necessary staff and activities of the Village Improvement Association from its own resources. Single villages and hamlets may also be brought under the operation of the scheme with appropriate variations in procedure, to attain the same objects, but in that case the uplift work should be under the direction of an influential citizen or agency in whom the villagers concerned are willing to confide. The Association will meet in Conference twice a year, or oftener when necessary, to consider and put into practice the various measures needed for increasing production and income. At these Conferences, the provision of facilities for elementary education, occupational training, lectures and other forms of propaganda to foster home discipline, will all come under review. The Council will prepare three Abstract Registers or Tables (see tabular statements appended) to record each year's work. Two of these, namely, Tables II and III, will be posted in the Village Chavdi or Office. These will furnish a much-needed record of the economic and cultural progress of the village unit, from year to year.

Such in brief are the principal features of the scheme. It is not claimed that the scheme is logically perfect. Gross income is taken as the test of progress, though the real test should be the net income, if it could be ascertained by a study of the receipts, expenditure, indebtedness and other special features of village social life. Net income may also be shown in the Tables wherever there is sufficient enterprise to make the necessary calculations and arrive at fairly reliable figures. Valuation of property is another test. But experience has shown that where calculations of this nature are attempted,

the problem becomes too abstruse and, for all practical purposes, insoluble. Gross income would give a rough idea of the growth or decline in prosperity and for the present this single test should suffice. To attempt further refinements would be to court failure.

Increase of production is proposed because that was what every country in Europe attempted while in straitened circumstances after the War. Discipline and vocational training are urged because their equipment, so necessary for material success, has never had a fair chance till now. Stress is laid on education because it is an indispensable instrument for progress of every kind. And organization on modern lines is advocated since nothing great or enduring can be accomplished without it. The Tables serve as a yard-stick for valuing income and measuring its growth from year to year.

It would be easy to visualise the scheme by remembering that it consists in substance in accounting for *three* sources of income and providing for *three* classes of training for the villager; and in the preparation of *three* Tabular statements at the close of the year to give a record or picture of the material condition of the village or village unit.

The scheme is put forward in a concrete shape, and every phase of it is clearly defined to admit of easy adoption and speedy practical action. Where any part of it is found difficult to grasp or practise, a trial should be given all the same, and the difficulties will be found to diminish gradually by repetition and familiarity.

Government encouragement would always be necessary for a wealth-producing progressive scheme of this nature. If it is given in the current spirit of encouraging self-help and self-improvement among the people, it will be easy to work the scheme on a mass-movement scale. So worked, it will be possible to develop a fervour for reform, even among the illiterate and the ignorant, which cannot fail to bring with it in a decade or so, benefits that under existing conditions might take half a century or more.

TABULAR STATEMENTS

TABLE I.

Family Income Register.

Village.....Taluk.....District for the year

Number of Family	...	...	...	...
Name of Head of Family	...	...	...	...
Number of persons in the Family—				
Men	...	...	...	2
Women	...	...	...	4
Children—				
Boys	...	...	...	2
Girls	...	...	...	1
Total			...	9

Name of Product or Source of Income.	Quantity.	Value.	REMARKS.
	Mds.	Rs.	
1. <i>Agricultural Produce—</i>			
Jowar	33	264	Average per family = Rs. 72.
Bajri	1½	14	
Wheat	10	50	
Cotton	...	40	
Kadbi (fodder)...	...	80	
All other Produce	...	...
2. <i>Products of subsidiary occupations and minor Industries...</i>	...	120	
3. <i>Service : Other Miscellaneous Income—</i>			
(1) Earnings from outside the village	...	84	
(2) Earnings from within the village	...	...
TOTAL INCOME	...	652	

Note.—The figures in this schedule are taken from an actual survey of a village in the Bombay Deccan.

TABLE II.

Village Income Register.

.....Village.....	Taluk.....	District for the year 1929-30.
Area	2,018 Acres (of which 134 are uncultivated).	
Number of Families	103	
Population—		
Men ... ..	...	159
Women ... ..	...	148
Children ... ..	...	224
Total	531	

Item.	Name of Products, etc.	Quantity.	Value.	REMARKS.
1	<i>Agricultural Produce—</i>	M ls.	Ra.	Ra.
	1. Cotton	5,724	29,812	Total Income— 53,818
	2. Jowar	9,264	17,370	Average Income per family— 571
	3. Wheat	504	1,766	Average income per head of population— 111
	4. Lang	2,912	3,368	
	5. Toor	72	198	
	6. Rice	96	144	
	7. Wal	132	330	
	8. Tal	402	1,708	
	9. Miscellaneous Cereals	12	42	
	10. Grass	1,63,000 bundles.	4,080	
2	<i>Income from subsidiary occupations and Industries—</i> (Details to be entered here.)			
3	<i>Service : Other Miscellaneous Income—</i> Earnings from labour, carts, etc., supplied to people outside the village. (Details to be entered here.)			
	TOTAL INCOME ...		53,818	

Notes.—(1) The figures given in this table are based on a rough investigation made in Bombay Gujrat in connection with the recent Banking Enquiry.

(2) No details are given under heads 2 and 3 presumably because those sources were not investigated.

TABLE III.
Progress Register.

..Village.....Taluk.....District for the year 1929-30.

(A) RECORD OF PROGRESS IN INCOME (1).

Year.	Total Income of Village.	Number of families.	Average Income per family.	Total Village Population.	Income per head of Population.	REMARKS.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
1928-29 ...	38,735	105	368·9	515	75·2	.
1929-30 ...	42 660	111	384·3	540	79	
1930-31 ...	53,429	117	456·6	581	91·9	
1931-32 ...						
1932-33 ...						

(B) RECORDS OF PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND HOME DISCIPLINE.

Particulars.	Number.	REMARKS. (2)
Number of families		
Population of Village—		
Males		
Females		
Children		
Persons able to read and write		
Males		
Females		
Total		
Children of School age		
Males		
Females		
Total		
Children actually attending School—		
Males		
Females		
Total		
Adults attending educational institutions—		
Males		
Females		
Total		
Number of families giving attention to training in Home Discipline... ..		
Number of Persons undergoing training in some Occupation or Profession—		
Males		
Women... ..		
Boys		
Girls		

Note.—(1) The figures entered in this table are merely illustrative.

(2) Provision made for general education and vocational training, etc., should be entered in the "Remarks" column.

M. VISVESVARAYA

LIGHT THOUGHTS

Dreams may live a day, Dear,
Or, may be, a year,
Then they drift away, Dear,
Obscurely disappear.
Some hold all the passion,
Of a lover's sphere,
Some we weave and fashion
From a smile—or tear.
But there are dreams to cherish
Deep in my longing heart,
That will not fade or perish,
They are of you—Sweetheart !

Dreams made from your eyes, Dear,
From your lips and cheek,
From your pleased surprise, Dear,
At some fond words I speak.
From your sweet caresses
I have built a throne,
These, my dreams, God blesses,
A king would proudly own.
Then, in a blaze of wonder,
(Would it but happen now)
I'll feel there as I ponder
Your lips upon my brow !

LELAND J. BERRY

WILLIAM JEARSEY

William Jearsey had the distinction of being one of the most turbulent servants that the East India Company had in its service. For sixteen years or more, no despatch going between Fort. St. George and the Directors was complete, if it did not contain at least one complaint against William Jearsey. There is something fascinating in the personality of this man. He had an amazing individuality and independence of spirit. He never did a single thing that he was asked to do or stopped doing what was forbidden. The Company displayed astounding impotency in dealing with this man.

His early life is obscure. He was a native of Herts, ran away from home early in life, wandered about freely and widely, and finally worked his way to India.

In 1653 he became the chief at Siriam, the Company's settlement at Pegu. His first collision with the Company occurred two years later. In 1655 the Court decided to close down all the factories subordinate to Fort. St. George. Accordingly, the factors of these small factories were asked to wind up and return to Madras. This order was promptly obeyed by all except William Jearsey. His indifference irritated the Council who wrote complaining of him to England. This was probably the first of a series that was to continue for sixteen years or more. The Court replied hoping that the Council would "not only exact a reason but also enforce him to make satisfaction for these his irregular courses." The irregular courses were: Jearsey's indifference to the Council's note ordering him to leave Siriam; his taking his passage on *Expedition* when he was definitely ordered to take some other ship; and his liberal use of the Company's money that he had on hand.

After this, his connections with the Company were severed, and he lived as a "freeman" in Madras. There he continually harassed the Council and earned a name for fiery temper. The despatches from Fort St. George contained abundant references to his insolence. Somehow the Court began to think well of him again, and he was reinstated as the chief at Masulipatam. The Council at Fort St. George realised that it was less uncomfortable to have Jearsey in the Company's service than out of it.

In 1662 he assumed office in Masulipatam, and commenced in earnest his tempestuous career of gathering enemies on all sides. He had hardly completed two years of office when a long list of his misdoings reached the Directors. The charges against him were remarkable for variety and number. He was reported to have done everything that the Court had forbidden him to do. He had given commission to the "Moores," he had neglected to receive freight from certain ships that he specially favoured, and above all he was making enormous profits from private trading when both private trading and profit-making stood penalised. He was also accused of encouraging ungodliness. "And in general his proceedings in the companies, affairs were Unjust and Irregular."

So far Jearsey had not lost his favour with the Directors at home. But in 1669 they sent a long letter embodying an elaborate analysis of Jearsey's sins: "... And for as much as we are informed that Mr. William Jearsey hath contemned our Orders, and permitted gross prophanness, and scandalous vices to be practized in our Factorie at Mesulapatam, to the dishonor of God and discredit of the Protestant religion, and hath carried on a trade not in India only, but promoted the same, out and home, overrating our goods, and making use of our stock for his own private advantage and finding that he hath made verie short returnes of what is come to his hands, and hath neglected to send us his accompts, and advices of his proceedings. ." The letter concluded with the instructions that if Jearsey would give the Company that vague thing "satisfaction" he might be

allowed to remain in India for a year or two. If not his goods were to be seized and sold, and he was to be sent home by the next ship. This was more easily said than done. In fact it was not done at all. It was not in Jearsey's power to give them what they called "satisfaction," and as for leaving India, he gave it no thought at all.

When news of Jearsey's dismissal reached Fort St. George Mr. Mohun, the new chief, started for Masulipatam. As soon as he arrived, Jearsey resigned and handed over the keys of the godowns. Mohun found that the godowns were "cleared of all manner of goods whatever,...clean swept and fit to receive goods.... The outhouses were all destitute of any Moveables" So much for the goods entrusted to Jearsey's care while he was in office. Then Mohun set about examining the account books and papers. When Mohun called for them, Jearsey vouchsafed him only a vague verbal answer that he would have it soon.

On 16th July Mohun wrote to Fort St. George in great bitterness, "Hee (Mr. Jearsey) hath promised us that wee shall receive his Accounts. In our last unto you wee did Mr. Jearsey some injury which was not soe intended for whereas wee did declare hee had left the Company nothing, wee now finde the contrary, for hee hath left a horse..."

Months later Jearsey was still indefinite about his accounts. In December he frankly confessed "that there were none, and that there had been none." But he offered Mohun some loose and scrappy memorials, diaries, and papers, which according to him would make up for the books. At last Mohun threatened to seize Jearsey's estate.

Towards the end of December they were able to get some books. Mohun seized some of Jearsey's ships, but could do nothing more. He viewed with dismay the immense influence that Jearsey wielded over all and sundry in Masulipatam. Mohun was actually afraid of him. In February 1671 Jearsey received this from Mohun and his subordinates: "Whereas you have taken little or no notice of our protest bearing date the 22nd

January and Ditto of the 24th following..... But have since caused many and great Agrevations by Contemning the Honble. Companys authority and despising us their Servants, having for three Dayes together beaten our Peons publickly in the streets..." He was also accused of writing to the Governor and others directly, ignoring Mohun, his immediate superior. He was also accused of taking away forcibly "300 Ps Longe Cloth" from Mohun's washermen.

Jearsey arrived in Fort St. George in April. The letter which followed him from Mohun to the Agent contained a long account of Jearsey's exit, which he had done as ceremoniously as he could, with colours flying, drums beating, trumpets and pipes playing, and a regiment of his own guard following him. In a general letter to the Court Mohun wrote that Jearsey had converted his house into a garrison, always surrounded by armed peons, with seldom less than eight or ten loaded pistols and blunderbusses on his table.

Jearsey occupied the house in Fort St. George known as "Agent Greenhill's," one of the biggest buildings in the place. A year later, he proceeded to add to his house and raise another building higher than what law permitted. Permission from authorities was neither sought nor given. They protested against it and tried to prevent him from raising the new building. As usual Jearsey recognized no law higher than himself. The authorities waited till Jearsey completed the building, and then decreed that it should not go higher.

Five years after his dismissal Jearsey was still blissfully indifferent to the demand for his account books. The Directors blamed their servants at Fort St. George for the delay, and ordered them to pack Jearsey home immediately. But subsequently they relented and graciously permitted Jearsey to stay in India for a year more on condition that he sent them 2,000 pagodas and "Callicoes etc." They were reckoning without their host. Jearsey took scant notice of this alternate offer. As for sending them 2,000 pagodas, he discomfited the Company by

reminding them that they had in their hands a far greater sum, which Mohun had seized from himself. He wrote that he would be much obliged to them if they would make an early settlement of his accounts by sending him the balance after, if they were so keen upon it, deducting 2,000 pagodas! As for taking in good grace the alternative of staying in or leaving India, he probably made no comment at that time. He neither thanked them nor cursed them for it. But it is significant that even in 1690, we see old Jearsey contemplating the serene grey walls of Fort St. George. He was still enjoying the salubrious air of Madras. And this in spite of the fact that the Honourable Company graciously sanctioned him a year more of stay in 1674!

The Directors were an optimistic lot. They made their demands for Jearsey's accounts and departure for England an annual affair. In 1675 they expressed their surprise at Jearsey's indifference. And again next year they were disposed to be satisfied with the scanty papers, memorials, diaries, etc. "By them Mr. Jearsey appears to be a very great debtor."

By 1677 we find a distinct change in the tone of the letters from England. The Directors' zeal to bring Jearsey to account was on the wane. As time went on their notes lacked conviction or fervour.

Meanwhile, Jearsey was very well off in Madras, a flourishing owner of many ships carrying on vigorous trade, forbidden and otherwise, on all sides. In addition to this that existence may be complete with the picture of a domestic idyll in the background, he chose a Dutch woman after his heart, for life partnership. His name is to be found in the list of "freemen" living in Fort St. George "Madraspatnam." He was living the merchant proper by attending to his social duties also. His name was among the first few prominent contributors to a fund for building a church.

In 1686 the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Directors that they might be empowered to investigate into Jearsey's affairs themselves, as waiting for him to go to England

would be indefinite. The Directors sanctioned this saying that they would be satisfied if copies of the proceedings were sent to them.

On the 30th September 1686 Jearsey was "discoursed about his Accompts," and on the 4th October he "delivered an answer to every Article in the Cos. charges against him." He vehemently repudiated the charge that he had in any way misused the Company's money. He admitted that he had traded privately but it was long before private trading was declared illegal. And moreover there was no proof of his private enterprises, the books concerned being strangely absent. On this the Council wrote, "And there appearing no proof thereof nor indeed of any part of his charge (neither can itt be expected that hereafter any further proof should be made against him itt being so long agoe, and most if not all persons dead, ~~that~~ were privy to the transactions of those times)." The words within the brackets contain a pathetic admission. The upshot of the trial was, Jearsey and the Company were to cry quits on the following conditions: Jearsey was to receive 3,000 pagodas (though he demurred and demanded the whole amount with interest) from the Company in settlement of his account, and sign a formal release from all obligations to the Company. Jearsey's early history does not show that he had owned any at that time. And so this signing of release must have made little difference to him. On the other hand there is every reason to believe that the Company breathed more freely after this settlement and felt free to devote its time and energy to more useful things than William Jearsey.

The news of this settlement had not yet reached the Directors; they were already tuning for the finale in their despatch of January 1687, "We know not what end you have made with Mr. Jerzie, or why you and he should of late be so pressing for their leaving it to you, to make an end of that busyness which he delayed so many years before, and always made some excuse or other by himself.....But upon the whole we are very confident, if right were done, he would be found greatly in our debt,

one instance whereof you will find in the enclosed letter to Mr. Johnson's father (December 1662), wherein you will see what a Hector Mr. Jearsey was in those dayes and how liberally he carved for himself,.....out of everyman's estates : And therefore we can the less think he spared the Companies.''

Jearsey lived on peacefully as a freeman in Fort. St. George. His wife went two years in advance of him to the grave. In December 1690 the life of this unique figure came to a close. Truly, the Company must have heaved a long sigh of relief after his death. In 1699 his house was bought up by the Company. There seems to be an element of revenge, though belated, in this act. For, they soon converted it into a granary and godown.

R. K. KUNJAPPA

TEARS OF AGES

Our virgin widows' woes and groans,
Of countless souls, of countless years,
Hang o'er this sacred, ancient land,
Like gloomy clouds, so thick with tears.

What boots our boasted, beauteous thoughts?
What boots our sages heav'nly sent?
Have we a heart that feeleth deep,
For souls, so simple, innocent?

Our selfish priests and pandits proud,
Are hard-hearted and haughty-headed ;
Are stumbling blocks and mumbling bores,
To hopeless orthodoxy wedded.

When shall our wretched laws be off?
When shall our cursed customs go?
Let them be free, let them be wed,
Let them with holy freedom glow.

S. R. AYYAR

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY BANK OF BOMBAY

(Based on manuscript records of the Government of Bombay)

Great credit is due to Mr. G. P. Symes Scutt for chronicling the main events for the early history of the Bank of Bengal with some degree of accuracy and completeness. But there is unfortunately no detailed statement of the history of the Presidency Bank of Bombay. A pamphlet entitled "the late Government Bank of Bombay" which an anonymous writer wrote in 1868 devotes great attention to the fortunes of the Bank in the second decade of the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the early history of the Bank from 1840 to 1857, which is considered uneventful by the present writer, is often passed over in silence and the historians of banking have failed to draw successful lessons from the events of this period. While all unessential and prolix details are omitted, the most important events are referred to. Throughout the narrative the object has been to secure lessons from its early history which would be of great service to the existing banking institutions.

The conditions leading to the establishment of the Bank of Bombay are not generally stated in detail.¹ Firstly, there was the commercial necessity. The trade of the city increased and was almost "of the same magnitude as that of Calcutta." The starting of a bank would still further increase the commerce of the city by extending discounting facilities. The moneyed interests of the city monopolised the commerce of the place and lent on all manners of securities, good, bad,

¹ See the Report of the Meeting held at the office of Messrs. Skinner & Co. on 26th December, 1836. A copy of the printed report issued by the Provisional Committee of Shareholders is carefully preserved in the Government Record Office.

and indifferent and even such securities were of doubtful value as *Respondentia* were accepted as collateral for loans. The other object was the breaking up of the monopoly of this moneyed interest and the rendering unnecessary of the use of metallic currency (silver rupees) for making large payments which meant loss of time and heavy loss of money incurred as shroffage, custody and transport of the same. The recent withdrawal of the privilege of making deposits in the treasury already alluded to necessitated the opening of a bank which would render similar service of keeping deposits in safe custody and grant them facilities for making transfers in the same manner as the treasury did. The facilitating and rendering more secure the money transactions and remittances of the people were the sole motives of the promoters of the bank. Thus the commercial needs of the city preceded practically the creation of the bank. But other circumstances also aided the people of Bombay and made the Government of Bombay fall in with the wishes of the founders of the scheme. The sister Presidencies of Bengal as well as Madras had successful banks operating in their midst and even at Agra, the local bank was conducting business successfully. So it was considered that circumstances were ripe enough to permit the creation of a Bank in Bombay. Another cogent reason which had some weight and turned the scale practically in the formation of a bank was the anxiety felt by the people of the locality and shared to some extent by the Government to prevent foreign banks started either by the capitalists of London or Calcutta from obtaining the control and superintendence of the monetary transactions of the Island and conducting them in a manner prejudicial to the genuine interests of the people of the locality. It was more or less a defensive move on their part which they had to undertake as soon as they heard of the plan of the East India Bank, established 1836.

But the leading mercantile houses began to openly avow their hostility to the above scheme. Anxious to defeat the

proposal, they promptly wrote to the Government agreeing to lodge their money in the treasury for Government promissory notes payable on demand.¹ They also hinted the possibility of private capital being invested in the treasury notes. They tried to scare away the Government by repeating the imaginary difficulties that would have to be encountered in the circulation "of paper money and prophesied that great evils would follow out of the circulation of bank notes." They quoted exultingly "the failures of banks set up by the Agency Houses at Calcutta" and wanted the Government not to inflict such tragic circumstances on the people of Bombay. But these misguided efforts proved a failure. The wants of the society preceded practically the creation of a bank and the conditions of the city were so ripe that all attempts at postponing the establishment of the bank proved futile.

But the Bombay Government, which experienced great difficulty in issuing treasury notes naturally did not pay much heed to the false and interested reasoning on the part of the Bombay merchant houses. Not only did they remember their own sad experience in the matter of the treasury notes issued in 1825 and 1827² but they were convinced that very little capital would be invested by the private capitalists. Realising the success of the Chartered Bank of Bengal it naturally felt that there was not much real danger in the circulation of bank notes provided the charter regulations were followed both in letter as well as in spirit. Being convinced of the possibility of successfully conducting the banking institution, the Bombay Government turned a deaf ear to the

¹ See their letter, dated 24th December 1836, preserved in the Financial Department. Messrs. Forbes & Co., Remington and Co., Jameshedjee Jeejeebhoy and Co., and others signed the above memorial.

² In 1825 treasury notes were issued bearing interest at six and half per cent. rate of interest and in 1827 at five per cent. per diem. As the General treasury was always enjoying low cash balances it found great trouble in arranging for the repayment of the treasury notes even at the end of twelve months for which they were floated.

merchants' memorial and supported whole-heartedly the arrangements for creating a chartered bank on the model of the Bank of Bengal for which the Provisional Committee of Shareholders endeavoured to secure sanction from the Suprême Government of India.

The proposed charter of the Bank of Bombay was sent to the Supreme Government for confirmation and Mr. R. Grant who was the Secretary to the Government of India promptly took exception to the suggestion of granting the power to open branches which privilege was not originally granted to the Bank of Bengal at the time of its initial starting as a Chartered Bank in 1809.¹

Though the bank was first planned in 1837,² the bank could not secure its final charter till 1840 and as the causes leading to this delay have been pointed out already by other writers, much need not be stated of the same. Being a Chartered³ Bank all people including the Company's servants,

¹ See para. 49 of his Minute, dated 14th January 1837. But as this privilege was granted to the Bank of Bengal in a subsequent charter it was allowed to exist in the charter of the Bank of Bombay.

² To quote the exact date, the Provisional Committee of Shareholders was formed at a meeting held on 26th December, 1836, at the office of Messrs. Skinner and Co.

³ Doubts were expressed in 1834 as regards the eligibility of the Company's servants as bank shareholders. The Union Bank of Calcutta promptly wrote to the Imperial Government to decide the matter and the Financial Notification, dated 22nd September, 1834, decided the issue and prohibited the Company's servants from holding shares in private banks. The Hon'ble the Court of Directors approved this step in their letter No. 9 of 1837, dated 10th May, 1837, written to the Governor-General in Council. *So the Union Bank must be considered as the first Joint-Stock Bank of indigenous non-official enterprise started by the private capitalists of the time.*

By virtue of Act 47 George III 68 power was granted to the Governments of Bombay, Bengal and Fort St. George to incorporate banks in their territories. It was also decided that all the Company's servants and Judges of the Courts of Justices in India might subscribe to a chartered bank. It was also decided that the Company's servants might be elected as directors of the bank notwithstanding the Act of 33rd George III. But it was declared at the same time that no Judge of any Court of Justice established by His Majesty's Charter was capable of holding office of the director of any bank.

See Public General Letter from the Government of India to the Court, 23rd July, 1806, para. 182.

judges, military men, and other civilians were permitted to become shareholders and possess Chartered Bank stock. There was practically great rush to own the Bank stock as the bank by virtue of its Government connection, ownership of capital and control over its proceedings through its nominated directors, was assured of success from the very threshold of its career. After a good deal of higgling which caused much heart-burning in the minds of the people who were disappointed and disqualified as shareholders, the re-arrangement of shares was completed and by 1840 the Chartered Bank of Bombay commenced its actual operations with an actual capital of Rupees Fifty-two Lakhs and Twenty-five Thousand divided into 5,225 shares of which the Government of Bombay held three hundred.¹ (The first Government directors were the Accountant-General,² Secretary to the Government in the Financial Department and W. R. Morris, Esq.³ The following were the first six elected directors elected in conformity with the provisions of Section XII, Act III of 1840 :

Names of the Directors.			No. of votes polled in favour.
R. G. Gordon	...	...	222 votes
James Wright	...	...	217 "
Lieutenant-Col. G. Moor	...	...	216 "
F. M. Davidson	...	...	216 "
Framjee Cowasjee	...	...	207 "
Captain J. Swanson	...	...	132 "

The first office was in Rampart Row in the building No. 23 belonging to Jehangeer Nasirwanjee Wadeya.⁴ The bank commenced actual operations on Wednesday, 15th April, 1840.

Since C. N. Cooks and J. B. Brunyate wrote that the constitution of the Directorate was similar to that of the

¹ A large number of the original shareholders were Parsees and natives of India, a thing which did not exist in the case of the other sister Presidency Banks. But in spite of this only one Indian director was elected.

² See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 11th March, 1840.

³ *Ibid*, 16th " "

⁴ *Ibid*, 30th " "

Bank of Bengal and that the same kind of business was permitted by the Charter, it has become the habitual practice of other writers to repeat this self same information. But no writer has proved how from the very inception of the Bank its operations were very closely modelled on that of the Bank of Bengal. It was not the mere similarity of the charter provisions that is of any importance. In the method of issuing bank notes and bank post bills and receiving the same at the treasury, in the details of its routine management, office expenses and establishment charges and in the way of securing additional customers to the bank so as to become the sole medium of nearly all the receipts and payments on behalf of the Government as well as the people, the Bank of Bombay was guided solely by the experience of the older-established institution. Whenever any new measure had to be undertaken the Secretary of the Bank of Bombay usually approached the Bombay Government with a request to elicit the practice of the Bank of Bengal under that heading so that it might be guided by its advice.

For instance, the Bank of Bombay wanted to know the exact strength of the establishment of the Bank of Bengal at its first formation in April, 1806, and the nature of the same in 1839, so as to determine for itself the total expenditure it can prudently incur in the matter of its own establishment. As those details are not evidently mentioned by any other writer it might be of some use to point out how economically the staff was arranged from the very outset and the sin of top-heavy management, which modern banks generally commit, was very carefully avoided by the Presidency Banks of Bengal and Bombay.

Memorandum of the Establishment of the Bank of Bengal at its first formation in April, 1806.

					Sicca Rupees.
Salary of the Secretary and Treasurer	...	...	...	...	800
Rent of a House	...	...	...	...	300
Salary of a Book-keeper	...	...	...	...	300
One Portuguese writer	...	...	...	...	100

					Sicca Rupees.
Three Native writers	...	...	...	...	100
Khazanchee or cash-keeper	...	...	...	...	300
Poddars	...	...	...	...	120
Shroffs and Purkeyers *	...	...	...	...	80
Bengal writers	...	...	...	...	80
Accountants	...	...	...	...	80
Coolies and Darwans	...	...	...	...	20
Peons	...	...	...	...	20
Contingencies (expenses of notes, stationery, candles, etc.)	...	...	...	...	200
Total Sicca Rs. per mensem					2,500

It was inevitable that with gradual growth of business the staff had to be increased to cope with the volume of business and render expeditious service to the bank customers. The expenses were almost quadrupled and the increasing necessity for a carefully planned division of labour forced the bank to introduce different departments and systematise the nature of the work which these had to transact. The following was the establishment of the Bank of Bengal in March, 1839.

				Company's Rupees.
Secretary and Treasurer	...	...	...	1,600
Deputy Secretary	...	...	...	1,000
Accountant	...	...	...	600
Assistant	...	...	...	400
Company's				Rs. 3,600

English Office.

There were twenty-three assistants at a graded scale ranging from Rs. 80 each to Rs. 15 and the total expenses amounted to	...	...	Rs. 846	A. 10	P. 8
The salaries of the duffries amounted to	...	...	37	1	0
One Pressman or Printer	...	...	10	10	8
The salary of Peons	...	...	31	5	4
Total	...	...	925	11	8

The Native Accountant's Office.

One Head Accountant	...	...	...	...	250	0	0
One Deputy „	...	...	...	...	106	10	8
There were sixteen assistants	...	...	...	...	451	5	4
Two duffries	...	...	...	...	11	0	0
Total	...	...	...	...	819	0	0

The Cash Office.

			Rs.	A.	P.
One Khazanchee	...	...	1,000	0	0
One Deputy Khazanchee	...	...	106	10	8
38 Native Assistants	...	...	1,165	9	7
Total			2,272	4	5
Besides these there were 18 Poddars, 2 Nagree Moonshies, 1 Jemadar,					
8 Brojobassies, 1 Duftry, 1 Farash, 6 Coolies, 2 Mathurs,					
1 Bhisty who were drawing roughly					
	...	...	2,610	15	6
The authorised Total			7,955	11	2
Contingencies, stationery, etc.	...	...	900	0	0
Total per mensem Company's			8,855	11	2

Having learnt that "the Bank of Bengal became the sole medium of nearly all the receipts and payments made on account of Government,"¹ it set about an enquiry to ascertain² by what gradual steps this cherished consummation could be secured by the Bank of Bengal. It found out that the Bank of Bengal could secure Government money as deposit as the "officers in charge of public money in Bengal were asked to keep accounts with the Bank and send unavoidable balances as deposits to the Bank." Since 26th June, 1928, on which date the said order was passed, several Government officers kept such accounts sending to the bank, treasury orders and drawing against them. The Bank of Bombay took the cue from this necessary hint³ and made the Government of Bombay issue similar orders to the Military Paymaster, Deputy Commissioner General, Joint Remount Agent, and the General Paymaster to open accounts with⁴ the Bank of Bombay. As it thus became the custodian

¹ See para. 3, letter of Mr. G. Ashburner, Secretary of the Provincial Committee of Shareholders to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay, dated 18th January, 1839.

² See the letter of Secretary G. W. Bushby to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay, dated 15th July, 1840.

³ The Acting Secretary of the Bank requests the Governor in Council to issue orders that all officers of the Government may be empowered to open accounts with the Bank of Bombay. See the Financial despatches, Consultation No. 21 of 1840.

⁴ See the Financial Notification issued on 20 August 1840.

of the Government balances it must have succeeded in conveying a sense of real security to the public. .

Similarly, in the matter of the bank notes and bank post-bills, the procedure adopted by the Bank of Bengal and the practical regulations governing their receipt at the treasury were ascertained before similar regulations were outlined in Bombay. As the notes of the Bank of Bengal were received at all the treasuries in the Lower Provinces and Bengal with the exception of Behar where the Furrackabad Rupee was in circulation, the Hon'ble the Governor in Council issued a notification¹ to the effect that "all collectors, paymasters, other officers of Government receive as cash the notes of the Bank of Bombay when tendered in payment of sums due to Government." On 14th May 1840, it was ordered, "That Bank notes may be issued to those willing to receive them."² The following circular letter was issued to the Collectors by the Bombay Government informing them of the way in which they have to dispose of the bank notes received in payment of the public revenues.

"(A) All bank notes received by you in payment of sums due to Government should be carefully kept in an iron or tin box to be placed within the Government treasure chest or any other equally secure place.

(B) A register according to the annexed form should be kept in your office shewing the number, date, and volume of all Bombay bank notes received by you on account of the Government. The daily entries in the register should be countersigned by you. The register should be kept in a place distinct from the notes in order that a double security may exist."³

(C) When bank notes have accumulated to the amount of Rs. 5,000 or beyond the quantity required for the ordinary

¹ See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 18th April, 1840.

² Letter No. 327 of 1840. See Financial Consultation No. 21 of 1840.

³ I wonder why the party from whom the note has been received, has not been asked to endorse the note at the back. That would have afforded triple security to the Treasury.

expenditure of the Treasury they should be transmitted to the Sub-Treasurer or to such other officer at the Presidency as the Accountant-General may appoint. Each note should be first out in half, the halves being transmitted by succeeding dawks. In order that the contents of the packets containing such notes may not be apparent and that they may be preserved from damp, they should be covered with strong paper during the fair season and with wax cloth during the monsoon.

(D) You should forward to the Accountant-General on the 1st of each month a statement showing the number, date, and amount of the notes in hand on the first of the preceding month and of those received in your treasury during that month and the way in which they have been disposed of.”¹

A Register of the Bank Notes with Specimen Entries.

No. of Note	Date of Note.	Amount of Note.	From whom received.	Date of receipt.	Collector's signature.	How disposed of.	Date of disposal.	Collr.'s Signature.
572	1st of April	Rs. 5,000	A.B.	1840 10th April.	X.Y.Z.	Remitted to General Try.	1st half 2nd half	X.Y.Z.

Evidently, the Bank of Bombay was never asked to deposit a general security for its notes² so that the Government might not be the loser in any way by holding the bank notes. Besides, they were freely received at all the treasuries in the Bombay Presidency.³ This must have led to the popularity of the bank notes and a free circulation of them in the interior.

¹ See the Financial Consultation No. 24th May, 1840.

² The Bank of Bengal had to deposit 20 lakhs of rupees deposit as security for its notes. This was given up only in 1832. Financial General Letter from Europe to Bengal No. 2 of 1832.

³ In the case of the Bank of Bengal a limit of 50 lakhs of rupees was fixed and the G. Treasury could not hold more than this limit. See para. 19, Territorial Finance Department Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government. No. 13 of 1834, dated 12th March, 1834.

A Specimen Bank Note.

The Bank notes were struck from an English plate in England. The following specimen makes the reader familiar with the details of its superscription :—

BANK OF BOMBAY.

15th April 1843.

I promise to pay the Bearer on demand Twenty Rupees value received—

N 4178——Bombay——No. 4178——

Entd. WILLIAM SMYTTTAM,

For the Bank of Bombay

Acctt.

(Sd.) J. STUART,

Twenty Rupees.

Secretary and Treasurer.

Though the original bank notes issued by the earlier European banks were *order notes* and generally contained the *name of the first payee* the first notes of the Bank of Bombay were bearer notes and the specimen of the bank note which has been quoted already, makes it clear.

How were the Notes received in its Early Stages.

Although the notes of the Bank of Bombay were received as cash at the treasury still a slight discount was attached to them in the bazaar when they were converted into specie. So a notification was issued promptly that “cash can always be obtained at the Bank office for the Bombay Bank notes free of charge” and vernacular translations of the same were published in the Bombay Castle Gazette to the same effect. Guzarattee, Maharattee, and Parsee translations were also issued and circulated in the bazaar.

As soon as the Western Bank of India was started in 1842 keen rivalry ensued as the bank notes of the Western Bank of

India were not received as cash at the Government Treasury.¹ This rivalry was manifested in a somewhat peculiar way. It was usual for rival banks to create unexpected runs by presenting a large amount of notes for ready encashment. But the Western Bank of India exhibited its jealousy somewhat in the following manner. The Bank of Western India began to annoy the Bank of Bombay by marking on the face of all these notes "received the Bank of Western India" in a bold style obliterating the original printed letters on the note itself. The Bank of Bombay appealed promptly to the Supreme Government and pleaded for legislative protection against this "wanton annoyance" which resulted in limiting the circulation of such marked notes. In the plenitude of his mercy the Governor General pitied the situation of the Bank of Bombay but refused to take any special action against this "wanton annoyance" and hoped that by a re-issuing of these notes the confidence of the public would be sustained and the rival bank would gain nothing by this "wanton annoyance."²

Forgery of the Bank Notes.

Owing to the discovery of the forged notes in the bazaar there was a regular run on the Bank of Bombay for cash in 1848. On 8th November 1848 about two and half lakhs were withdrawn. On 9th November about eleven lakhs were similarly withdrawn. The Government Directors soon took a vigilant attitude and promptly brought the situation to the notice of the Government of Bombay.³ The Bombay Government stood

¹ A note of the Bank of Western India for Rs. 5,000 was refused by the cashier to be received as cash into the General Treasury. On 5th July 1844 the Governor General in Council approved of the decision of the Bombay Government: "In pursuance of the above instructions received from the Government of India the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that on no account whatever shall any bank notes except those of the Bombay Bank be received at any Government Treasury under this Presidency."

See the Notification of the Government Secretary, W. Escombe, in the *Bombay Castle Gazette*, 31st July, 1844.

² See the Financial Consultation No. 33-1844.

³ See the Financial Department letter from the Government Directors to W. Courttenay, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

convinced of the absolute necessity to help the bank and wrote strongly to the Government of India as well as the Hon'ble the Court of Directors¹ of its firm resolve to help the bank even against its previous express injunctions against such help to the bank.² Fortunately the run subsided and no actual help was rendered by the Government. But the Government never relaxed its duties throughout this period and carefully scrutinised at the end of each day the bank's cash position. Confidence was thus restored by this vigilant attitude of the Government and its readiness to help the bank. The run actually ceased on the 16th instant.

Except during these unfortunate years, 1848, 1849 and 1850, the note of the bank were generally in great demand in the interior. Several times the Provincial Treasuries³ had to make requisitions for bank notes doubtless to satisfy the requirements of the businessmen. The following tabular statement gives the reader the highest and lowest amount of notes in circulation in each year from the commencement of the Bank in 1840 to the end of 1852 :⁴

¹ See the letter of the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors, dated 30th November 1848 : " In a crisis against which no foresight and no adherence to right principles of management could have saved the Bank the Government is bound to help the Bank. We cannot think were the Bank in difficulty from such a cause and unable to realise its securities and call up outstanding loans in time to meet the demands upon it we should do no wrong in coming to its existence."

² See the letter from the Court to the Bombay Government, letter No. 20 written on 23rd December 1845, and see also letter No. 13, dated 22nd September, 1846

³ See Financial Letter No 480 of 1843. The Collector of Belgaum makes a requisition for bank notes. This letter which was addressed to the Secretary of the Government of Bombay was promptly referred back to the Bank of Bombay " so that it might be left to bring its own notes into circulation." See Financial Consultation, No. 19. 16th May 1843.

⁴ This table is one of the three annexures showing " the actual operations of the Bombay Bank attached to the report of the Directors of the Bank submitted at a special General Meeting of the Proprietors held on Thursday the 2nd September 1842. This report was submitted to the Bombay Government in order to secure the privilege of conducting exchange or to reduce the capital of the bank by almost one-half.

A Tabular Statement of the Note-issue of the Bank of Bombay.

Year.	Date.	Highest amount in circulation.	Date.	Lowest amount in circulation.
1840	Dec./11	Rs. 2329465	April/15	Commenced business.
1841	Sep./11	„ 3429810	May/29	Rs. 1109335
1842	Dec./4	„ 3381575	June/19	„ 1228510
1843	Dec./30	„ 6354530	April/17	„ 3012595
1844	Jan./30	„ 5972710	Oct./20	„ 3094335
1845	Oct./11,	„ 4955410	Agst./5	„ 3012325
1846	Oct./17	„ 4750985	Agst./15	„ 2564135
1847	Nov./21	„ 5177050	Jun./27	„ 2805300
1848	Aug./29	„ 5882700	Dec./26	„ 2061850
1849	Nov./10	„ 5202680	Jan./6	„ 2434855
1850	Nov./3	„ 5509200	Mar./31	„ 3511425
1851	Dec./15	„ 5157840	May/12	„ 1996700
1852	Aug./27	„ 5831245	May/28	„ 3611005
		Average Rupees 4918093	Average Rupees 2541020	

The bank note-issue began to increase steadily during the decade 1850 to 1860. The notes were received freely in the interior and paid into the mofussil treasuries in payment of the Government demand. The following return quoted from the Bombay Government records shows that “there was a large demand for bank notes. Any instance of forgery or fraud or even a suspicion thereof has not yet been reported in reference to bank notes received into or disbursed from the District Treasuries.”

*Return of Bank Notes in the Several Civil Treasuries of
the Presidency on 1st April. 1856.*

		Rs.	A.	P.
In the Bombay General Treasury	..	4,66,590	0	0
„ Land revenue—Bombay	...	3,375	0	0
„ Tannah Treasury	...	25,480	0	0
„ Rutnageree Treasury	...	200	0	0
„ Poona „	...	3,380	0	0
„ Ahmadnagar „	...	560	0	0
„ Candesh „	...	2,670	0	0
„ Sholapore „	...	14,425	0	0
„ Dharwar „	...	5 020	0	0
„ Belgaum „	...	340	0	0
„ Ahmedabad „	...	1,510	0	0
„ Kaira „	...	1,950	0	0
„ Surat „	...	3,710	0	0
„ Broach „	...	47,280	0	0
„ Hyderabad (Sind) Treasury	...	145	0	0
„ Karachi „	...	165	0	0 ¹
„ Shikharpore „	...	165	0	0
„ Satara „	...	165	0	0
Political Agent at Aden	...	9,863	0	0
Commissioner of Customs and Salt and Opium		695	0	0
Total		5,86,760	0	0

The average circulation of the notes increased rapidly during the last few years. It greatly aided the paid-up capital of the Bank which was about fifty-two lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees. Throughout this period of our study, there was no necessity to increase the paid-up capital and we do not come across any such attempt made on the part of the public as was the case in the matter of the Presidency Bank of Madras during this period of our study.

¹ The area of Sind was only recently acquired and added to the Province of Bombay. Hence the note circulation was not so great in these newly acquired portions as in the older areas.

Bank Post-bills.

Even in the matter of the post-bills the practice of the Bank of Bengal guided the Bombay Bank. The Acting Secretary of the Bank of Bombay requested the Governor in Council to give the same facilities to the bank post-bills as were given to the bank note.¹ The Bombay Government immediately ascertained the prevalent practice in the matter and on learning that "in Bengal the Bank post-bills of the Bank of Bengal were receivable at the Provincial Treasuries in payment of dues to the Government so long as it could be done without financial inconvenience or loss of profit obtainable by the sale of Bills drawn by the public officers on such treasuries," similar orders were passed with reference to the Bombay Bank post-bills. These were to be *received in Treasuries on similar terms prevailing in Bengal.*²

Guard.

There is still another point which proves my contention. The Bank of Bombay which had to employ a guard to keep watch and ward over its strong room wrote to the Government of India for information concerning the guard employed by the Bank of Bengal. On 22nd April, 1840, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay wrote as follows: "The Bank of Bengal was guarded by a body of regular guards consisting of one Havildar, one Naik and eight sepoy's making 10 in number."³ Undoubtedly a similar guard must have been appointed by the Bank of Bombay to keep watch and ward over its strong building.

Deposits.

Owing to the fact that the Government officers deposited their balances in the Presidency Bank, the general public soon began to

¹ See Financial Letter, dated 29th May 1840.

² See Financial Consultation No. 38-1840, 14th September 1840 (*italics mine*).

³ See Financial Consultation No. 22, 22nd April 1840. See also Financial Consultation of Fort William, Nos. 8 and 9, April 1840.

patronise the bank, but the first set of depositors took the liberty of altering the cheques and making them payable *to order* instead of *to bearer* thus altering the legal character of the instrument and enforcing additional responsibility on the Bank in respect to the authenticity of the signatures of the endorsers. Present-day Indian banks refuse to permit their customers this privilege to alter the word *bearer* to *order* which can however be done by the drawer of the cheque. The Indian depositors do alter the cheque from *bearer* to *order* but the bank refuses to take any special responsibility for this voluntary change of the nature of the instrument as a result of the initiative on the part of the bank customer. Such cheques are of course paid by the bank, provided they are in order. But it is indeed curious to note that the Bank of Bombay refused to recognise this practice and pay any cheques thus altered by the customer. On 18th April, 1840 the following notification issued in the Bombay Castle Gazette makes this point clear :

“ Notice was therefore given to the effect that all cheques paid on the Bank after this date must be drawn conformably with the printed form furnished to constituents and made payable to individuals and firms or *bearer* and not to *order* otherwise they will not be paid.”

W. R. CAGILL,

Ag. Secretary and Treasurer.

When the practice of paying such cheques which have been altered to *order* has been introduced has not been mentioned, but it must have been introduced very soon as a result of the protest on the part of the bank customers.

Lottery Deposits.

Just as the other Presidency Banks secured the deposit of lottery money in their cities so also the Bank of Bombay secured the deposit of lottery sums floated in Bombay. Till private

lotteries were abolished in 1844 as a result of Act V of 1844 the indigenous bankers and businessmen used to conduct them so as to secure profit to themselves. The money collected was usually deposited in the Bank of Bombay. The bank was generally appointed as the place where the prize-winners would be receiving their money ten days after the conclusion of the drawing. The paymasters stationed in the mofussil were asked to pay the mofussil prize-holders 30 days after the conclusion of the drawing and after that period from the Presidency Bank of Bombay. Similar practice prevailed at Calcutta and Madras so long as private and public lotteries were allowed unchecked. Lottery tickets were not only made available at the Presidency Banks and the money gathered by the sale of tickets was lying as a deposit in the Presidency Bank but the money prizes were paid at Presidency Banks. In the case of unclaimed prizes for a period of three years the money usually reverted to the Lottery Fund in the case of all the Government Lotteries. The different lotteries were usually advertised in the different Presidencies and in the Bombay Castle Gazette we come across several lottery advertisements, *viz.*, the Second Calcutta Lottery of 1832.¹ In the case of private lotteries the organisers must undoubtedly have pocketed the unclaimed prize money.

Rules and Nature of the Business.

A systematic study of the different pages of the Bombay Castle Gazette reveals to the readers very interesting details as regards the nature of the business and the terms on which such things were usually conducted. The bank commenced business on 15th April 1840, but it issued the following notification in the Bombay Castle Gazette to enable the public to realise on what terms business could be conducted with it.

¹ See the Bombay Castle Gazette, 12th April, 1832, p. 118. Similarly the 54th Government Lottery was floated in 1834 and advertisements of it were published in the Bombay Castle Gazette, 5th February, 1834, p. 51.

² See the Notifications in the Bombay Castle Gazette, 8th April, 1840,

The following notification points out, firstly, the nature of its business and, secondly, the rates on which loans and discounts were to be granted by it :

Interest	{	On loans on Government paper	...	...	...	six per cent.
	{	On Metals	...	...	...	six and a half per cent.
	{	On other goods	...	...	...	seven and half per cent.
Discount	{	On Government Bills	...	...	...	five per cent.
	{	On private bills	...	...	...	seven and half per cent.

The Directors issue notice that current accounts will be received and fixed deposits received and that no interest will be paid on current accounts.

The bank will issue post-bills payable to order and at not exceeding thirty days' sight.

The bank will realise dividends and interest on Government securities on account of constituents.

The hours of business were published actually on the 10th April, 1840.

The bank was to be open from 10 o'clock before noon till 4 o'clock afternoon.

Proposals for loans will not be received after one o'clock.

Private bills and notes for discounts will not be received after 1 o'clock and they are not to be called for until the day following.

Government and salary bills will be discounted till 3 o'clock.

Post-bills will be issued till 3 o'clock.

All other business is to be transacted till 4 o'clock.

(To be continued)

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

CONVOCATION ADDRESS ¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, PRO-VICE-CHANCELLOR,

AND GENTLEMEN,—

When I received an invitation from your Vice-Chancellor, I regarded the request as more in the nature of a command which I had neither the inclination nor the right to disobey. Aligarh is the pride of Moslem India and it is a great honour for any Mussalman to be asked to deliver the Convocation address but to an old boy of Aligarh, it is the height of his ambition and a most treasured privilege. Although it is twenty-one years since I was last in Aligarh, I have always taken a keen interest in it, and the fact that your distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ross Masud, and I were fellow-students in the English house, and that your Pro-Vice-Chancellor is an officer of the Department of Education, Bengal, over whose destinies it is my fortune or misfortune to watch as Minister, made it all the more attractive, and I very willingly responded and accepted the very great honour which you have conferred upon me.

The question of education in India in general, and of the Muhammadan community in particular, are at the present time so acute and their correct solution so very important for the welfare of the country, that it is extremely desirable to envisage these problems from all points of view in order to be as certain as possible of finding their correct and adequate solution. As a community we have to take our part in the development of our motherland, jealous of our own rights but ready to appreciate the rights of others, ready to co-operate in anything that makes for the general welfare and determined that progress and not privilege shall be the keynote of our policy. Education is the solution of almost all the difficult political problems with which we

¹ Delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Nazimuddin, at the Annual Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh, held on Monday, December 21, 1931.

are now faced. I will mention but one example. The ultimate solution of the communal problem is to be found in education. However undesirable and inexpedient it may be, guaranteed representation to the Muhammadan community in all administrative machineries is necessary until such time as the general electorate is educated to the point where, while preserving their own convictions and ideals, individuals can be trusted to judge impartially when choosing their representatives to the different administrative and controlling authorities. The time is far distant, as all must realise; and in any immediate scheme which may be brought into operation, there must and will be reservation of seats for members of our community. We may deplore it, but it is a necessity. In this necessity, however, there lies for us a great danger. The very fact that we have guaranteed representation may serve as an anodyne which will lull us into a false sense of security and prevent us from putting forward those efforts which are necessary, if we are really to justify our holding of positions of responsibility. Modern political authority may give us a form of government in which apparently we have adequate representation, but unless our representatives are equally well-trained, mentally able and fully capable of holding their own with the representatives of other communities, adequate political representation is a delusion and a snare. It is obvious, of course, that for the positions of the highest responsibility we had and have men who challenge comparison with the ablest representative of any community. I have only to mention the names of such distinguished Muhammadans as those of our revered founder, Sir Syed Ahmed, your Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Ross Masud, Sir Fazli Husain, Sir Abdur Rahim, and others. As to their ability there can be no question, but Government does not depend so much upon the greatness and superhuman ability of a few individuals placed in positions of great responsibility as upon efficient administration in the multitudinous smaller local bodies, upon whose shoulders must fall the real administration and development of our country. District Boards,

Municipalities, School Boards, and all local controlling authorities are the fields in which administrative experience begins and develops ; and it is for these bodies, as well as for the highest positions, that we require from our community a supply of devoted, unselfish and inspiring leaders, who, while justifying their own position and guaranteeing progress and prosperity to their own community, will at the same time be ensuring the welfare of India as a whole. It is for this reason that in a University like this, it is essential to develop self-reliance, initiative, and logical thinking, and the ability to judge one's self as well as one's fellow-men. These are qualities which are an asset to all, and we welcome here students of other communities, confident that their presence will be beneficial to us as well as to them. At the same time it is apparent that, Aligarh must ever be of special significance to Muslim community and hence the problems of Muhammadan education must be of importance to its authorities. It must be recognized that as a community we have a great deal of educational lee-way to make up, and in the forward movement which is taking place here, and which must rapidly spread elsewhere, it is essential to know exactly what we desire and exactly what we wish to avoid. It is no use multiplying our educational institutions, and increasing educational facilities, unless we can guarantee that they are wisely and rightly guided and that they are fulfilling the purposes for which they are designed.

In determining the direction of this forward move, and the kind of education which we wish to establish, we have to consider not only the examples of successful educational institutions in other lands but also unfortunate examples of disastrous educational experiments in our own country. We see around us the effect of many of the mistakes which have been made by our sister community and we must guarantee that these mistakes are avoided here and elsewhere.

It may seem presumptuous on my part to offer advice to distinguished educationists, whose life-work it is to deal with

educational matters, and to try to influence those who are responsible for the control of an institution with such a distinguished record as this. My only excuse is that it has unfortunately been my lot for the last few years to have had the unpleasant experience of observing the disastrous effects of an educational movement dominated, perhaps unconsciously, by a desire to produce records of quantity rather than graduates distinguished by quality and of finding myself practically hopeless of achieving reform. I come from a province where every year between two and three thousand graduates are turned out in a set of conditions in which there are suitable posts for not more than at the most two or three hundred. What happens to the rest? Many continue their struggle for existence as teachers of schools on salaries for which it is impossible to get well-trained household servant. Many obtain no employment whatever. All become disillusioned, discontented and rebel against society so organised that in it they can find no satisfactory place. It is true, unfortunately, that with industry, commerce and agriculture, in their present conditions, there is no place for the unfortunate 90 per cent. of those graduates. The point that I wish to stress, and from which I desire that a lesson should be drawn and applied in the development of my *alma mater* is, that this 90 per cent., for whom there is no ready-made place in the community, are, with few exceptions, incapable of making for themselves a place by their initiative and exercise of their mental powers. Their School and University training have failed to develop these powers which would serve them in time of need, and enable them by ingenuity and enterprise, not only to make for themselves an honoured place in society but to enrich their motherland by developing new spheres of human activity. For this state of affairs the students are not themselves to blame. Education, which, if it means anything, should mean the development of personality, the healthy growth of the soul as well as the body, the correct training of individual powers of self-expression through the assimilation of the inherited mental wealth of the ages, has in this country,

with a few honourable exceptions, become a soul-destroying process of memory exercise and a stifling of mental curiosity.

I am not unconscious of the fact that there is another aspect of University life, namely, that of stimulating research and providing facilities for exceptionally gifted people; and lest I be accused of prejudiced and unjust criticism of the work of our Universities, let me acknowledge the great work that has been done in this direction, particularly in the University of Calcutta. The encouragement of research is an important duty of a University but not its only duty. In our consideration of what a University stands for, surely the 99 per cent., who constitute the ordinary students, should command our attention just as much as the one per cent. who by their genius and outstanding abilities would justify themselves in any system and are most capable of looking after themselves.

With the older institutions in the country, it is extremely difficult to achieve adequate reform but with a self-contained and autonomous body such as that which controls the destinies of Aligarh, development upon right lines is certainly possible and must be ensured. I would plead with the authorities to take such steps as will, as far as is humanly possible, avoid all the mistakes that have been made elsewhere and ensure development upon healthy lines. If this is guaranteed, it will have to be realised that it is neither desirable nor wise that all students who study in our secondary schools should go forward to the University. Only those who are mentally able and who can fully benefit by the conditions and facilities to be found within the University, should be allowed to embark upon an under-graduate career. By all means adjust your secondary system so as to make provision for those who will not enter the University. Secondary education should not be entirely dominated by the University curriculum or ideals and it should be a recognised fact that the courses of study and arrangements there are such that many can at the end of that stage branch off into different vocations without the necessity of entering the

University. Only those who are really fit should be permitted to pursue academic studies into the University stages. If this is guaranteed, then one of the most important steps will have been taken, which will lead to a successfully organised and satisfactory University. The same argument, but perhaps to a less extent, dominates the Intermediate College course. A large percentage of those who pass through the course will naturally proceed to the University, but it by no means follows that all should, and arrangements should be made within the Intermediate College for giving a bias to the education of those students who either by desire or natural mental ability do not, or should not, go forward for further study.

It is possible to link up certain aspects of industrial and vocational education with High School and Intermediate College training in a way which should be beneficial to many students. I am not advocating a wholesale transformation of these institutions into Technical Colleges, but merely desire that there should be a practical acknowledgment of the fact that a purely academic course in a University is not the only educational career for a young man and, indeed, is not the only cultural and educational course, which it is possible to devise. I do not intend to pursue this point further, for it is not easy to suggest a definite solution of this particular problem, nor is it intimately related to what I have said to you to-day. There is, however, one further point, at which vocational and technical education affect University policy. There is a wide-spread and growing demand that more attention should be devoted to technical matters and less to what are known as purely academic pursuits. It is certain that in India, developments in the direction of scientific and technical education must take place. To me it is just as certain that this development must in the main be without and not within the Universities. In the first place, technical and vocational education is so expensive that it is impossible for any University satisfactorily to deal with the problem of initiating and developing adequate schemes. What is needed is

a central institution or institutions adequately equipped, controlled and organised to supply the needs of the different provinces and of India as a whole. There is no reason why a system of Provincial Scholarships tenable at centralised institutions, should not be established. This seems to me to be the basis of an economic and sound solution of the problem of specialised technical training. Such a solution is far preferable to that of attempting to transform our Universities into hybrid institutions possessing neither the cultural value of the Universities of old nor the technical efficiency of an industrial enterprise. Even as far as scientific education is concerned, expense prohibits full development in all directions except in the largest Universities. Purely scientific education we must have for its cultural as well as its technical value within all Universities. But very specialised development involving elaborate and adequate equipment for detailed research in all branches is not possible in all institutions. Moreover, as far as vocational education is concerned, I do not personally consider that unless it can be adequately combined with a satisfactory general education in all branches, it should find a place within a University. To give degrees for, say, the Art of Salesmanship,—as has been done in certain Universities,—appears to me to be destroying the ideals which have hitherto always been associated with Universities and bringing them down to the level of a commercial college.

It must not be assumed that I am inappreciative of the value of technical education or of the necessity for making provision for it in the activities of any Government. No country to-day can hope to establish itself in the forefront of progress or to provide for its citizens such facilities as will enable them fully to apply their powers, unless it gives adequate attention to the problems of technical and vocational education. But these problems must not be regarded as an essential part of, or inevitably related to, the question of University education. The atmosphere and characteristics of the two types of institutions are entirely different and it has yet to be proved that their mixture

is beneficial either to the one or the other. Personally I feel that the Universities have a unique and special function to perform in the life of a nation and that this function can only be fulfilled when an emphasis is laid upon mental training rather than upon requiring a knowledge of facts and it is acknowledged that intellectual development is the goal rather than the acquisition of manual skill and a mastery over the material world. This is a material world, I know, and we have evidence in all directions of the power and progress that come through a mastery of the laws governing material forces and the acquiring of skill in harnessing them for human progress. But there is still, and ever must be, a place for the consideration of things of the spirit and of the soul, and that place is within the University. There are times in the lives of all human beings when the exercise of imagination is as important as a realisation of facts. It is in the imaginative wanderings among the spirits of the past, in speculations upon the meaning of life and in a critical study of the wonders of natural laws that the soul and mind of man find natural food and environment for growth. It is because I fear that this growth may be stunted by yielding to the clamour for extension of University activities in definitely material directions that I have spoken at length upon what I consider to be the separate functions that technical and University institutions should play in the life of a nation. There is, I think, no danger in your University that rapid developments in the direction of technical and vocational education will prejudice your real University life. I refer to them merely to emphasize what should be the dominating spirit in your University organisations and developments. Within the University it must be ensured that the general intellectual and mental capacity of the undergraduates are given full scope for development. It must be realised that it is not so much an assimilation of facts as the understanding of the principles which teachers must emphasize, not so much a knowledge of what the brain has achieved as a comprehension as to how the mind works and what are the factors

which affect human progress and human actions, which are of importance to the undergraduates. Each individual Professor is, of course, jealous of the importance of his own subject and naturally regards it as pre-eminently useful and necessary in student life. The authorities as a whole, however, should be aware, that it is not of very great importance as to what particular subjects the ordinary student studies, so long as he is taught to study them, and they are presented to him, in such a manner as to develop his powers of understanding and analysis, and of application of the principles involved. The same effect can be achieved through the teaching of Physics or Philosophy, History or Mathematics, Classics or Science. Even in the playing of games, in the debating halls and in the many activities outside the lecture rooms, a similar training can be provided and indeed, not infrequently, a more effective influence can be exercised. From the point of view of the general influence that it has exercised upon its students, I am proud of my old University. Aligarh has given to its sons in times past a general tone and bearing which may perhaps be summed up in the French phrase *savoir faire*, and which, as far as I am aware, is not so effectively developed in any other Indian University. It is my hope that this particular influence may never be lost and that in the progress in purely academic development which must take place and which I hope may be rapid, it must not be forgotten that we shall be losing more than we gain if the Aligarh graduates ever become men whose qualifications are purely academic and technical.

It is usual in a Convocation address to concentrate one's attention upon a message to those students in whose special interest such a function as this is held, namely, those who have obtained their degrees.

GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY,—

This is a day of special significance for you all. By conferring degrees upon you, the University has set its hall-mark upon

your student careers and is sending you into the world, not only certifying you as having attained a certain standard of efficiency in academic pursuits but also as guardians of the reputation and the tradition of this your mother University. Yours is a difficult but enviable task. It is no exaggeration to say that in the next 20 years, the future greatness and position of India will be made or marred by the ability and devotion which is shown by her leaders. Upon you rests the responsibility of guiding others and of making use of the powers which have been developed within you. It is during these coming years that the real value of your educational training will be tested. You will be called upon to discriminate between the passionately advocated claims of different classes and communities, to reconcile apparently divergent and opposite points of view and to decide upon the courses of action which affects the lives of your fellow-countrymen. It is needless to say that a sane and impartial judgment is necessary and that in order to exercise this impartial judgment, a knowledge of facts appertaining to your own community is essential. It will be necessary for you to appreciate the part that emotion plays in determining the individual's course of action ; and in particular, it will be essential for you to realise that unrestrained and uncontrolled emotionalism is one of the greatest enemies of human progress. We look to you, who have had training in logical thinking and the opportunity to realise that there is room for different opinions and different beliefs in all spheres of human activity; to guide the destinies of our country sanely and effectively. We look to you to counteract the effect of those who, inappreciative of the facts of the present situation, are advocating courses of action which must mean retrogression instead of progression. To the Muslim community, in particular, Aligarh has meant much in the past. That it means as much in the present and will mean as much in the future, I am confident. On the shoulders of you, Muslim graduates, there rests a double responsibility. You have to carry on worthily the tradition of culture and learning which is characteristic of all that is best

in our Muslim heritage. History has given us our great men with their undying achievements and we can look with glory and pride on the past. But it is in the present and future that our hope lies. Inspired by the deeds of the past we look to you to build up for us a still more glorious future by service and selfsacrifice.

MOON MAGIC

See, Dear Love, the moon hangs low
Above the song-hushed trees,
Gently the fragrant breezes blow
Whither, and where, they please.
But cradled in my arms you lie
A vision of rose and cream,
Together there, as the hours speed by,
We sit alone and dream.

Smile on, my Fairest Love, the moon
Hangs crescent in the sky,
And I long to hear your sweet lips croon
A " yes " to the theme I ply.
Then I will fold you to my breast
And come then weal or woe,
Secure in each other's love we'll rest,
Thus through Life to go !

LELAND J. BERRY

Reviews

A History of England—from 1485 to 1900 A.D. BY SIR HENRY SHARP
(Macmillan—pp. 311 + xi)

This is a book admirably suited for the higher classes in Indian secondary schools. The author has followed the syllabus in English History laid down in Bombay for the School Leaving Examination. The narrative begins from the Tudor period, but an introductory section rapidly surveys the History of England from pre-Roman days to the reign of Henry VII. The author is to be congratulated for being able to indicate in very simple language the main lines of development. What repels the young beginner and gives him a distaste for the study of history is the treatment of the subject as a mere catalogue of events. Yet the knowledge of the past is absolutely necessary for the mental equipment of the future citizen. The task before us therefore is to make history less formidable for young learners and to create in them a fondness for this branch of knowledge. Sir Henry Sharp is one of those who have succeeded in omitting details, and presenting in lucid style suited to the school boy the fundamental facts in the history of England, indicating the characteristics of each period and the progress made in that period, the rise of sea power and colonial expansion, and the development of the constitution. Chapter XXI on the British constitution is a very useful feature of the book. The book has been made attractive by copious illustrations and its utility increased by maps. It should provide the school student with a good grounding in English history.

A. D.

Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments--
Vol. II, 1926-28. Geneva, 1930. pp. 204.

Memorandum on International Trade and Balances of Payments--
Vol. II, 1927-29. Geneva, 1931. pp. 215.

These volumes deal with the balance of international payments for 29 countries. The statements are based on a special standard form prepared by the League of Nations Secretariat. The facts and figures

are strictly in conformity with the items mentioned in the standard form. Summary figures of international indebtedness are also tacked on as supplementary information to the main items' dealing with the balance indebtedness.

The two detailed tables for each and every country consist of (1) current items, (2) capital account. Though the figures of table II are tentative and generally of a preliminary estimate a bird's eye view of the country's financial position in the world can be had.

The growth of knowledge in this direction is serviceable in many ways. The analysis of international exchange of goods and services is by itself of great importance. The state of the lending and borrowing countries and the respective estimates of their economic progress would be of invaluable aid to the economists.

Every reader should make a comprehensive study of the summary statement concerning certain items mentioned in the memorandum before he can hope to understand the suggestions forthcoming out of the different tables mentioned therein.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1930-31, pp. 292.
Geneva, 1931.

The most important economic categories such as population, production, estimates of different staple crops, minerals, figures of shipping and railways, public finance, price-levels and monetary statistics are carefully tabulated in a clear and concise form. The statistics of these tables are brought up to the end of the year 1930.

The new tables on the production of certain commodities, marriage rates, index numbers of shares, unemployment by classes of industry and the metal content of the ores extracted are to be welcomed.

Several geographical maps prepared from well-known atlases gather reliable sources of information and impart useful knowledge to the readers.

These data would be of immense service to the economists in the matter of their international comparisons and estimates.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Report of the Congress Select Committee on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India, Vol. I, Bombay, 1931. Price Re. 1, pp. 70.

The insecurity of the financial position of this country was recognised long ago by Indian economists of all shades of thought. The existence of large fixed interest charge has proved burdensome. Of late India has been increasing her indebtedness both for the short-term period and the long term period. Increasing amounts of foreign short-term capital are being locked up in Rupee Treasury bills for the retention of which Indian banking is being subjected to high rates of interest as soon as a change in the world financial centres is taking place.

India is also becoming a greater borrower on long-term account. So the unanimous opinion is that before the financial position of India as a debtor country becomes grave some heroic remedies ought to be resorted to. The Karachi Congress appointed a committee to scrutinise the financial obligations between India and Great Britain. Ever since the three D's (Digby, Dadabhai and Dutt) or the 'dismal' school of Indian Economists wrote in a strained manner, the opinion has gained ground that India has been saddled unjustly with large blocks or amounts of public debt incurred for the political aggrandisement of Great Britain without the direct assent of the Indian people. The Karachi Congress has not only been anxious to secure satisfactory opinion on this issue but it was equally anxious to knock down the opinion that a wholesale repudiation of the public debt would take place under "purna swaraj" government.

Part I and Part II of the Report deal with the objectionable items of the public debt and Part III emphasises the recommendation that there ought to be an honourable settlement between Great Britain and India as in the case of the United Kingdom and Ireland when it was made a Free state. Estimating that Rs. 229 crores were not incurred in the economic interests of the country either during the time of the John Company's rule or under the regime of the British Crown it makes an earnest appeal that India should be freed of these liabilities under the heading of public debts.

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa writes a separate note to the effect that part of the annual national military expenditure of India is for the promotion and safeguarding of the Empire interests of Great Britain. Equity demands that these funds should be returned to India. The suggestion is hinted that the mere return of interest already paid on the "unjust charges and burdens" would wipe off the whole of the present-day public debt of the country.

The inclusion of Famine Relief charges as an expensive burden thrust on Indian shoulders seems to the reviewer rather unjust and although money might have been spent extravagantly it cannot be stated that India has not been benefited.

On the whole this fact-finding estimate clearly shows that certain unduly heavy charges have been fastened on this country. Whether India ever succeeds in reclaiming these lost resources is totally a different matter.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. C. N. Srinivasiengar, M.Sc., is admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on his thesis entitled "The Determination of Singular Solutions of various types of Differential Equations, together with some associated problems of Differential Geometry."

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THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Saturday, the 6th February, 1932, has been fixed as the date for the next Annual Convocation of the University.

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RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination; was 53 of whom 33 passed, 18 failed, none were expelled and 2 were absent.

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RESULT OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 104 of whom 49 passed, 53 failed, 1 was expelled and 2 were absent.

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RESULT OF THE SECOND M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 77 of whom 64 passed, 12 failed, none were expelled, 1 was absent. Four have obtained Honours marks.

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RESULT OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 85, of whom 54 passed, 31 failed, none was expelled, none was absent.

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RESULT OF THE FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1931

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) was 182 of whom 60 passed, 121 failed, 1 was absent and none was expelled.

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A NEW READERSHIP LECTURE

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that Dr. Anna Singh, Executive Secretary of the International University Service of Germany and a visiting Professor of Visvabharati, be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on the following subjects on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000 :—

(1) International Student Service—A modern University movement.

(2) Ideas and Methods of University Education in Germany (with special reference to the new facilities for study of foreign students in Germany).

(3) Problems and Movements of the Students of Germany (including an account of the student self-help movement after the War).

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1932



A NEW THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

In these days of transition, when the belief is widespread that the use of destructive methods for the settling of disputes has already been too prolonged and efforts are being made to re-arrange the affairs of the nation and the world, the study of politics becomes of vital import to those building for, preparing for, the New Age.

Which way are we to look in order to find newer, wiser, methods of administering the affairs of the world and of the State especially of the great Indian Empire.

Government is at present a word sounding somewhat harshly in the ears of Indian men and women, who rightly think themselves worthy of being given at least the opportunity to govern for themselves, to administer their own affairs both as a country and as regards their national relationship with other countries, to evolve, that is, a true political economy.

But what is true political economy ? From the point of view of the writer, political economy is the method of safeguarding the resources of a State in such a manner that it shall provide for the needs and the safety of every man, woman and child, and not only for their needs and their protection, but also for the best development of each individual through right education, decent environment and just laws.

Dare we say that we have such political economy today ? Rather, must we not admit that many lack even the necessities of life, that conditions of work and of environment are often such as to stifle all the finer instincts of human beings, that the great majority fail to attain any appreciable level of achievement solely because the opportunities for self-development through right education and helpful environment were never given them ?

Even the attempt to fashion a newer, better condition of things seems doomed to failure. There is much talk—how much gets *done* ? The very word “ politician ” has lost the pure meaning it once had and become to some a word of evil omen, an unsavoury and ridiculous title at best. And this is inevitable whilst those who claim it for themselves remain too often mere place-seekers, men to whom the welfare of the people means little, the placing of themselves in the seat of power, everything.

A dispassionate survey of the whole situation leads us to the conclusion that in these chaotic days the world is only just emerging from infantile forms of government by power, forms which, however necessary they may have been during the infancy of the races concerned, must now give place to forms suited to the more highly developed mind of man. It is necessary to extricate ourselves from the web woven around us during the ages of our mental infancy. All are responsible for it, in a greater or lesser degree, it is true, and all who wish to help forward the dawn of a New Age have to reckon with and share in the mistakes of the whole race. No one can stand aside and say : “ I had no part in this.” Each must accept his share of the guilt and help find the way out. Ours is the duty to discover the new way, to think ourselves into the evolutionary plan as it is laid down by the Ruler of the Universe, the Manu, and to give expression outwardly to the form needed for the unfoldment of the stages we are now entering on.

We English pride ourselves on our Parliamentary system, asserting that ours is the Mother of Parliaments and that all nations copy our forms. This last is true to a certain extent,

but it must not be forgotten that these forms are only the *least* evil of all forms of administration. They are by no means perfect. Indeed, to those who look ahead, Parliament appears as merely in its babyhood at present. It may well become a flourishing institution as it broadens out into something more plastic and less rigid. If only the heart of it be changed and its latent ideals asserted, if only the individuals who form its component parts be men characterised by high sincerity of purpose and capable of giving expression to the light that is in them, then Britain will rise supreme in service to the world, giving a lead to the Great Parliament of Nations that must some time grow out of the present League of Nations.

Whatever the faults of the past, we *are* a people who love freedom, both for ourselves and for those dependent on us. True, India has not yet received it at our hands, although she must ultimately do so, halt on the way how we will. The forward-flowing tide of evolution is strong and pushes us steadily ahead; now a fierce and almost unmanageable current approaches and it will be well to watch carefully and strive to guide it into safe channels, else will it burst all bounds, working havoc near and far.

The idea of government in the sense of dogmatic control or repression must be forgotten, both as regards the affairs of our own country and of the countries linked with us, and the endeavour made to think out and work out a newer and truer form of administration. This must be done for the good of the whole Empire and not for the benefit of any special country or any special class.

It is obvious that some more practical method of administration will grow out of the present chaos created by Parliamentary opportunism as men see the next steps in social order and international relationship. But for this, real statesmen are required—not political place-seekers and wire-pullers, but men of pure intent who understand the art of administering the affairs of a nation and who *have been trained for that purpose and to that*

end. They should, that is, be as fully qualified for their job as the skilled engine-driver is qualified for his. One can scarcely say that that condition of things obtains today.

It may well be asked how a training in statesmanship could be obtained. It seems to the writer that some such system as the following may well be found necessary in the near future :

A beginning should be made with the affairs of a village or town, for those who know how to administer the affairs of a town or village, will find such knowledge a useful stepping-stone to the understanding of the wider administration demanded in national work. Men and women elected to the councils should be of varying classes and types, so that their collective wisdom, producing a synthesis, may enable them to arrive at the fullest possible degree of understanding of the problems with which they will be called upon to deal. Such knowledge would be mainly applied to the development of agriculture and manufactures, and the councils would be expected to seek ways and means to improve the lot of the workers within their area, by arranging Workers' and Employers' committees and calling board meetings at which both employees and employers should voice the findings of their respective committees. These boards would sit as occasion required, adjust grievances, hours of work, etc., etc.

The election of town councillors could, until a better system be devised, take place under a form of adult suffrage, property votes having no special place in the scheme and only actual residents within the area having the right to vote, on the principle of one vote to each adult, of whatever sex.

The administration of affairs should be recognized as a science, and there should be a school or training centre for those who wish to participate in this, the beginning of statesmanship. To this end, children whose minds turn in this direction should be sent to such a training centre and there taught and trained in such matters, being, when proficient in their knowledge of village and town affairs, drafted to a special college in which the more highly specialised training for administration would be given

them. Such training centres and colleges should be free, without distinctions of any kind, to all who desire to serve the community in this manner, and it is from the fully trained members of such colleges that town and village councillors would be elected and from these only.

After two years' service on a town council, members who elect to extend their work of administration should have opportunities given them to prepare themselves as candidates for the National Council of Parliament. This National Council, or Parliament, would be limited in its activities, in that only the affairs of the nation itself would be discussed.

An examination would be necessary before the degree of P.N.C., or Prospective National Councillor, could be conferred. This would include a knowledge of the *true* principles of Political Economy, of Production and Distribution, History, Geography, Geology, Mining, Agriculture and Manufactures; and the degree would be conferred not only on those who attained a stipulated degree of proficiency in these subjects as a whole but also on those who showed such proficiency in special subjects as would warrant their being sufficiently useful to deal successfully with the work required of candidates for the National Council.

Under such a system as this, only those versed in the art of administration and thoroughly conversant with the intricacies of village, town and city affairs, would be eligible for membership in the National Parliament. This would do away with the present anomalous condition of things, in which men who understand little or nothing of their own problems get themselves into Parliament in order to deal with the problems of other cases whom they do not understand!

After five years of experience on the National Council of Parliament, members should have gained sufficient knowledge of affairs and attained a sufficient degree of statesmanship to entitle them to be called in to help administer the affairs of the Empire and international matters generally. Presuming that they knew, as they could scarcely fail to do after such a preparation and such

experience, that *growth* is the law governing all things, they would all this time have been training themselves for this more difficult and wider work upon international lines. They would have sought to understand the different histories, policies, politics, affairs and aims of the countries they would be called upon to deal with. Hence they would, when the time come, be found to have the necessary knowledge and understanding of international matters, coupled with such proficiency in statesmanship as would justify their election as members of the Supreme Parliament. This Supreme Parliament would deal solely with international affairs, and election to it would be by universal suffrage, only those being eligible for membership who had undergone five years' practical training as members of the National Parliament.

A certain number of members of this Supreme Parliament would need to be elected by the members themselves, for Parliament alone could be expected to know fully the capacities of those giving their services to the country. In this way, there would be no possibility of good men being overlooked by the electorate, which, naturally, cannot know all details of work done, and might through lack of such knowledge return mediocre men for posts demanding highly specialised abilities. The wisest statesmen are sometimes unknown to the country, but they are *not* unknown to their own colleagues, hence the necessity for Parliament to have the power to co-opt those known to be worthy of such honour.

Objections to such a scheme as this may be raised on the grounds that it would produce a caste of statesmen. It is to be hoped that it would! More could certainly be expected of a body of men trained in this or similar fashion than is possible under the present haphazard system, or lack of system. Does anyone seriously imagine that better work could be done by mere place-seekers, carpet-baggers and nondescript "politicians" who understand as little of the haunting fear, the soul-destroying sense of impotence, that grips the worker as he thinks of old age and of

the unemployment that may claim him to-morrow as they do of the glorious traditions and national ideals of countries other than their own. Yet what aim can a true political economy have save the building of such forms as shall best release the inner and higher life of individuals and nations by setting it free from present inhibiting factors? Let us face the fact at once, that for adequate dealing with these things, for the evolving of a true national world economy, men have to be trained, and trained in the practical school of experience, and have to be elected, not on the strength of party or personal cries and opinions, but on the strength of work accomplished, understanding demonstrated, statesmanship displayed.

Nor need the adoption of such a system stand in the way of the capable man who, late in life, is anxious to enter parliamentary life. Such ambition would, under such a system of government, be seen as useless save where there existed an unselfish motive and practical ability, since merit and service alone would carry a man into the higher positions. In the event of such a man deciding to enter the political field, all that would be necessary for him would be to take a short course of training and to pass the ordinary examination. His worldly knowledge would be taken into consideration, and provided he could pass the usual examination, the preparatory stages of village, town and city councils might be omitted. Such examination would be free to any one who chose to offer himself and would qualify the person to stand as candidate for the National Parliament, or Council. But only those who had served five years on the National Council would be eligible for entrance into the Supreme Parliament.

So much, then, for the system as applied to national and international affairs. A word is, however, necessary regarding the supreme administrative body. A Parliament, however wide its scope, cannot easily manage the many details of government, cannot spare the time to deal with the minutiae of every matter that comes up for settlement. Indeed, why should it? Given

an agreed and general policy, it seems certain that the working out of details are best left in the hands of a special body of highly experienced men, a small, select council under a President or King, whose decisions would be final. But—and here is the important point—it must not be a bureaucracy, practically elected by itself, nor a little family party, such as we have to-day, under a Prime Minister, practically self-chosen or chosen by Party or newspaper intrigue. What is needed is a supreme body of trained and tried men who have worked their way up the ladder of parliamentary life and gained the experience that has made of them statesmen capable of the difficult task of administering the affairs of a State, both in its national and international aspects.

Under such men, tried and trusted statesmen of proved integrity, whose sincerity of purpose and capacity for service is beyond doubt, it is certain that the State could not but flourish and that it would produce, in ever-increasing numbers, the higher type of individual, fitted for the communal life that has already begun to dawn.

Rising out of the present chaos and to rise in actually out of the solutions that must be found to it, we find the idea of a Great Parliament of the world. This has been spoken of by many prophets—not forgetting the poet Tennyson—and it is the part of the Divine Plan of Evolution to which the world-wide political chaos of the present is inevitably leading us. And the training of statesmen through the school of Village, Town, City, National and Supreme Councils will prepare the way for this greater thing, the Great Parliament of nations which will keep the peace of the world, adjust disputes, and make international laws in accordance with the newer, wider, ideal of human fraternity now evident in all peoples.

The members of this Great Parliament would be selected from amongst the wisest in the Supreme Council of each country, and these would be sent by their respective nations as delegates to the Parliament of the World.

By some such system as this outlined here, we should usher in once more the rule of the wise, and a new understanding of human brotherhood and solidarity would grow up in the world. The ideas of repression and coercion, of inferiority and superiority, would gradually disappear. The love of gain for the sake of gain and the individualism that is self-seeking would give way to a form of society ordered in accordance with the known facts of nature, a society founded on first an intuitive understanding and later an increasing and actual knowledge of the fact of brotherhood, on, that is, the recognition of all men as one human family.

And is not that the goal in view?

LEONARD BOSMAN

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CYPRESS

The cypress is a silent cry
Of earth that wants to be the sky.

FREDERICA BLANKNER

MEASURES FOR RAISING THE WORLD LEVEL OF PRICES—STATED AND EXAMINED.

Summary.

In this paper an attempt has been made to examine the various proposals, that have been put forward for raising the present level of world prices. Difficulties in the way of international banking co-operation are pointed out, but at the same time, emphasis is laid upon the fact, that as far as Europe is concerned, protection, which has been recommended as an alternative remedy for raising the existing level of prices, has its limitations. Protection, and Currency depreciation in the case of territorially big countries, are then discussed, and emphasis is laid on the interdependence of prices of manufactured goods and agricultural commodities. Towards the close of the paper, rehabilitation of silver is suggested, as correcting and supplementing the work of Protection, especially in Eastern Countries, in raising the level of prices.

Raising the level of World-prices is the great problem facing economists and statesmen to-day. There are a number of measures which might be undertaken for achieving this object. In U. S. A , the credit policy of the F. R. Board has aimed at the same object. Private businessmen have also for some time been engaged in the task of supplementing the work of the F. R. Board, by calculating further buying possibilities and planning or reducing further production. In this connection, the credit policy of the American Federal Reserve System is significant. Whereas the old credit policy, aimed at ensuring that the discount rate should definitely follow the market. American policy has set before it, as its objective, the manipulation and stabilization of business, to a certain extent by the discount rate, and more especially through open market operations.

There is difference of opinion as to the extent to which, the F. Reserve system has been successful. The Federal Reserve Bulletin for 1928 admits that the policies, which the F. R. Board had pursued in 1927, were responsible for a considerable amount of speculative activities on the Stock Exchange during that year. The fact is that "Credit policy, as an instrument of economic policy, is futile, unless and until it is able to steer the flow of credit, in a particular direction, as well as increase or diminish its volume."

Though left to themselves the Central Banks have not been able to raise the level of prices (to a certain extent, as the majority report of the Macmillan Committee points out, this has been due to the liquidity of the reserve requirements regarding note issues of Central Banks), by international Co-operation, amongst the Central Banks of the world, the existing supply of gold, can be made to go a good deal further. One of the most important recommendations of the Macmillan Committee, is that there should be international Co-operation amongst the Central Banks of the world in the matter of economizing gold reserves and creation of fresh credit, with a view to raise the world-level of prices. Doubts have been quite justifiably cast on the feasibility of such international Co-operation. The interests of different countries are different, and measures taken to stabilize employment in one country (say, for protection) have often led to different measures, in another country. Further for successful co-operation amongst Central Banks of the world we assume that Central Banks, in their respective countries, dominate their money-markets. Now, notably, in the case of England (as the Macmillan Committee has pointed out) the Bank of England has not been able to control, effectively, operations in the money-market. Dr Keynes (*Money*, Vol. II) also points out, how the banking organization in England has been neither able to control the investment operations of Englishmen abroad, nor the short-term investments of foreigners in England. "In fact the Bank of England, does

not know whether London's short-term liabilities to foreigners are increasing or decreasing. Yet it must be impossible for the Bank of England to manage its open operations, efficiently without this information. It is, as if, the head office of a Bank were to manage its policy, and maintain its reserves, without any regular source of information as to the volume of its deposits or whether they were increasing or decreasing. Keynes (Money, Vol. II,). Even assuming that the recommendations made in the majority report of the Macmillan Committee for strengthening the Bank of England are carried out, so that it might more effectively co-operate with the other Central Banks of the world, it is doubtful whether maintaining up to the liquidity of note-reserves will lead to sensible increase in the price-level. Banking enthusiasts, of late, have been apt to overstress the influence of Banking policy or price-level ; just as in earlier years Currency enthusiasts overstressed the influence of Currency on prices. It may be conceded at once, that banking policy in modern times has greater influence than Currency. But great value must also be attached to the position taken up by Dr. Keynes, that unless and until the banking organizations of the world control both foreign and domestic investment operations, they are not likely to exercise much influence on the depressed price-level, at present. As it is, habit and organization play a very important part, in the direction of foreign lending, and very often high direct taxation at home has been known to affect the relative proportions of home and foreign investments. I should like to stress the recommendations made in the minority report of the Macmillan Committee, rather than the majority report, for raising the present level of prices.

The majority report recommends a policy of thorough-going protection, for Great Britain, as likely to lead to a rise in the price-level.

We, thus, have apparently two sets of recommendations, made in the same report, rather contradictory in their nature : Economic Internationalism and Economic Nationalism. But

they are only apparently contradictory. The pursuit of a policy of protection, alongside of financial rapprochement assumes to the manufacturer at home his home-market, so that there is at once a stimulus to borrow and a stimulus to use it, for the purpose for which such credit has been made available. It is not difficult to understand the reasons behind the memorandum on Fiscal Policy issued in 1930, in England. The cost of labour in England has greatly increased, mainly because of trade-union restrictions and of the growing expenditure on social services, like unemployment insurance, to which the employers also contribute. Protection however of the home-market, one of the most important planks in the conservative platform, is an anathema to the Labour Party, as by raising the cost of living, it would be a reduction in the real wages of labour.

As between the three alternative suggestions put forward in the Macmillan and May Committee reports—International Co-operation (1) amongst the Central Banks of the World, (2) Borrowing additional Credits from abroad, (3) Protection, The National Government has not chosen to adopt any one alternative.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has adopted—rather has been forced to adopt—the suspension of the Gold Standard. This measure is certainly one way of raising the level of prices, but it is not without its harmful consequences, especially in the directions of causing inconvenience to foreign depositors in England, and a certain loss in the financial prestige of Great Britain. It seems to me, that a more satisfactory measure which European countries could have adopted, is that of protection. Protection would seem to be inevitable, especially if the financing of rationalized industries is undertaken as a whole by banks. “At the time when industries are undergoing rationalization, they are very much like a lobster, without its shell, and they need safeguarding while they are going through the metamorphosis.” There are obviously certain obstacles to the pursuit of a policy of Protection, at least in the countries of Europe. For one

thing, Post-War Europe, split up into tiny little countries, is quite different from Pre-War Europe, and if Protection is to be successful at once, it is best that it is adopted by fairly big countries, like India, or China or U. S. A. This possibly explains why suspension of the Gold Standard—ultimately this means currency depreciation—has been undertaken in order to obtain protective effects for home, without the consequence of an increase in the cost of living. As far as we are concerned it is best that we rely more on a policy of protection than on a policy of currency depreciation, *i.e.*, depreciation of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies especially, now that the rupee has been officially linked to a depreciated and depreciating sterling. As a rule, protection as a remedy for the depressed price-level, is to be preferred to currency depreciation ; for in the case of the former, it is generally easier to estimate the results.

Moreover, currency depreciation has often in the history of the world, meant a certain amount of loss in the financial prestige of the country resorting to it, whereas a scheme of scientifically contrived import duties is often an indication, in modern times, of the growing industrial strength of the country.

We come, then to the following conclusion : —

(1) That as far as Europe is concerned, because of the existing territorial distribution of political units, the remedy for the present economic malady seems to lie in international co-operation amongst the Central Banks of the world.

(2) That protection in such countries as India or U. S. A. with a diversity of wealth, is likely to be successful.

In the case of such countries, as China, U. S. A. or India, schemes of all-round protection, both for agriculture and industries, are likely to be very efficacious as an agent for raising the level of prices of only manufactured goods. But the heart of the problem lies in agriculture, and it is highly doubtful if protection will raise agricultural prices substantially. For one thing, imports of agricultural countries are as yet not alarming,

so that the establishment of Protection would be, more or less, in the nature of mobilization of forces against an imaginary enemy in a country. Better results will certainly flow from the adoption of a policy of restriction of production in agriculture, or increase of marketing facilities for agricultural produce. To restrict production in agriculture in Europe, or British India where it is carried on mostly by peasants, is not easy. The depression, in the case of agricultural produce (which is greater than that of manufactured goods) is closely bound up with the future of silver. There are a number of reasons why the practicability of Bimetallism, should be fully explored at present ; the remonetization of silver is not really so "fantastic," as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald referred to in the proposal, in the House of Commons, recently. The purchasing power of silver, when it increases, is certain to have repercussions on gold-standard countries, which they might think undesirable. But that is no reason why we should not fully explore the practicability of the various measures for the rehabilitation of silver.

If silver is not actually remonetized restriction or regulation of the output of silver would seem to be necessary, if the level of agricultural prices is to be raised at all. Protection *per se* cannot obviously achieve this purpose. And unless the level of agricultural producerises simultaneously or prior to the level of prices of manufactured goods, there is no likelihood of the world-level of prices being raised one writer has recently, in the Indian Economic Journal (July 1931, p. 81), come to the conclusion "that an international agreement to have silver for monetary purposes would be a backward step ; and all that can be done to pacify the silver interests is to arrange for a more judicious way of disposing of the unwanted silver, by the respective Governments, by means of making them accept the open tender system for the sale of silver, so that industrial requirements, might be satisfied in this matter."

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. L. S. Amery, however, in the Nineteenth Century (September, 1931), has pointed out that if only

“the British Government would agree to attend, or convene, an international Conference on silver, announcing at the same time that it meant, in any event, to take definite action itself, there is little doubt of its securing the requisite decisions.” It has been sometimes stated in the Press, that the fall in prices has been due to excessive production. As a matter of fact it is not so. It has been brought about mostly by Government action. Some recent articles in the Journal of Political Economy have stressed the fact that since the War “the production from the mines has never equalled the demand ; and as the shrinkage in the supply of silver, from 1920 to 1930 (compared with that of 1910-1920), has been converted into surplus, by selling off demonetized silver by the Indian and French Indo-Chinese Governments regarded as a business proposition, there ought not to be the slightest difficulty, in doubling the price of silver, if only the Government of India should declare that it would not sell any of its silver under less than a certain price.

The Rt. Hon'ble L. S. Amery (Nineteenth Century, September, 1931) is perhaps quite right in saying, that Economy, just at present, is quite a secondary objective. To the extent to which it reduces waste, and enables reduction of taxation of businessmen, it is certainly well worth having. But ultimately attention should be concentrated on more important policies, like protection, or resuscitation of silver. “A National Government in England should not stand for economy as such for after all such a policy is at best of a defensive character. It should maintain a fairly high wage-standard, and lend no countenance to sweating the public, or private, as the way to salvation ”

We thus come to the following sets of conclusions :

(1) That for preventing the breakdown of the Gold Standard steps should be taken, either to prevent maldistribution of gold, or to economize gold either by changes in domestic banking policy or by co-operation with the other Central banks of the world, or both.

(2) That two most important steps for ensuring economy of

gold, would be rehabilitation of the price of silver, and building up of favourable trade balance by increase of export trade.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out, from the standpoint of the immediate future a rise of prices, if it can be achieved, is preferable to a cutting of money costs. But with regard to the long-run, divergence of view may be legitimate. It may be, as Dr. Gregory legitimately points out, that the ideal of monetary policy may be stabilization of prices in terms of human effort, rather than a stabilization of prices in terms of gold. But it must always be remembered, that a policy of gold-price stabilization has the merit of being intelligible to the man in the street. We may also notice, that a certain amount of delay, or caution, is envitable in the successful pursuit of a policy of raising price-levels. Premature stabilization might have disastrous effects. For, in modern times, "price stabilization is only possible (assuming of course, that we cling to the gold standard) by co-operative action amongst the Central Banks of the World, for any single bank which attempted to stabilize the local price-level, at a time when world-prices are falling, might lose its reserves altogether, and be forced to suspend or abandon the gold standard."

It seems to me that the present moment is quite opportune for exploring the possibility of a bimetallic system and when once established, such a system would avoid fluctuations between the gold and silver-using parts of the world.

M. K. MUNISWAMI

GOOD-BYE

White, the snow on the mountain,
Bright, the moon in the sky.
Hearing that you have changed your heart,
I have come to say good-bye.
Tonight we meet ; I drink thy health,
For tomorrow I must see you over the bridge.
Perhaps we may walk a little distance ere we part
And watch the waters darting east and west.
It will not be too sad, too solitary,
Love is not a token to cry !
I hope you will find a lover everlastingly true,
To keep you company forever.
Look, how low-bending that fishing pole,
How lively the fish's tail !
Ah, better to love beauty and flowers,
Than hope to share the soul of another.

CHI HWANG CHU

A. E.

The Celtic movement in Modern English poetry is a reaction against contemporary tendencies of thought. Visions and dreams have, for poets belonging to this group, a greater reality than the actual facts of life. Nor can they find anything appealing to the profounder depths of human personality in the bustle and tumult of modern society. Theirs is the protest of mysticism and imaginative vision against the blatant realism which has, for years together, been trying to establish itself in the domain of English thought. The life they live seems, in their opinion, to be bereft of that nobler and more inspiring ideal which upheld their heroic ancestors. It is an iron age ;

“ The wonder of the world is o’er :
 The magic from the sea is gone :
 There is no unimagined shore
 No islet yet to venture on.”

(Twilight of the Earth.)

The divine dreams which urged the great spirits of olden times, the fires that lit their dawning souls, have all faded away into nothingness. For the modern man the forest glooms are no longer

“ Rumorous of old romance
 Fraught with unimagined dooms.”
 (Weariness.)

It is not nature that has changed, but man. She “ mighty mother ” still retains her primal sympathy for her beloved offspring, the human soul ; she still endeavours to instil in man “ high resolves ” and magic vision. It is man who has fallen from his high estate ; he

“ moves in the twilight dim
 Feels not the love that encircles him,

Though in heart, on bosom and eyelids press
 Lips of an infinite tenderness,
 He turns away through the dark to roam
 Nor heeds the fire in his hearth and home.

(Unconscious).

He is a "kinsman of the Cherubim" gifted with a fire which might have classed him with the Titans of the days of old; radiant with a glory of his own like the morning stars which illumine the darkest recesses of the earth, yet this mortal clay of his body weighs him down; his vesture of decay is sorely "muddied with the lees of time."¹ "Chained in this pit's abysmal mire, as the world now appears to him, he broods and recreates in his own mind his agony of solitude. He feels the depth of his misery, "the night which encircles him" and strives hard to rend asunder the manacles of his soul but all in vain.² He is bewildered; he cannot understand, "How has the fire promethean paled."³ And in the anguish of his heart he asks,

"Mankind that sought to be God-kind,
 To wield the sceptre, wear the crown,
 What made it worm-like in its mind?
 Who bade it lay the sceptre down?
 Was it through any speech of thee
 Misunderstood of Galilee?"

(Iron Age.)

The consciousness of man's miserable plight in this age of industrialism has something very pathetic about it. The despairing cry of the human heart is poignant with inexpressible sorrow. Encompassed round by the iron law of circumstance, these poor inheritors of a greater day lament in a heart-rending manner their present degeneration.

"We dwindle down beneath the skies,
 And from ourselves we pass away:
 The paradise of memories
 Grows ever fainter day by day,

¹ Weariness.

² Rescue.

³ Iron Age.

The shepherd stars have shrunk within,
The world's great night will soon begin "

(The Twilight of Earth.)

The contrast between the present and the past, between
the glorious age when—
The contrast between the past and the present.

" God, an elder brother dear,
Filled with kindly light our thought :
Many a radiant form was near
Whom our hearts remember not."

(Weariness.)

and that twilight time in which

"in their councils over all
Men set the power that sells and buys "

(The Iron Age.)

naturally makes them full of misgivings. Is the world really falling into decay? Will man " bathed in gloom, too long " forget his past glory and lose "the lost memorial gleam " ? Have all the gods run their cycles? Has Devil-worship now begun? " Is there an iron age to be with beauty but a memory? " These are indeed questions which seem to overwhelm the little optimism that man still retains in the midst of the fever and fret of life; and from the profoundest depths of his personality there rings out an earnest prayer to the spiritual powers, a prayer for deliverance from this earthy hum-drum existence which stifles his soul. " Send forth," implores man,

" Send forth who promised long ago,

' I will not leave thee or forsake '

Someone to whom our hearts may flow

With adoration, though we make

The crucifixion be the sign

The meed of all the kingly line.

The morning stars were heard to sing

When man towered golden in the prime

One equal memory let us bring

Before we face our night in time.

Grant us one only evening star,

The iron age's avatar."

(The Iron Age.)

Yet all is not lost. Even in the midst of darkest night of despair there are gleams of hope. Winter may be now brooding over the destinies of men, yet spring is not far behind. For what are, after all, darkness and radiance but “creations within the spirit born?” Are we not creatures of our own making? Do we not, even in these days of gloom and pessimism, still retain the power to make or mar our own fate? Cannot mind, in its own place, ‘make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell?’

“Not yet are fixed the prison bars;
The hidden light the spirit owns
If blown to flame would dim the stars
And they who rule them from their thrones;
And the grand sceptered spirits thence
Would bow to pay us reverence”

(The Twilight of the Earth.)

Let us then look to our own selves for guidance; let us not be carried away by the glories of the present-day world which lure us only to destroy. The pageants of worldly power are but unsubstantial things; they last for a day and then disappear into that very oblivion from which they spring. Let us, therefore, turn away from the buying and selling of a commercialised world, from its material wealth and prosperity—

“Oh! while the glory sinks within
Let us not wait on earth behind,
But follow where it flies, and win
The glow again, and we may find
Beyond the Gateways of the Day
Dominion and ancestral sway.”

(The Twilight of the Earth.)

This hope in the future destiny of man is further strengthened by the existence, even in these days of materialism, of men illumined by the inner light of intuitive vision, men whose eyes are yet

*The Mystic—Living
through visionary
hours.*

“.....blind with a glory
Time will not remember again.”

(The Free.)

They live in this world indeed but are not of it. The world with its mad rush for gain and its destructive struggle for existence cannot soil their soul. Their souls are stars which live apart, nourishing within themselves

“.....the secret sense celestial of the starry birth
Though about you call the bestial Voices of the earth.”

(Comfort.)

They live through visionary hours in a world of spirit which reckons not of earthly gain. The beauty of the world around them, its promise of spiritual regeneration, its vision of glory, upheld them in the midst of the direst calamities. Such men lived in the past “bathed in the fire-flooded fountains” and “girdled round and about” by an all-sustaining life.

“ They prayed, but their worship was only
The wonder at nights and at days,
As still as the lips of the Lonely
Though burning with the dumbness of praise.

No sadness of earth ever captured
Their spirits who bowed at the shrine
They fled to the Lonely enraptured
And hid in the darkness divine.”

(The Free.)

And such men *do* live even now, in this age of spiritual decadence. When the heart of man dies within him at the sight of ugliness and mental stupor, when “prophecies and hopes” seem to lie dead before the rottenness of the world and the sordid dissoluteness of its inhabitants, they appear “crowned with thorns of light,” their eyes, radiant as

“.....one who sees
The starry palaces shine o’er the sparkle of the heavenly seas.”

(The Heroes.)

At their every approach the bitter condemnation which had so long been rankling in the heart dies away ;
 The world transformed before their eyes. the entire world is transformed : the very ugliness of life becomes resplendent with a newly discovered glory. With unerring insight into the reality of things they inspire men with the thought that

“ Each wrinkled hag shall re-assume the plume and hues of Paradise :
 Each brawler be enthroned in calm among the children of the wise”
 (The Heroes.)

and suddenly the brow of these apparently dissolute creatures becomes crowned and bright

“ A light round the shadowy heads, a shadow round the head of light.”
 (The Heroes).

They are the real heroes whom the world knows not. Their very life is a consecration and a dream

“ filled with music by the masters of the world.”

Even in their awakened moments glimmering feet of sunshine dance before their visionary eyes, beckoning them far away from the world of actual existence. They continually hear the call :

“ ‘ Come away,’ the red lips whisper, ‘ all the world is weary now ;
 ’Tis the twilight of the ages and it’s the time to quit the plough.
 Oh ! the very sunlight’s weary ere it lightens up the dew,
 And its gold is changed and faded before it falls to you.

Though your colleen’s heart be tender, a tenderer heart is near
 What’s the starlight in her glances, when the stars are shining clear ?
 Who would kiss the fading shadow, when the flower-face glows above ?
 ’Tis the beauty of all Beauty that is calling for your love.’ ”

And then to their enraptured gaze,

“ the land of youth lies gleaming,* flashed with rainbow
 light and mirth
 And the old enchantment lingers in the honey-heart of earth.”
 (Carrowmore.)

Moments of despondency.

Not that they are blind to the stifling influence of their uncongenial environments. They feel it in their heart of hearts. They know that a glory has fled from the earth, that the visionary gleam is no longer there. They have their moments of depression indeed ; moments when they are too much conscious of their earth-bound existence. In these moments the recollection of the past comes back to their mind with an added poignancy of sorrow.

“ I know thee, O glory ;
Thine eyes and thy brows
With white-fire all hoary
Come back to me now.
Together we wandered
In ages ago :
Our thoughts as we pondered
Were stars at the dawn.”

Those days of spiritual exultations are over, so they feel. The shades of evening have fallen on them and around them. The world has now become too much with such spirits. They can no longer have glimpses of those visionary hours. Their glory has dwindled, their ‘azure and gold ;’ and the pity of it is that they still have an intuitive consciousness ‘dim-descried’ though it be, of a spiritual radiance which they can only see from afar and cannot reach. In their struggle with the world they have lost their pristine innocence. Their footsteps “are tied to the heath and the stone ;” Their thoughts have become of the earth, earthy ; so much “earth-allied-to” that they cannot respond to the call of the other-world. And in such moments of despair, they sorrowfully bid adieu to what had clothed them with radiance in the past. “Ah leave me alone” cry they, in the anguish of their heart,

“ Go back, thou of gladness,
Nor wound me with pain,
Nor smite me with madness
Nor come nigh again.”

Even in such moments, however, there comes from the
 The message of hope. depth of their heart a message of hope which
 dispels the clouds of doubt and despair.
 Their soul gathers strength they know not whence. The "still
 small voice within" cannot be silenced. On the contrary, it
 whispers to them soul-entrancing melodies. Their weakness is
 strengthened. Self-confidence comes back. The voice of the
 spirit speaks in no uncertain terms: "Why tremble and weep
 now" she consoles,

"Why tremble and weep now
 Whom stars once obeyed?
 Come forth to the deep now
 And be not afraid."

"Thou art no insignificant creature," she seems to remind the
 down-cast soul. "Thou art great, being the well-beloved of
 Divinity itself. It is fear which stifles thy aspiration: conquer it
 and the vision of glory will be vouchsafed unto thee." For it is
 not thou alone who aspirest after communion with the great
 Over-soul; the Over-soul hath need of thee even as thou hast
 of Him:"

"The Dark One is calling
 I know, for his dreams
 Around me are falling
 In musical streams."

Thou art the chosen; in the mansion of thy father there is a
 seat reserved for thee,

"A diamond is burning
 In depths of the lone,
 Thy spirit returning
 May claim for its throne."

Hast thou sorrow? Art thou laden with cares and anxieties? Is
 the world too dark for thee? Hast thou fallen on the thorns of
 life and dost bleed?

“ Come lay thy poor head on
 My heart where it glows
 With love ruby-red on
 Thy heart for its woes.

(Glory and Shadow,)

“ Come forth : ” the call rings in his ears,

“ Come forth : for the splendour
 Is waiting for you.”

(*Ibid.*)

Thus upheld and thus sustained by the inner voice—“made young with joy, and grown brother-hearted with the vast”—they wander about in this world, seeking for the “visionary gleam” and trailing clouds of glory wherever they go.

To this chosen band of seers and mystics does George Russel, otherwise known as A. E., belong. A. E. as a Mystic Poet. Weighed down by the spiritual poverty of modern times he advises his fellowmen to hearken to the inner voice of God.

“Oh be not led away,” implores the poet, “even by the beauty of the external world.” ‘The colours of a sun-rich day’ have a glamour indeed but their radiance lures man from the spiritual world of dreams. The “gay romance of song” can lift him from the pettiness of his everyday existence but it cannot make him participate in the true life of the spirit. Man should, endeavour to turn his face away from this passing show and concentrate his attention entirely on the development of his soul. He should be always alert for those moments of illumination which come but rarely to him. For these moments alone matter ; they alone give him an insight into the true significance of reality ; in them, alone, can he catch accents of the unknown, the Lonely.

(1) The Inner Voice.

" Though far between the hours
 In which the Master of Angelic powers
 Lightens the dark within,
 The holy of holies, be it thine to win
 Rare vistas of white light,
 Half-parted lips through which the Infinite
 Murmurs its ancient story,
 Harkening to whom the wandering planets hoary
 Waken primeval fires,
 With deeper rapture in celestial choirs
 Breathe, and with fleeter motion
 Wheel in their orbits through the surgeless ocean.
 So Harken thou like these,
 Intent on it, mounting by slow degrees,
 Until thy song's elation
 Echoes the multitudinous meditation."

Nature is his companion ; her " magic may flood him through
 and though ;" her dreams of twilight, her silence and peace may
 instil themselves into his heart ; but it is not
 (2) Nature, its mys- her external charms which appeal to the poet
 ery and soundless alm. most ; it is that elusive something, that
 element of mystery and " soundless calm," which influences
 him strangely. Then from the world of everyday existence the
 " immemorial joys of hearth and home and love," the poet
 strays along " the margin of the unknown tide " and it is then
 alone that

" All its reach of soundless calm can thrill me far above
 Word or touch from the lips beside."

(By the Margin of the Great Deep.)

The solitude of the earth has thus a profound significance for him ; it makes him conscious of mystic influences.

In such moments of " singing silence," the poet experiences impressions from the deeper world of spiritual essences. There

are beautiful descriptions of such thrilling moments interspersed throughout his poetry. In the "solemn silence" of the night he rose, so he sings, •

"Heart-ridden from the outer things I rose
The spirit woke anew in nightly birth
Unto the vastness where for ever glows
The star-soul of the earth."

(The Hermit.)

The world of spiritual powers stood revealed to his questioning gaze ; he saw "Olden Beauty" shining there ^{The revelation of the spiritual world.} "all alone in primal ecstasy" and felt each thought, each fibre of his being saturated through and through with its influence. These experiences can always be felt in the midst of the "thrilling solitude" of the night or the ethereal natural magic of a noontide landscape.

"Through the drowsy lull, the murmur, the stir of leaf and sleepy hum,
We can feel a gay heart beating, hear a magic singing come."

On such occasions of spiritual exultation the poet becomes one with the Oversoul, lighting his "fitful gleams in clay that perish" his "little sparks that soon expire" at the "olden fire" of the great mother.

"So the mother brims her gladness from a life beyond her own,
From whose darkness as a fountain up the fiery days are thrown ;
Starry worlds that wheel in splendour, sunny systems, histories,
Vast and nebulous traditions told in the eternities"

(The Singing Silence.)

Soon, however, the glimmer passes away and the inspiration is lost.

"Thrown downward from that high companionship
Of dreaming inmost heart with inmost heart
Into the common daily ways I slip
My fire from theirs apart."

(Dawn.)

So the poet laments : the world is no longer radiant for him ;
 after his dreams he is rudely awakened.
 The vision fades away. Reality as mirrored in the everyday experiences of life oppresses his soul.

" But here an iron will has fixed the bars
 Forgetfulness falls on earth's myriad races ;
 No image of the proud and morning stars
 Looks at us from their faces."

(Day.)

Are, then, these moments of vision, unreal? or even if real, are they transitory? Why is it that the images which open up before our mind's eye long-rolling vistas of spiritual experience should vanish so swiftly? Have they any permanent significance? The yearning of the poet's heart answers " Yes." When the soul is eager to reach those dim heights of intuitive vision again,

" Each dream remembered is a burning glass,
 Where-through to darkness from the Light of lights
 Its rays in splendour pass."

(Day.)

They are permanent *symbols* helping the human soul in its path of spiritual progress. They grow out of the dreams and moods of the spirit in man.
 Symbols. In moments of inspiration the Divine in man wakes up from its slumber ; it can no longer be satisfied with the transient objects of the earth. It is anxious for " God, its home." Then it loses touch with the external world and lives in worlds unrealised. At this stage of spiritual illumination, there emanate from the depths of the soul dreams and moods externalised, moods expressed by figures associated with tradition or individual experience.

" Now when the spirit in us wakes and broods
 Filled with home yearnings, drowsily it flings
 From its deep heart high dreams and mystic moods
 Mixed with the memory of the loved earth-things :
 Clothing the vast with a familiar face ;
 Reaching its right hand forth to greet the starry race."

(Symbolism,)

They help man to realise his communion with the spiritual essences of the universe. Through them the human soul "reaches his right hand to greet the starry race." In afterlife, it is this symbol which influences him, takes possession of his entire self and lifts him up to Divinity. "We rise," says the poet,

"We rise, by the symbol charioted
Through loved things rising up to Love's own ways:
By these the soul unto the vast has wings
And sets the seal celestial on all mortal things."

(Symbolism.)

Not such significant dreams alone, but every feeling of the human heart, leaves a permanent vestige in the spiritual world. At every heart-beat there come from the human soul moods which seem to be transitory. They tempt man by their presence and flit away like evanescent clouds at the slightest approach of mortal feet. Time seems to sweep off the entire flock to his caravan.

Moods—Eternal.

"These new-born beauties
The tyrant took
Their gaze was on mine
And mine forsook
I could not stay even
One lovely look."

(Time.)

Yet they, the most insignificant of them all, are everlasting. Moods and emotions once felt never die away. They are all enshrined in the Over-soul; carefully nourished till Eternity. "I," sings the poet,

"I, who sought on high for calm
In the Ever-living find
All I was in what I am,
Fierce with gentle intertwined."

(Resurrection.)

Man may become disconsolate at the fading away of his visions; his heart may be sorely wounded by the "iron rule" of

circumstance. He seeks some re-assuring sign—something which will strengthen him in the midst of his uncongenial environments. It is the mystic who can give him that re-assuring sign; he, and none else, can console him in his sorrow, strengthen him in his weakness. He alone can point out

“ Those delicate children
Thy dreams still endure :
All pure and lovely things
Wend to the pure.
Sigh not : unto the fold
Their way was sure.”

He alone can promise

“ Thy gentlest dreams, thy frailest
Even those that were
Born and lost in a heart-beat,
Shall meet thee there.
They are become *immortal*
In shining air.

And when the day of days arrives, these immortal moods and dreams, these symbols which make human life significant, shall be united into one single great impression and illuminate the heart of the trouble-stained soul of man.

“ The lights innumerable
That led thee on and on,
The mosque of Time ended,
Shall glow into one.
It shall be with thee for ever
Thy trouble done.”

(Promise.)

The glimmer, indeed, may vanish, but it leaves the
Man's yearning for inner Illumination. soul of man yearning for a more intimate
 communion with the world of the spirit.
 Even when this transient beauty fades away, men long for

“ thee to flower,
O bud of light divine.”

(Winter.)

“ And with what yearning in expressible,
 Rising from long forgetfulness I turn
 To thee, invisible, unrumoured, still :
 White, for thy whiteness all desires burn.
 Ah with what longing once again I turn.”

(Desire.)

Such yearning of the human soul can never remain unanswered. Suddenly the gloomy landscape “ snowpatched moorland, chill and drear,” “ the bitter frost which quenches the warmth of life ”—all take an ethereal radiance.

Then in that moment of blissful expectation,

“ Out of the vast, the voice of one replies
 Whose words are clouds and stars and night and day,
 When for the light and anguished spirit cries
 Deep in its house of clay.”

• (Answer.)

The mystic vision again flows and lives among men and woods
 and streams. It envelops the human soul and
 The mystic vision. compels her to lose her distinctive personality.

“ Sometimes it rose like fire in me
 Within the depths of my own mind,
 And spreading to infinity,
 It took the voices of the wind.”

The entire world with the human soul becomes one vision ; the mystery of human destiny seems to be depicted in inexplicable symbols on the face of the universe. The symbols become more and more legible, they enter into the depths of human personality.

“ At last, at last, the meaning caught,
 The spirit wears its diadem ;
 It shakes its wonderous plumes of thought
 And trails the stars along with them.” •

(Unity.)

The divine vision which the poet A. E. witnesses in his moments of mystic exultation is strangely reminiscent of Indian Ideals. He goes to the Bhagavad-Gita and not to Plato for his conception of the Over-soul. One single line of that sacred book at once inspires him with a transcendent dream which thrills him into song. "I am Beauty itself among beautiful things," he reads, and all on a sudden the heavens seem to lay hold on him, a new enchantment clothes the entire universe with a halo of ethereal glory. The veil of Maya is withdrawn from the face of the earth, and the seer "wakens into a mystery." His heart is "stilled in awed delight"; he hears "a laughter in the diamond air, a music in the trembling grass"; and in a joyous trance he sees unrolled before his imaginative eye the entire Universe shot through and through with the radiance of the Spirit of Beauty. He feels—

"And earth and air and wave and fire
In awe and breathless silence stood;
For One who passed into their choir
Linked them in mystic brotherhood."

(Over-soul.)

The poet is not satisfied with the vision alone; he wants to go deeper into the mystery, to come face to face with its source. Anxiously he questions—

"Twilight of amethyst amid
Thy few strange stars that lit the skies
Where was the secret spirit hid?
Where was Thy place, O Light of Lights?
The flame of Beauty far in space
Where rose the fire; in Thee, in Me?
Which bowed the elemental race
• To adoration silently?"

(*Ibid.*)

But whatever may be the origin of his "Light of Lights" he is nevertheless conscious that

"A shadowy tumult stirs the dusky air;
Sparkle the delicate dews, the distant snows;
The great deep thrills for through it everywhere
The breath of Beauty blows."

(The Great Breath.)

Equally potent was the influence of the Upanishads on the mind of the mystic visionary. The conception of an Atman transcending the phenomenal world of existence, self-sufficient in its majesty, eternally passing through strength to strength to Moksha strangely fascinated the imagination of this poet. It is the "imperial will" which progresses triumphantly alone, seeing visions indeed but passing beyond them. The streams of Karma, the "Fires of Life" gleam around it; they seek to bind this pure essence in their toils but fall back unsuccessful. The "lights of earth," its physical beauties, cannot ensnare it; rather in moments of deep meditation, they fade and wane into nothingness. It recks of nothing except Brahma "the heart-hold of light" whom it seeks. It transcends even its individual nature;

"Sounds the deep Om the mystic word of might:
Forth from the heart-hold breaks the living stream
Passed out beyond the deep heart music-filled,
The Kingly will sits on the ancient throne,
Wielding the sceptre, fearless, free, alone,
Knowing in Brahma all it dared and willed."

(Magic.)

That "mystic word of might," Om, has a great significance for A.E. It is one of the great symbols which carry the human soul to the dim heights of cosmic consciousness. It raises before his mind's eye visions of the snow-capped summits of the Himalayas, shadowy in the distant horizon. The pale rays of dawn flicker faintly beyond the snows and

"...leaning o'er the shadowy white
Morn glimmered like a pale primrose."

Far below in the valley, standing awe-struck before the Mighty Presence, a child watches with "loving eyes the glow in dayshine fade and night depart."

The wonder and mystery of the entire scenery fills his mind with reverence and admiration. The mystic powers steal into his enraptured soul; they fill it with exultation and in a mood of spiritual joy the heart of the child in tune with the Infinite bursts out into triumphant utterance of that *déep Om*, the mighty symbol of ecstatic vision. And we seem to catch accents of the *rishis* when the poet breaks forth into a pœan of praise.

"The word which Brahma at his dawn
Outbreathes and endeth at his might,
Whole tide of sound so rolling on
Gives birth to orbs of pearly light;
And beauty, wisdom, love and youth,
By its enchantment gathered grew
In age-long wandering to the truth,
Through many a cycle's ebb and flow." (*Om*)¹

The atmosphere of Indian culture and Indian symbolism settles like an aroma over many a song that A.E. sings. The mountains loom in the distance, "shadowy-petalled like the lotus." The oblations of *soma* rise like a cloud radiant in the rays of the Sun. The landscape resplendent in the glow of the sunset reminds this western poet, as it does no other of his peers, of the day "when first in yellow splendour Brahma from the Lotus rose." The fairy lights of day fading over the darkening mounds, the twinkle of the stars calling the soul of man from the vasty deep, the thrill of Brahma's breath all create an environment both mystic and Indian. And in the midst of this

¹ Cf. "Om stands for the most general aspect of That as the source of all. As it is recited, the idea arises in the mind corresponding with the sound which has been said to be the expression on the gross plane of that subtle "sound" which accompanied the first creative vibration. When rightly uttered this great syllable has an awe-inspiring effect. As I heard this Mantra chanted by some hundred Buddhist monks in a northern monastery it seemed to be the distant murmuring roll of some vast cosmic ocean."—Sakti and Sakta, Woodroffe, p. 231.

tense silence, the flute-like voice of the poet is heard singing, in jubilant notes, his anthem of praise to India's God Brahma,

"Brahma, all alone in gladness, dreams the joys
that throng in space,
Shepherds all the whirling splendours onward
to their resting place
Where the worlds of lovely silence fade in one
the starry race."

(Indian Song.)

Maya is another peculiarly Indian concept which leaves a profound impression on the poet. To him, Maya

(3) *Maya*. has her true and real existence in the deeps of Being alone. As such, she is only one aspect of reality, the creative and generative aspect. She is the mother with whom the human soul has no essential cause for difference. It is only her external and accidental manifestations isolated from the deepest roots of her being, that lure man, and keep him apart.

"Charmed by some *lesser* glow in thee
Our hearts beat not within thy heart.
Beauty, the face, the touch, the eyes
Prospects of thee, allure our sight
From that *unfathomed deep* where lies
Thine ancient loveliness and light."¹

¹ Cf. "According to the Sakta tantric exposition of Advaitabâda, Mâyâ is not an unconscious (Jada) principle but a particular Sakti of Brahman. Being Sakti, it is at base consciousness but as Maya-Sakti it is consciousness *veiling* itself. Shakti and Shaktiman are one and the same. Therefore Maya-Sakti is *Shiva* or *Chit* in that particular aspect which He assumes as the Material cause in creation."

(Sakti and Sakta, Woodroffe, p. 145)

"It here exists as the mixed consciousness unconsciousness (in the sense of the limited consciousness of the physical and material universe."

(*Ibid*, p. 163)

"What there is, is *Maya-sakti*; that is consciousness veiling, as the Mother, Herself to herself as her creation."

(*Ibid*, p. 176)

"She works in and as all things; now greatly veiling her consciousness-bliss in gross matter, now by gradual stages more fully revealing herself in the forms of one universal life which she is."

(*Ibid*, p. 165)

When, however, these depths are reached, when Maya reveals herself as what she really is, man finds her to be the creative impulse of the Over-soul, one with whom his life should always be. This recognition of her true essence not only enlightens man but instils a joyous impulse into the personality of Maya-sakti herself.

“ Self-found at last, the joy that springs
Being thyself, shall once again
Start thee upon the whirling rings
And through the pilgrimage of pain.”

(Veils of Maya.)

This Maya gradually develops in the mind of the poet into the Great Mother, all powerful yet all loving too.
(4) Sakti, the Great Mother. The beautiful harmony between power (Sakti) and love in the personality of this Great Mother has a close affinity with the idea of Sakti in Hindu culture. There also Sakti is a mother ever thrilling to the touch of her child, the soul of man, ever responsive to his supplications. When the world is too much with the Hindu devotee, when he falls on the thorns of life and bleeds, he lays all his burden before the mother and is relieved. He looks to her for consolation in his sorrows, for a reassuring sign in the darkest hours of despair. Such too is the attitude of the poet towards *his Mother Almighty*. She sometimes appears as Earth—

“ Out of whose virgin being they (men) were born
Whose mother nature they have named with scorn
Calling its holy substance common clay.”

(The Virgin Mother.)

Her rudest sod is holy to him : it is thrilled with “ fire of hidden day ” and “ haunted by all mystery.” Her very presence strikes him with awe and reverence, for her breath blows from her mystic bowers and their elfin glamour floats through the “ pureness ” of his shadowy hours. She gives her children wisdom and love, and guides them in the tempestuous course of

their lives. She invests them with an ethereal radiance and beauty.¹ And thus out of the earth-mother is gradually evolved a shadowy Being of mystic powers who inspires man with visions of glory unrealised. When life hangs heavy on her child she inspires him with a new faith. "Ah! how often," says the poet,

" Ah how often have I followed filled with phantom hopes and fears,
When my star that rose dream-laden, moving to the mystic crown,
On the yellow moon rock foundered and my joy and dreams went down.
As a child with hands uplifted peering through the cloudless miles
Bent the mighty Mother o'er me shining all with eyes and smiles; "

and the vision that is vouchsafed him is that of a mystic Power clad in all the majesty of the creative spirit, surrounded by myriads of supernatural Beings rendering due reverence to her.² In fact the poet dreams of this Great Mother and witnesses how

" The wild will wakes within her, lighting up her flying dreams
Round and round the planets whirling break in woods and
flowers and streams,
And the winds are shaken from them as leaves from off
the rose,
And the feet of earth go dancing in the way that beauty goes,
And the souls of earth are kindled by the incense of her breath.
As her light alternate lures them through the gates of
birth and death."

(A Vision of Beauty).³

An awe-inspiring picture this! of the Mighty Mother. Yet mighty and awe-inspiring though she be, she is the refuge

¹ To One Consecrated.

² Fantasy.

³ Cf. "Then, when moved to create, the Great Power issues from the depths of Being and becomes mind and matter whilst remaining what she ever was the being (Sat) which is the foundation of all manifested life and the spirit which sustains and enlightens it. This primal Power (Adya Sakti) as object of worship, is the *Great Mother* of all natural things and nature herself. In herself (Swarupa) She is not a person, but She is ever and incessantly *personalising*; assuming the multiple masks which are the varied forms of mind-matter. As therefore manifest, She is all personalities and as the collectivity thereof the Supreme Person."—Sakti and Sankta, Woodroffe, pp. 164-65.

“ Where many a broken heart hath lain
 And many a weeping head.”
 (A New Being.)

Hate fades away before her and the exiles of the heart seek her for consolation and repose. When her children commit any wrong to the least limb of beauty, she punishes them :

“ The Mother veiled over
 And hid from our faces
 The high soul of nature,
 The deep and the wonder,
 Her towers up in heaven,
 And the fairy-land under.”
 (In as much as)

Yet she alone knows the pangs of misery from which man suffers :

“ Unto the deep, the deep heart goes
 It lays its sadness nigh the breast
 Only the Mighty Mother knows
 The wounds that quiver unconfessed.

 It feels in the unwounding vast
 For comfort for its hopes and fears
 The Mighty Mother bows at last
 She listens to her children's tears.”

She feels for their sorrows and transmutes their pain into beauty

“ Where the last anguish deepens—there
 The fire of beauty smites through pain
 A glory moves amid despair,
 The mother takes her child again.
 (The Place of Rest.)

In the varied spiritual experiences of the poet, the Over-soul like the God of the Vaisnavas becomes a master-singer ; he is the sunlight in the heart, the silver moon-glow in the mind ; His laughter runs and ripples through the wavy stresses of the wind. Like the Gopies of Brindabana “myriad lovers pine and die for Him” and in their latest yielded breath He gives them life everlasting

(5) Krishna—the
 Master-Singer.

which knows no pangs of sorrow. Like Krishna again He shakes in "myriad dance and song" and lives in beauty and joy.¹ This frolicsome Divine Lover would play hide-and-seek with the human soul in and out the courts of time. And the devotee when he looks upon the universe finds his Beloved smiling at him even therefrom.

" In the moon-light grows a smile
 'Mid its rays of dusty pearl—
 'Tis but hide and seek the while,
 As some frolic boy and girl."

Even in sleep and in dreams he feels His mysterious presence :

" When I fade into the deep
 Some mysterious radiance showers
 From the jewel-heart of sleep
 Through the veil of darkened hours.
 Where the ring of twilight gleams
 Round the sanctuary wrought,
 Whispers haunt me,—in my dreams
 We are one yet know it not."
 (Alter Ego.)

Like the Vaishnava devotee he is not easily satisfied : he follows his fugitive lover neither for beauty nor for inspiration. They are but superficial, external prizes worth little; he wants a more desirable consummation ; he yearns to lose himself in his Beloved. Maddened by visions of this blessed consummation he looks at the world and finds it full of Krishna. The paradox of the Infinite in the finite, the Divine in the human form, of strength in weakness, is very beautifully expressed in the exquisite imitation of a fragment from the Vaishnava Scriptures which the poet has significantly named Krishna. The Beloved appears as a child playing innocently in the lawn and yet he is the ancient and unborn; he dallies with damsels whom he betrays yet he is the purest of the pure ; he becomes an outcast brawling through the starlit air and nevertheless he is the Prince of Peace. In spite of all these contradictory appearances Krishna remains

¹ The Master-singer.

to his devotee what he has always been in his essence: " the life within the Ever-living Living Ones

The ancient with eternal youth, the cradle of the infant suns,
The fiery fountain of the stars and He the golden urn where all
The glittering spray of planets in their myriad beauty fall."

The whole course of Indian thought, the vision of the Bhagavad Gita, the intuitive revelations of the Upanishads, the mother-cult of the Saktas and the Bhakti of the Vaisnavas are all congenial to this poet's imagination. They all contribute to the growth and development of his soul.

Rising from such visions of glory the poet looks upon the world with a changed eye. Before his soul had been transformed by the intuitive revelation of truth and beauty his momentary moods of spiritual exultation faded away at the approach of dawn. He had to admit

" Thrown downward from that high companionship
Of dreaming inmost heart with inmost heart,
Into the common daily ways I slip
My fire from theirs apart."

(Dawn.)

Soon, however, everything is changed. The same dawn after this illumination of his soul, appears instinct with joy and expectations.

" While the earth is dark and grey
How I laugh within, I know
In my breast what ardours gay
From the morning overflow."

He greets a friend in each flower and tree and wind and is filled to the brim with the joy of life. " For," says he in joyous accents of faith,

" What to you are bolts and bars
Are to me the arms that guide
To the freedom of the stars,
Where my golden kinsmen bide."

(Dawn-song.)

The domination of spiritual darkness under which his soul had so long been suffering dies away; it seems to be overthrown by some mysterious ethereal power and the poet's heart is released from fear. He now looks on mortal things with an immortal's eye. The dust of the earth becomes holy and mysterious; and a new world swims into his ken. "I who had sought," says the poet,

" I who had sought afar from earth
 The fairy land to meet,
 Now find content within its girth
 And wonder nigh my feet.
 To-day a nearer love I choose
 And seek no distant sphere
 For aureoled by fairy dew
 The dear brown breasts appear.
 And what I thought of heaven before
 I find in earth below
 A sunlight in the hidden core
 To dim the noon-day glow.
 And with the earth my heart is glad,
 I move as one of old;
 With mists of silver I am clad
 And bright with burning gold."

(A New Will.)

Man is now girt round not with weakness but strength. A
 Man. thousand ages toil for him ; his pain, his joys,
 the careless sweetness of his mind are all
 the gifts of the past.

And not alone unto your birth, the poet reminds man,

" Their gifts the weeping ages bore
 The old descents of God on earth
 Have dowered thee with celestial lore
 So, wise, and filled with sad and gay,
 You pass into the further day."

(Inheritance.)

The poorest man, the most insignificant creature on earth, has a nobility of his own. He lives far beyond earth's misery and

breathes an atmosphere of primeval joy.¹ Even the peasants driving swine are ennobled.

“ They huddle in night within low claybuilt cabins;
And to themselves unknown,
They carry with them diadem and sceptre
And move from throne to throne.”

(Exiles.)

Nor is the child the plaything of an hour. His birth is an awakening into sorrow. In his ante-natal
The Child. existence he had been the comrade of the stars, the suns and other great powers of nature. They, after his birth, beckon to him and his heart yearns for their companionship. He remembers his happy past but is borne inexorably forward to a life of tears.

“ Beyond the dazzling throng
And above the towers of men
The stars made him long, long
To return to their light again.
They lit the wondrous years
And his heart within was gay
But a life of tears, tears,
He had won for himself that day.”

(Awakening.)

In his early age the child before the shades of the world close round him still retains within himself an unconscious joy which sustains him in his life. His very joy is an infallible guide, his inspiration he draws from the great Over-soul and all his activities have a charm about them by which they are distinguished from the ways of men.

There is a striking contrast between a man and a child. The bitter experiences through which he has to pass have taken from man all zest of life. He no longer finds any pleasure in his activities. On the contrary, he longs to rest from the strife, the struggle for existence and yet has to labour hard for the performance of his duties. In the case of the child, however, the benign powers of the universe have invested all his activities

¹ Vesture of the Soul.

with a magic and an unconscious charm which render them attractive and beautiful. Losing touch with the deepest realities, man becomes shallow and superficial, the child, on the other hand, retains his intimate relationship with the spiritual world ; he can still draw inspiration from the lonely Over-soul.

“ We are men by anguish taught
To distinguish false from true ;
Higher wisdom we have not ;
But a joy within guides you.”

(Childhood.)

The child is thus the crown of nature. The mystic odours of her trees, the buried stars beneath the mountain ; “ the rainbow bloom from tiny fountains,” the loveliness of all existence ; they go to mould the character of their Lord. The spirit of the universe seeks new inspiration from the centre of all being and invests the child with all its glory and wisdom.

“ And the fire divine in all things burning
Seeks the mystic heart anew
From its wanderings far again returning
Child to you.”

(Benediction.)

Even pain is glorified. Others may worship at the shrine of
Pain. Gods who dower them with gifts of happiness.
Not so the poet. He will, on the contrary,
make a God of pain and

“ Of my God I know this much
And in singing I repeat,
Though there's anguish in his touch
Yet his soul within is sweet.”

(Pain.)

It is the painful experiences of life which enable man to hurl defiance even at angels. Man who weeps a million tears can truthfully say

“ All your beauty cannot win
Truth we learn in pain and sighs :
You can never enter in
To the circle of the wise.”

For

When defiance fierce is thrown
 At the God to whom you bow
 Rest the lips of the Unknown
 Tenderest upon my brow."

(The Man to the Angel.)

Pain thus enlightens us with a new vision of life ; it guides us along the wandering way to the mystic heart of gold.

Thus the entire world of man and nature is transformed in the light of the beatific vision granted to the seer. The age of Iron, the twilight of the Earth are all changed. It is the golden age which lures the poet onward.

The poet's mystic outlook on life transforms his entire personality. He cannot look on love like an ordinary human being untroubled by visions and dreams. It has not that passionate touch of real personal experience, which it has with other men. Parting, which is so instinct with poignancy of sorrow even in poets like Browning, becomes a visionary experience. The "wind-blown tresses," of the beloved may play round him ; he may listen to her "bosom's gentle murmurings," but even in these moments of intense personal emotion he lives in a world of mystic dreams. Their lips meet indeed but "on the verge of the vast spheres" and although the physical presence of his beloved brings him back to the external world of reality it is with regret that he returns. The exclamation "How far away from Paradise" has a significance of its own. The poet frankly yearns for the paradise from which he has been drawn away.¹ The charms of his lady-love attracts him strangely :

"A shaft of fire that falls like dew
 And melts and maddens all my blood
 From out thy spirit flashes through
 The burning glass of womanhood."

¹ Parting.

Yet the poet does not desire any more intimate communion with her ; on the contrary, he is apprehensive lest any nearer approach should make him blind to her real beauty.

“ Only so far ; here must I stay :
Nearer I miss the light, the fire ;
I must endure the torturing ray,
And with all beauty, all desire.”

He feels that a long life of spiritual experience is necessary before a truly spiritual union is possible. Then alone will he be able to go beyond the veil of physical appearance and feel the glow of a ecstatic love.

“ Ah time-long must the effort be,
And far the way that I must go
To bring my spirit unto thee,
Behind the glass, within the glow.”

(The Burning Glass.)

He does not so much desire to feel her gentle hand as to greet her soul in a dream across wide leagues of land. He would “love first and after see,” know her diviner counterpart before he kneels to her.

“ So in thy motions all expressed
Thy angel I may view :
I shall not on thy beauty rest,
But beauty’s self in you.”

(Dream Love.)

She is an inheritor of the past : dream faces bloom around her face, “like flowers upon one stem,” and the heart of many a vanished race sighs as the lover looks upon them.¹ Even in moments of love’s ecstasy the poet feels the disturbing presence of spiritual essences. He feels something in her which he cannot recognise. A Presence seems to intervene.

“ I sometimes think a mighty lover
Takes every burning kiss we give :
His lights are those which round us hover
For him alone our lives we live.”

(Blindness.)

¹ The Faces of Memory.

His love is transformed :

“ We deem our love so infinite
Because the Lord is everywhere,
And love awakening is made bright
And bathed in that diviner air.”

The lovers are not persons of flesh and blood. They are spiritual essences passing through the experiences of love to gain strength and attain perfection. Love is only a tributary to this stream of mystical vision.

“ We go on our enchanted way
And deem our hours immortal hours,
Who are but shadow Kings that play
With mirrored majesties and powers.”
(Reflections.)

The ordinary dalliance of love is not theirs : for the mere kiss of love or the clasp of hand can never satisfy their yearnings. They are external manifestations and cannot touch the soul. Love, real love, on the contrary, seeks to lose itself in the beloved. It goes beyond appearances, beyond the physical veil, to her very soul. These external manifestations are transitory, they fade as the flower of beauty withers away. Spiritual love is based on the very depth of the soul; it is eternal.

“ Do not ask for the hands of love or love's soft eyes
They give less than love who give all giving what wanes.
I give you the star-fire, the heart-way to Paradise,
With no death after, no arrow with stinging pain.”
(The Message.)

“ You and I,” declares the poet exultingly,

“ You and I have found the secret way,
None can bar our love or say us nay :
All the world may stare and never know
You and I are twined together so.”

Such love transcends time : it is eternal, expressing as it does the primeval affinity between soul and soul. Earth cannot

arnish it nor can the bitter experiences of life turn it into indifference.

" You and I have found the joy had birth
In the angel childhood of the earth,
Hid within the heart of man and maid
You and I, of time, are not afraid."

(Affinity.)

It forgets the personality of the beloved, it forgets the universe and moves in spiritual worlds. It finds its echoes in the vast expanses, in infinite spaces; it fills the heaven with its light. The soft white form which the lover holds in his arms is a mere receptacle, a mere instrument and the lovers " move as shades through the deep " ¹

Even such love, so radiant with spiritual significance has to be sacrificed when the Deep calls unto the Deep. When the soul of man becomes too much engrossed in love, he loses his power of intuitive illumination. His heart becomes overburdened ; the dreams which had so long sustained him fade away. Gloom settles on his soul, yet he would fain cling to his love. His dream-land palace may vanish yet he would be satisfied with the little light which still shines in him. In these moments of despondency the beloved comes to inspire him with loftier aspirations. With a splendid gesture of self-sacrifice she commands her lover to " think no more of love or smiles." " Build our lofty dream again," her dark eyes seem to say,

" Build our lofty dream again :
Let our palace rise o'er us :
Love can never be till then."

(Heroic Love.)

Sometimes it is the lover who warns the beloved :

" Pure at heart we wander now :
Comrade on the quest divine,
Turn not from the stars your brow
That your eyes may rest on mine."

¹ A Vision of Love.

We are, in our distant hope
 One with all the great and wise
 Comrade, do not turn or grope
 For some lesser light that dies."

(Warning.)

Yet the pangs of separation are there. The lover may obey the call yet "his heart is sore." Love is sacrificed indeed but the heart is crushed down by sorrow. Vainly the lover cries "Oh that heart could feel mind believes." The soul of man has to pass through the vale of tears; grief "rolls through him in tempestuous fierceness." His only consolation is that there is a destiny which leads him on, whither he does not know. And even in the midst of such overwhelming sorrow, he has to revive the drooping spirit of his beloved. Dream thou not he comforts her,

"Dream thou not whither the path is leading
 Where the dark Immortal would shepherd
 Our weeping souls ?"

(Ordeal.)

In spite of such heart-rending pains of separation the lovers must part; for the future destiny of their soul hangs in balance. They feel that if they lose their inner light they will lose the essence of their being; they will be mere clods undisturbed by the Divine Spark. What profits it man if he gains love and loses his soul? And the lover, in the anguish of his heart bids farewell to his beloved.

"And ah! my bright companion, you and I must go
 Our ways, unfolding lonely glories, not our own
 Not from each other gathered, but an inward glow
 Breathed by the Lone One, on the seeker lone."

They are however upheld in these darkest moments of misery by faith alone. They still cling to the hope that they will after long ages meet elsewhere.

“ If for heart's own sake we break the heart we may,
When the last ruby drops dissolves in diamond light,
Meet in deeper ~~resture~~ another day
Until that dawn, dear heart, good night, good night.”

(A Farewell.)

Verily to the mystic seer the path of love is more beset with thorns than roses. And thus,

“ They bade adieu to love the old ;
They heard another Lover then,
Whose forms are myriad and untold,
Sigh to them from the hearts of men”.

Thus inspired and thus enlivened, the mystic poet A. E. lives his life involved his own dreams and sustained by the inner voice of the Over-soul. He lives his life ministering to the spiritual needs of his fellowmen, encouraging them by glorious visions of the future destiny of man.

A. K. SEN

MY NORMANDY

(Translated from the French of F. Berat.)

When all nature is born again with hope,
And the winter flies far from us;
Under the azure sky of our France,
When the sun grows thrice softer ;
When all nature is grown green again,
When the nightingale doth come back again,—
I will arise and go to see my Normandy,
The country that gave me birth.

I have seen the fields of Switzerland,—
Its chalet-cottage and glacier fields;
I have seen the blue sky of Italy,
Venice, with all her gondoliers;—
I salute unto every country,
But still will I say, “ Nothing so fair,
So fair as is my Normandy,—
The country that gave me birth,”

It is an age in a life—
When each dream must have its fill,
An age when the soul gathers
The silken langour of revived memory;
When my laden music shall be cooled
From her turbulent fevered heat,
And my sick heart will stop singing her love-songs,
I will arise and go to see my Normandy,
The country that gave me birth.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENCY BANK OF BOMBAY

PART II

Investments.

Attention has already been drawn incidentally to the fact that the bank's investments were indeed of a heavy nature and amounted sometimes to 60 lakhs of Rs.—a higher figure than the volume of the actual paid-up capital of the bank. Starting with a large amount of paid-up capital, the Presidency Bank was forced to invest in Government securities. Too large a holding of capital proved to be the bank's greatest difficulty and the heroic efforts made by it to secure a proper field of business have not been recorded by any of the bank historians. On the very threshold of its career it attempted to establish a branch of its own at Calcutta as clause XXXVIII of its charter permitted it to do so. The chief reason which actuated it to open this branch was its excessive capital estimated at 33 lakhs and the lack of any scope for profitable investment in remunerative and safe lines of business in the city of Bombay itself. The other reasons which made it decide on this course of action was the non-compliance of the Bank of Bengal to fulfil the request of the Bank of Bombay to find remunerative employment of 10 to 15 lakhs of Rupees at 7 per cent. Calcutta was selected as the proper place where the branch could be started as at that place the people were fully familiar with banking operations and because the banking capital of that city was considered insufficient to meet its needs. It was on such grounds that it petitioned the Bombay Government on 29th July, 1841, to allow it to open a branch in Calcutta.

This suggestion was immediately forwarded to the Governor General in Council for understanding their own sentiment in the first instance. Even before its wishes were communicated

to it, it refused to sanction the scheme as the proposed branch was to be situated outside the territorial limits of the Bombay Presidency.

The Governor General in Council required the sanction of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for this step.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors refused to grant the permission on the ground that "the branch of the Bank of Bombay would be a co-ordinate note-issuing bank with that of the Bank of Bengal. An agent can be employed to discount bills and make advances on securities provided his issues are not made in the notes of the Bank of Bombay but in cash." ¹

Undaunted by this failure it strove to secure permission to conduct foreign exchange business so as to find remunerative employment for its excessive capital. This agitation was set up as the bank's capital was felt too much for its actual operations. The alternative of reduction of capital was suggested if this permission was not to be granted by the Government. The suggested modification was to be effected by reducing the share to Rs. 500 and similarly by decreasing the note-issue to One crore of rupees. The extension of loaning could be done by recognising other kinds of securities as bankable securities on which the bank might be privileged to lend. Foreign bills of six months' standing up to One crore of rupees were to be bought by the bank. The example of the Colonial Banks conducting foreign exchange business was cited in support of its claim. The following extract makes this situation clear.

The following extract from the Secretary's Report makes the situation apparent:² "The Bank appears to me to have been treated at starting in a manner to preclude its working profitably—I allude to the orders requiring that the whole of the capital of Rs. 52,25,000 should be paid-up, the

¹ No. 19, Financial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, dated 26th July, 1843.

² See the Letter of the Bombay Bank signed by the Secretary, Mr. Stuart, to the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government, August 12, 1852.

consequence of which was that to prevent the total loss of interest large sums were of necessity invested in Government paper and consequently when the money market became tight instead of helping to lighten the pressure the bank directors are obliged to add to it by throwing some of their own paper in the market and selling it for less than they have to pay for it when the money market was easy.

The bank paid roughly only three per cent. interest on the whole paid-up capital and the suggestion was to increase this rate of dividend by granting loans on shares of Chartered Banks in India, shares of guaranteed India Railway Companies, bills of lading, shipping documents of goods in transit and consigned to Bombay or by conducting foreign exchange transactions. In support of the bank's contention, the Directors of the bank submitted a report containing three annexures one of which has already been quoted. As these annexures give an eloquent statistical history of the bank they are quoted in full.

Abstract Statement of the Annual operations of the Bank of Bombay from the commencement of business to the 30th June, 1852

Col. I Year	Col. II Average Deposits.	Col. III Average Circulation.	Col. IV Liabilities Average.	Col. V Average Investment in Government Securities.
1840	1502110	1175840	2677950	3819240
1841	1290750	1990833	3281583	4175510
1842	1160677	2084350	3195027	2244580
1843	3519815	3871927	7391735	2729080
1844	3101336	4258580	7359916	5940931
1845	2161339	3806080	5970419	5593516
1846	1937746	3523954	5461500	4789833
1847	1913715	4039903	5953576	4416416
1848	2027216	4336837	636483	4615500
1849	2094223	4557447	6351670	4142751
1850	2043812	4575114	6618926	3669525
1851	2720538	3337595	6048133	3200716
1852	2457230	4058744	6516024	3193225
Average	2147952	3505161	5653114	4040832

Col. VI Employed in banking opera- tions	Col. VII Rate per cent. on paid-up capital of profits on banking opera- tions.			Col. VIII Cash balance	Col. IX Average rate per cent. of cash to liabilities.
Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	%
886375	1	4	6	3768445	140.72
2941614	2	5	7	190667	57.61
4445690	3	1	6	1899281	59.44
3592830	2	8	8	4746589	64.21
2819112	2	0	0	3577783	48.61
3204914	2	3	6	230.693	38.66
3228834	3	11	6	2565883	46.98
3857511	4	13	2	2869916	48.20
3485083	3	14	11	3384925	53.18
3664820	2	9	0	3355500	50.04
4228412	4	11	6	3541560	53.52
3517115	3	11	0	4451668	73.60
4048715	3	2	0	4547406	69.02
3874771	3	1	3	3802947	61.83

E. E. WALTER TAYLOR,
Head Accountant.

The following statement shows the net profit realised by the bank from 1841 to 1851 both inclusive, and the rate of dividend paid upon capital of Rs. 52,25,000 ; also what rate of dividend would have been paid had the capital been one half of Rs. 26,12,500.

Year	Net profit per annum on paid-up capital—Rs. 52,25,000.	Rate of Dividend.	Deduct interest on one-half the capital proposed to be reduced.	Net profit per annum on reduced capital of 26,12,500.	Rate % per annum.	Surplus profits per annum.
1841	253778	5	104500—4%	149273	51/2	5590
1842	360595	7	103625—5%	229970	81/2	7908
1843	361512	7	104500—4%	257012	91/2	8825
1844	392711	7	104500—4%	288211	11%	896
1845	385516	7		281016	101/2	6704
1846	416117	7		311617	111/2	11180
1847	411210	8				
1848	389388	8&7				
1849	301814	6				
1850	386507	6				
1851	318375	6				
II	3977523	73½	114825	2891398	108	70401
Gross Average	361593	6 $\frac{15}{22}$	104420	262899	9 $\frac{9}{11}$	

But unfortunately neither these eloquent statistics nor the piteous entreaties of the bank had the desired effect. No actual change resulted out of this Herculean effort. Ultimately the power to grant loans on shares of guaranteed railways was extended in 1854.¹ The Court of Directors refused to listen to any of the above requests.² It did not condescend either to

¹ See the Act of 1854 amending the law relating to several banks (20th January) of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

² See the financial Letter of the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, No. 1, 19th January, 1853. Copies of this letter were also sent on 2nd March 1853 to the Government of India.

permit the bank to reduce the capital or to allow it to conduct foreign exchange operations.

As the grounds stated for refusing to comply with either of the requests are supposed to be based on basic principles of sound banking, a reference to them is essential. In para. 3 of their Letter they state "that they are not prepared to comply with either of the above requests submitted by the Directors of the Bank, that it would be at variance with every sound principle, that the Bank in addition to its regular business should engage in distant exchange business operations and that with respect to the alternative suggested by the Directors, namely, the reduction of capital, they cannot see the necessity for the measure, the dividend on the Bank shares having averaged 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum since the date of the institution of the Bank under Charter and the shares now bearing a considerable premium in the market. They state further that as a consequence of the present moderate demand for banking accommodation at the Presidency it may be necessary that the Bank with a view to profit on its capital should hold larger quantity of Government paper than it would otherwise do, but that they are of opinion that if a Chartered Bank be upheld at all at Bombay it should be on a scale calculated to meet the possible requirements of the commercial community and that the amount of capital should be sufficient to inspire confidence in the undertaking, that they do not consider the existing capital to be more than sufficient for the purpose."

Para. 4—"State also that having regard to the fluctuations of risk which might be incurred by the Bank in such operations they cannot view with favour the proposition of the Directors for making advances on the shares of the Chartered Bank of India and on bills of lading; but that they have no objection to permit them to advance money to the extent of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their nominal value on shares in such of the Indian Railways as are guaranteed by them with interest."

Valid reasons they are,—though stated in a recondite language. Even now the Central Banks of most of the modern countries do not make any large commitments of their own so far as foreign exchange operations are concerned. It is indeed their bounden duty to stabilise the foreign exchange situation. The watching of the foreign exchange market is one of its cardinal duties. As soon as a drain of gold is threatened it is its bounden duty to restrict credit and discourage borrowing. Similarly when unwanted gold is about to be imported into the banking system it is its duty to relax credit and encourage borrowing. The regulations with reference to the cash reserve of the Central Bank are to see that currency is maintained at gold parity and that contraction of credit takes place as soon as gold leaves the country and reaches the minimum reserve laid down by the law. The necessity to infringe the law makes it alive to its proper duty. Secondly, the necessity of a Central Bank is to keep liquid resources to be of immediate availability to it as occasion arises. The conversion of assets on a large scale would defeat this purpose of the Central Bank. Even a foreign branch is not considered essential to the Central Bank. The Court of Directors never realised that the Bank of Bombay was not entrusted with the currency administration nor did they consider it essential to act as a Central Bank. But for the sake of their prestige they never condescended to allow the bank to lower the capital which after all is the cornerstone of the good will of the Bank. The greater the capital the greater would be the trust imposed in it by the customers. A healthy public confidence can never be generated on insufficient capital.¹ The main business of banking or

¹ Even the "bogus one-room banks" know this. Though their actual paid-up capital amounts to few hundreds they blaze forth their share capital as running into several lakhs. By a common understanding the bank grants advances to the directors and they are put back into the Company as capital and the bank thus gets on paper an imposing paid-up capital and the loans and the advances item also appears simultaneously. Trading on deposits ensues. These depositor's cheques are never paid and after gathering sufficient deposits the bogus banker commits his insolvency and absconds.

See the *Statesman*—"Shady Banker Scandal," October 4th, 1928, p. 9.

conducting foreign exchange is left to others and the modern Central Bank is only a currency authority administering it as a quasi-public institution. Although these high ideals did not trouble the Court of Directors still they seem to have been particularly jealous of safeguarding its credit, technical efficiency and experienced management.

Bank Branch.

It has already been recorded that an attempt was made in 1841 to open a branch in Calcutta. Having been defeated in its object in this direction it did not strive afresh to establish a branch within the territorial limits of the Bombay Presidency. The suggestion to open a branch at Karachi was first made by Mr. (later Sir) Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sind, in his letter to Lord Elphinstone on 23rd May, 1857. The reasons mentioned in the above letter in support of branch extension still hold good at the present day even after the lapse of so many decades. "It would be an immediate boon to the country at large and a very great improvement in our fiscal administration if branches of the Bank of Bombay were to replace the Collectorate Treasuries with their clumsy accounts." This is exactly one of the reasons why the Imperial Bank is allowed to open branches at district headquarters and other places and absorb the sub-treasury or district treasury of the place.

Besides this book-keeping advantage which after all was a minor one, Mr. Frere did not fail to realise that the most important advantage of an extended branch banking policy was the introduction of a well-regulated note currency circulation which would tend much to obviate the present inconvenient and cumbersome mode of making all payments in a silver currency and the natives are ever ready to adopt any change when it may be clearly shown that it is for their advantage to do so.

Thirdly, a bank note circulation "would have afforded a relief to the present drain on Europe for silver and ultimately as

credit instruments become popular would have lessened the drain of silver from Europe eastwards." It is distinct then that there were some shrewd observers who noticed the drain of precious metals to this country and sought to check it by bank expansion. But unfortunately their good advice was not heeded and India, still continues to act as "a sink of precious metals," as some of its critics put it, for foreign investment banking hardly exists in the country even at the present day.¹

But his zeal to start a branch made him recommend government guarantee for meeting the expenses incurred in the opening of the branch. "The Government guarantee would not after all cause any loss to the Government," argued Mr. Frere. The Bank of Bombay stipulated for this Government guarantee and the Accountant-General who had to examine the above proposition refused to grant the needed sanction. He held the opinion that a run on the branch would be disastrous without the help of the Government Treasury or Mercantile Houses to support it. No direct advantage would be derived by the Government out of this step.² It was as a result of these unconvincing arguments that this step was given up and until the Act of 1862 gave it extended powers the nature of its business was never changed nor did it launch on any venturesome enterprises as the opening of branches. The Bank of Bengal was however given some allowance as compensation for opening branches.³

• *Relations with the Treasury.*

Though there is not a single occasion on which the Bank of Bengal was helped by the Government, still the instances of mutual help between the Bank of Bombay and the Government

¹ See his letter to the Bank of Bombay, 9th June, 1857.

² For a further discussion of the subject see my *Present Day Banking in India*, 3rd Edition, chapter on Banking Resources.

³ See 1862 Agreement with the Bank of Bengal, quoted in Part I* of this monograph, last chapter.

have not been studied by the previous writers and useful inferences drawn out of these positive instances and particular points of contact between the semi-State Bank and the Government.

Firstly, the instances of the bank's help to the Government of Bombay must be studied. On May 14th, 1840, the Bombay Government took a loan of twenty-five lakhs on promissory notes issued to the Bank of Bombay payable after a notice of 90 days given by either party. The Government undertook to pay interest at four per cent. The financial pressure consequent to the declaration of the war against the Sind Chieftains was mainly responsible for this arrangement and as the initial financial requirements had to be supplied by the Bombay Provincial Government it had to bear this strain.¹ A second loan of twenty lakhs on the same conditions as the first was issued on the 4th September, 1840.

But the financial conditions were not bettered to any extent as the drain necessitated by the Sind War proved too heavy a burden. As further drafts on the bank's loanable resources would have seriously curtailed its lending accommodation to the general businessmen and private borrowers, the Government of Bombay was asked to float Treasury bills and in November 1840 Treasury Bills to the extent of Rs. 2,56,100 were floated. For

¹ The following memorandum makes clear the loaning transactions, No. 239 of 1851-1852, Financial Department, Government Records.

Loan Branch.

Fifty Lakhs of Rs. received from the Bank of Bombay on Loan namely,

On 14th May 1840—	...	Rupees 25,00,000
and on 8rd Sep. 1840—	...	.. 25,00,000

50,00,000

Eighty notes bearing Nos. 1 to 80 were granted to the Bank for the above loan.

Notes bearing No. 77 and 78 for rupees ten lakhs were subsequently subdivided into fifty-eight notes bearing No. 1-58 of 77 and Nos. 56 to 58 of 78.

The principal and interest of the whole one hundred and thirty-eight notes having been discharged. The notes have been bound up in one Volume which is herewith forwarded for deposit in the General Record Room.

The Chief Secretary to the
Government of Bombay

Bombay Accountant-General's Office
15th Nov., 1851.

the additional requirements that were needed the Bombay Government had to draw bills on the Calcutta Treasury for financing the Sind War operations.¹

Numerous were the instances on which the Bank of Bombay was helped by the Government. Attention has been drawn already to the willingness of the Bombay Government to help the bank during the troubled period of a "run" on it in 1848 which was initiated solely as a result of the discovery of forged notes of the bank in the native bazaar.

Very early in the year 1841 the Bank of Bombay found itself subjected to a pressure of bullion and the demand for the bullion capital on the part of the people was so keen that the cash resources were reduced to the legal limit. As additional pressure for bullion was being felt, the bank naturally sought the protection of the Government Treasury. With its assistance five lakhs worth of bank notes were changed into actual cash. The other demands due to the bank were also paid in cash with the result that the cash situation was strengthened and there was no actual real breaking of the rule stated in the charter.

It is indeed a pity that the extreme pressure of 1845 in the Bombay money market has not been commented on by any of the writers. The cash situation of the bank again began to cause great anxiety as it fell below the legal limit by about Rs. 1,23,743. The Bank realised that a forced sale of its securities in a panicky market would mean very heavy loss and to avoid this contingency a loan of Rs. 5 to 10 lakhs was negotiated for on 3rd April, 1845, at four per cent. rate of interest.² As the then busy season in the money market was roughly covering three months, a strengthening of the cash situation was felt absolutely inevitable.³ This application for the loan was sanctioned and the matter was promptly referred to the Supreme Government

¹ See the Financial Consultations, 1840.

² See Financial Consultations, Government of India, 1846, Feby., Nos. 35 to 45.

³ At the present moment the busy season in Bombay extends over 6 months from November to May.

of India. The Governor-General in Council took strong exception to the loan and insisted on the Government abstaining as much as possible from interfering with the dealings of bankers and merchants. He opined that "Government help" would tend to perpetuate bad management. He was labouring under the opinion that the initial mistake lay in the bank's unduly large holding of Government securities. He also held the opinion that "the unchartered banks were solely responsible for this situation. While they issued notes "they depended solely on the Bank of Bombay for the needed cash." He took strong exception to the low rate at which the loan was negotiated. While the bank was lending at six and half per cent. there was no reason why four per cent. alone should be charged for the accommodation. Summing up his objections he finally ordered that "no further assistance of a similar nature was to be given in the future.¹ The Court of Directors simply endorsed the opinion of the Supreme Government.²

On the receipt of the Court's letter Mr. J. P. Willoughby, the Secretary of the Government, wrote out a strongly worded minute protesting ably against the sweeping remarks made with reference to the relationship between the Bombay Government and the Bank of Bombay. The character of the monetary stringency was carefully explained and the letter written in reply not only repeats the firm conviction of the Bombay Government but states the correct relationship that ought to exist between the Government and the banks. As he correctly remarked, there is a unity of interest between the Government Bank and the Government which made the Bombay Government afraid to refuse help to the bank in the hour of its trial. "Temporary aid was to be rendered on

¹ See the Financial Letter from the Secretary of the Government of India to the Secretary of the Bombay Government.

² See the Letter No. 20 of 1845 from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government.

such occasions when the bank suffered from lack of cash. The Government can easily render aid without either risk or cost and watch over the destinies of the bank and see the general affairs of the bank conducted on safe principles. To quote his own words "that on any sudden and unseen emergency the Banks might rely on the support of the Government while on the other hand the Bank could be prepared to be useful and accommodate Government whenever in its power."

As the bank suffered from lack of cash alone and not from lack of capital it could retrieve its position immediately. It not only repaid the loan on 29th May, 1845, but during the course of a month the cash reserve of the bank soon rose to 1 lakh 31 thousand 8 hundred and 92 rupees more than¹ the legal sum which it had to keep according to Act III of 1840.

Such views expressed in such strong language in defiance of their cherished opinions naturally provoked the Court to reply in strong terms. The Court of Directors objected strongly to these sentiments on the ground that they disclose "a want of banking knowledge" and protested against the statement that "public resources should occasionally be made subservient to the interests of the Bank in order to save the proprietors from the loss arising out of sale of Government securities."

Another point of criticism was that "the Bank actually kept on an average twenty-one lakhs as cash reserve and this was too low while Government securities were being held in invariably too large figures for banking operations. This evidently was imprudent management." It also remarked that in future "the Bank should so conduct its business as not to seek the aid of Government under any circumstances."

"We do not consider that the explanation of the Government as regards Bank Directors to acquit the Government

¹ See the Financial Letter from the Bombay Government to the Court of Directors, 29th May, 1845.

Directors of blame in having sanctioned the continuance of an excessive investment of funds belonging to the Bank in Government securities which occasionally amounted to more than 70 lakhs of rupees and which, notwithstanding the partial reduction of amount noticed, exceeded the total capital of the Bank, until the month of April last when it still amounted to Rupees 4,91,123. That the interests of the proprietors have been consulted by this measure is alleged as one excuse for the impropriety, is to our mind no extenuation of the irregularity, for one object of the Government Directors being placed at that Board evidently was to see that no private or temporary considerations should be permitted to operate to the embarrassment or detriment of the Institutions or of the public interests which are so intimately involved in the maintenance of its credit and efficiency."

"We are of opinion that the Government Directors of the Bank should be chosen from the highest ranks of our Civil Service and the Accountant-General should always be one of them." ¹

In spite of these repeated injunctions the Bombay Government not only wisely determined to help the bank at the time of the run in 1848 but actually helped the bank in 1865.

Relations with the Bank of Bengal.

It is indeed a pity that the Bombay Bank's loan from the Bank of Bengal remains unrecorded by the existing writers on banking.² It affords us not only an instance of banking co-operation in those olden days which ought to be revived in these present days but certain legal consequences ensued out of this

¹ See the Letter from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Government, 22nd September, 1846. As a matter of fact the Accountant-General and the Secretary to the Government in the Finance Department were always *ex-officio* directors of the Presidency Banks.

² See Financial Consultation, No. 8, 1850 (Bombay Government). See also Symes Scott alone mentions this but passes by this fact as an event of no importance.

action. The Bombay Bank deposited five lakhs worth of Government securities and took a loan from the Bank of Bengal in 1850 but it was held that Section 25 of the Charter did not grant such privilege to mortgage its assets and borrow on the same for helping its operations. Mr. C. R. M. Jackson, the legal luminary who was consulted by the Governor-General in Council, decided that the Presidency Bank was legally unable to pledge its securities to raise loans.¹ As a result of the disability the Presidency Banks were never able to borrow locally from each other or even in London to ease the stringency in the Indian money markets. It was only in 1920 that the Imperial Bank of India was empowered by rules in its charter to pledge its securities in London and borrow on its assets for its banking operations.

Bank Returns.

Although the previous writers have stated that the Government reserved to itself ample powers of control including the right to inspect the books of the bank and that half-yearly returns were insisted upon by the Government to enable it to understand their progress and state of business, the particular type insisted upon by the Government has not been recorded by the previous writers. In July, 1843, the Governor-General in Council sent in a letter asking the bank to furnish monthly balance sheets of a particular type exhibiting the bank's position on the last day of each month in addition to half-yearly returns.² In order to understand the detailed nature of its operations and to know the particulars required from the bank, one statement is quoted at random from the numerous monthly returns sent in by the bank to the Government.

¹ This was removed only in 1878 and the power to borrow in India was granted but it remained a dead letter due to the restricted nature of the local money markets. See Sir Clinton Dawkin's statement in the Legislative Council, 1900, the Financial General Letter of Bengal to the Court and Directors, 7th February, 1851, Paras. 86, 87 and 88.

² See Financial Consultation No. 31, 1843.

Bank of Bombay Monthly Return.

Submitted to the Government of India on October 31st, 1843.

ASSETS.

Col. I. Date.	Col. II. Bills discounted.			Col. III. LOANS ON DEPOSIT.		
	Private.	Govt.	Total.	Of Govt. securities.	Of private securities.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Oct. 31st, 1843.	4,14,212	26,077	4,40,289	1,72,595	24,410	1,97,005

Col. IV. ACCOUNTS OF CREDITS.		Col. V. Total advances.	Col. VI. Cash balance.
On deposit of Govt. sects.	On deposit of private securities.		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
7,39,640	1,654	1,37,858	69,91,514

INVESTMENT IN GOVT. SECURITIES.

Co.'s Rs. Co.'s paper 4 per cent.	Col. VII.		Col. VIII. Remaining Miscellaneous Assets including Govt. stock.	Col. IX. Total Assets of the Bank.
	5 per cent.	5 Rs. 4 per cent.		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
27,56,000	21,60,200	2,40,600	6,14,152	14,141,054

LIABILITIES.

Bank Notes and Post Bills.

Col. I. Notes outstanding.	• Post-bills outstand- ing.	Col. II. Aggregate balances of accts C/debts. of whatever nature.	Col. III. Total liabilities repayable on demand.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5,39,95,915	14,918	34,04,108	88,17,621

Bank Rates of Business.

Col. IV. DISCOUNT CHARGED.		Col. V. INTEREST CHARGED.		
Govt. Bills	Private Bills.	On loans on deposit of goods and metals.	Accts. of credit on deposit of Govt. securities.	Interest charged on Acct. of credit o deposit of goods and metals.
5 per cent. and 4 per cent.	6 per cent.	6 per cent.	5 per cent.	6 per cent.

Bank Notes.

Issued betn. 1st and 31st	Received betn. 1st and 31st	In circulation on 31st October	
Rs.	Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Notes for
65,44,350	49,88,265	„ 10	Rs. 75,660
		„ 20	„ 50,960
		„ 25	„ 69,775
		„ 50	„ 1,67,800
		„ 100	„ 7,16,900
		„ 500	„ 7,26,800
		„ 1000	„ 23,97,000
		„ 5000	„ 10,95,600
		„ 10000	„ 1,00,000
			Rs. 53,99,595

¹ See Financial Consultations No. 31, 1843.

Bye-laws.

After establishing the fact that the Bank of Bombay is much indebted to the earlier experience of the Bank of Bengal, it follows easily that the bank met with success from the very early start as it closely followed the footsteps of the more experienced Presidency Bank of Bengal. A sound charter, economical management, perfect willingness to follow the footsteps of the experienced Presidency Bank, and the co-operation of the Government as well its customers, led to its prosperity from the very beginning and the evasion of bad debts was rendered possible by virtue of its good bye-laws.

Before studying its bye-laws a statistical proof of the above fact is essential. The following figures taken from the balance sheets of the Bank of Bombay amply illustrate my statement. The steady growth of its business can be easily inferred.

Assets.		
	Rs.	A. P.
First balance sheet 30th June 1840	... 75,93,016	9 6
31st Dec. 1840	. 86,52,434	7 6
31st Dec. 1841	... 86,81,167	9 6
31st Dec. 1842	... 95,56,155	9 6
31st Dec 1843	... 1,56,89,082	15 6

Within this brief period of three years it almost doubled its assets. Considering the fact that the deposit habit was not thoroughly established at that time on the part of the public, this phenomenal success must undoubtedly be attributed to the features already mentioned. The absence of competing rivals must have been another cause favouring its steady growth. Attention will be drawn to this fact in a succeeding chapter which deals with the private banks of Bombay during this period.

From 1840 to 1860 the Bank of Bombay enjoyed prosperity under the able direction of Mr. John Stewart.¹ The credit of passing good laws must be attributed to him. It is indeed

¹ Mr. Stewart was the Bank's Accountant till 1842 and became the Secretary in 1842, and continued to hold this post as the Secretary and Treasurer till March 1860.

true that similar bye-laws governed the practice of the Presidency Banks but the faithful observance of the same is a matter of no small credit.¹ Even a rough idea of the wise bye-laws is not to be gathered by reading the older text-books on the subject. To quote the most salient of these bye-laws "money could not be advanced to anyone excepting the Bank were fully secured by Government securities or railway guaranteed shares. There was a private discount list which was useful in limiting the bills that could be discounted for individual customers. This information was usually kept in the 'Opinion Book' which was thrown open to directors alone. In the purchase of native hundies the opinion of the brokers or the native directors who were thoroughly aware of the wealth and financial standing and character of the parties was sought. The discounting of the negotiable securities on which the responsibility of two persons did not appear was not allowed. No negotiable security could be discounted which had a longer time to run than three months. No money was to be lent on any bank share or certificates of bank or other shares. No discount, loan or cash credit to any individual or parties of the firm could be made in any way beyond three lakhs. No discount or loans could be granted unless the readily available cash in the immediate provision of the bank was at least one-fourth of all the demand liabilities against the Bank outstanding at that time. No person could overdraw his account at any time."

This great body of bye-laws undoubtedly prevented the bank from conducting unsound operations but they might also have

¹ It was so successfully conducted that during the whole of this period the Bank of Bombay did not lose more than Rs. 20,000. This is the estimate of Mr. A. K. Corfield given by him before the Sir C. Jackson Committee, p. 329. The Report of the same Committee estimates it at a higher figure namely Rs. 25,000. This evidently must be taken as an authoritative estimate. See para. 1 of the Report of the Committee. The following extract from a minute of 7th April 1845, signed by V. H. Crawford and L. R. Reid, shows that "Not one bad debt has yet been contracted by the Bank." W. Willoughby in his confidential memorandum says that "only one bill was dishonoured during the whole course of five years."—Financial Consultation No. 36, Ft. William, 13th Feb., 1846.

limited "its capacity to do a great amount of good to the commercial public." The Act of 1862 widened its scope of operations and rendered unnecessary the excessive investment of funds in Government securities which often proved easily unrealisable into cash at any moment of necessity. Mr. S. D. Birch who realised this difficulty was instrumental in securing a revision of its charter in 1862 and free it from the shackles of the strait jacket as the earlier charter might be styled.

By 1863 the mercantile demand for accommodation increased greatly as a result of the introduction of endless schemes and Joint-stock Companies induced by the plethora of wealth which was secured by the Bombay Cotton merchants and dealers as a result of the American Civil War which tended to cut off the supplies of American Cotton to the European Cotton Industry. So the Government granted a new charter on the ground that the old one of 1840 was found "in many respects inconvenient, imperfect, and unnecessarily restrictive." Enlarged powers were given to the bank as regards the increase of capital. It was made independent of all Government control and new kinds of business could be undertaken. The power "to lend on shares of public companies in India" was granted. Unlimited advances on personal security could also be made. These clauses proved the "flood-gates of the Bank's ruin."

The capital was subsequently increased to the full limit allowed, £,000 which included the original capital. The Government shares were raised from 300 to 600. It was again increased to 1,200 shares. The bank, however, began to experience difficulties in May, 1865, and in spite of Government help could not retrieve its position. The Government had to render aid not only on the ground of its being a shareholder but to save its own credit and avoid political and financial complications which may arise out of its failure. The general share mania and failure

as the result of the cotton¹ collapse knocked the bottom out of the securities on which the loans were made. It fell as a peal of thunder on them. Payment of pretended profit out of real capital was made in 1866 just to make a show that everything was going on, on right lines. It was however felt that the capital was too large for sound business and the Directors' suggestion to reduce the capital to I E mil was approved by the Government and Act I of 1867 permitted this reduction. Even this however proved too large and a further reduction was proposed in August, 1867. Though the Act 15 of 1866 repealed the clause permitting the bank to make loans on the shares of public companies in India on the ground that this objectional power was not in conformity with the privileges of the other Presidency Banks, nothing could be done to save the bank. A severe run on the bank took place in February, 1867, and deposits to the extent of 169 lakhs were withdrawn. It could be stopped only by the Governor-General in Council permitting the Bombay Government to lend 150 lakhs out of its funds. A sum of £1 mil. was actually placed in its hands. This was the second time the Government had to aid the Bank of Bombay. The Report of the Bombay Bank, dated 8th August, 1867, which was almost "a funeral oration" and can be considered as "a dying speech and confession," plainly admits that two causes were responsible for the failure, *viz.*, those arising out of special and general causes. The six elected directors were representing practically one group of particular interest and the election was always managed in such a way as to secure for them a preponderating majority. There was again no limit to the powers of

¹ About 118 public companies failed in 1865 and they had an aggregate nominal capital of upwards of £50 mil. See the pamphlet "The late Government of Bombay : Its history, p. 15. A copy of this exists in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. It is written by an anonymous writer. Symes Scutt also gives a graphic description of the crisis of 1865 and 1866. The crisis arose as an abuse of credit accompanied by excessive speculation and the diversion of capital from its legitimate purposes were the inevitable results which followed the undue expansion of companies having in too many instances unsound foundations. During the crisis of 1866 six important banks were closed and the bank rate rose to 18%. 60 days' bills on Bombay were sold at 25 to 30% discount in the Calcutta money market.

the Secretary in respect of loans and advances. So far as the general causes were concerned the increase of capital when it was not actually needed for legitimate banking purposes was the chief one. The enactment of Act 28 of 1865 which enabled the dishonest debtor to obtain a ready discharge through the Court was a contributory cause for it disabled the bank directors to retrieve the position of the bank. Another legislative measure which contributed a good deal towards unsound management was the permission granted to lend on shares of public companies.

Not satisfied with this explanation the Bombay Government appointed a Commission to enquire into the causes of the failure. After a searching inquiry extending into the most minute details of the bank's operations and practices it came to the general conclusion that "the Act X of 1863 removed many of the earlier restrictions permitting the Bank to transact business of an unsafe character. There was an abuse of the power by weak and unprincipled secretaries acting under the influence of a designing native director, Premchand Roychand. The President and directors were negligent, failed to do their duty and omitted to pass bye-laws and did not exercise proper supervision and control over the Bank and its secretaries and they did not ascertain how the business was carried on. The very exceptional nature of the times and the absence of sound legal advice and assistance were no less responsible for its failure than the incapacity¹ of directors who were not conversant with banking business."

While the general reasons convey an idea of the circumstances which led to its failure the laxity of management which prevailed can only be understood by a thorough study of the oral statement of the witnesses before the Sir C. Jackson Committee. A few such glaring instances can be quoted for these can serve as beacons to existing banking institutions.

¹ See para. 47, Report of the Sir C. Jackson Committee.

Loans which could not be obtained at the head office could be secured easily at the branches without the cognisance of the directors. Employees* of the bank were freely allowed to have many other side-lines of business. Their having too many irons in the fire was almost the chief reason why adequate attention was not paid to details. Lavish expense was made on bank buildings at Karachi. Loans of 25 lakhs of Rupees were made to Premchand Roychand on the co-operation of five leading banks but not on their guarantee, although he was known to be thoroughly insolvent at that time. This was done with the full knowledge, if not at the instigation, of the Government directors. Granting cash credits on personal security, *i.e.*, promissory note signed by the borrower was freely pursued. Discounting promissory notes without any additional security was indulged in. Above all the Government itself soon relaxed its tightening grip even after its first interference and timely help in 1865. It kept quite and tacitly acquiesced in the reduction of capital. The Government Directors forgot "common prudence" and proved unequal to their position in 1864, 1865 and 1866.¹ These are the very pitfalls to be avoided by the modern joint-stock banks if they are to prevent any widespread disaster from overtaking them. It would be impossible to retrieve the position of a bank however skilful and cautious the latter-day management might be in avoiding these venturesome tasks, when the earlier management is thoroughly unsound. During days of credit inflation and risky business expansion similar to those which the Bank of Bombay experienced, it is the duty of every cautious banker to convert his assets into liquid condition, pay off his borrowings with correspondent banks and clean up bills payable at the Central Bankers. He should suggest a similar line of action to his business customers and dissuade, as far as it is possible for him to do, large extension of capital, heavy

¹ See Sir W. Mansfield's and the Finance Member Mr. Massey's Minute on the failure of the Bank of Bombay in 1867.

commitments of raw material, large labour forces and over-extended and too liberal credit terms to these customers. It is just the opposite line of action that the prudent banker has to pursue whenever there is business or industrial depression in society.

In addition to this self-protection it is the duty of the banker to check further over-production in society. The banker can afford to do it by virtue of his very wide and general information about finance, production, marketing, consumption and other economic aspects of life. As T. Veblen says, "the banker belongs to the class of pecuniary experts whose business is the strategic management of interested business relations of the economic system." It is the banker's bounden duty to introduce proper system and order into the "alleged planlessness of the competitive, capitalistic and profit economy."

(Concluded)

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

RELIGIOUS CULTS AND LITERATURE OF MEDIÆVAL BENGAL

Religion has always been the guiding force in all spheres of activities, literary or otherwise, of the people of Bengal. Never before in her history had it been discernible better than in the mediaeval period (*i.e.*, 13th-18th centuries)¹ when the Bengali literature, specially its poetry branch,² reached a high stage of development unparalleled in any other epoch. The impetus given by various local cults developed our literature to an amazing degree owing to a large number of poets composing laudatory verses, each of them writing in honour of the deity he worshipped. Thus arose our *Sivāyana* and *Mangal-Kāvyas* which are purely indigenous in character, not to speak of two other branches of literature, *viz.*, metrical Bengali translations mainly of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata* and the *Vaisnava Literature* with its wealth of historical writings and unique lyrical productions. It was in the peculiar faith in God and the Brahmins and the resignation of the people to them (as exhibited in the indigenous literature of this period) as well as the patronage of the foreign rulers extended to our literature, that the Mediaeval period differed so much from the ancient literary period. In

¹ It should be noted that the mediaeval period in Europe began in the latter part of the 5th century and ended in the middle of 15th century A.D. while in Bengal the mediaeval period properly speaking began with the advent of the Mahomedans in Bengal in 1199 A.D. (conquest of Navadvip by Md. Bin Bakhtyar Khilji) and ended in the middle of the 18th century (Battle of Plassey) if we fix any arbitrary date.

² The mediaeval Bengali literature deals almost wholly with metrical Bengali. Prose literature, so to speak, really started right earnestly with the establishment of the Fort William College at the beginning of the 19th century.

order to ascertain the significance of the literary activities of the people it is proper to study the various cults which existed in Bengal in the period mentioned above and so these Bengali cults are described here cursorily.

The religious activities of the period may be divided into two classes, *viz.*, (1) Buddhistic and (2) Pauranik. It should be noticed, however, that no rigid line of demarcation can be drawn between these two, as often enough both Buddhism and Pauranik Hinduism existed side by side, sometimes with amity and rarely with discord.¹ However, Buddhism being then in a decadent stage Pauranik renaissance imprinted its deep mark clearly on the Buddhistic cult and the literature which progressed as the Moslem rule advanced in Bengal.

Degenerate Tantrikism prevailed in Bengal after the fall of Buddhism in the 9th and the 10th centuries. Tantrikism pure and simple had some scientific background. However much pure originally it had been, it degenerated in later days when it sanctioned hideous performances and repulsive debaucheries of all sorts.²

The Bengali literature was at one time full of mystic tantrik sayings very difficult to understand. Dāk-Tantra, popularly known as Dāker-Vachan contains many such passages which are not easy to comprehend. In Goraksha-Vijaya (pp. 188-195) may be found very abstruse tāntrik ideas in the garb of queries and answers. It is very peculiar that the tāntrik mysticism, which seems to us so difficult to understand now, was not considered so even by the common people of the early mediaeval period. This may be guessed from the extensive prevalence of the tāntrik ideas in the literature of the period, such as, Goraksha-Vijaya, Minchetan, Sunya-Purāṇa, Mayanāmatir Gan and similar other works. This Tāntrikism, in course of time, commingled with

¹ See Niranjaner Rasmā, Sunya Purāṇa.

² See Narottam Vilas, Canto VII.

all the cults of the mediaeval Bengal, whether Buddhistic or Pauranik.

.(A) BUDDHISTIC CULTS.

(1) *The Dharma Cult.*

The degenerate Tāntrik-Buddhistic cult of the Mahāyāna school was known in this country as the Dharma cult. Whether this cult was really Mahāyāna Buddhism itself with a changed name or quite a separate local cult with Buddhistic stamp only, we cannot finally say. The former is an old theory while the latter is a new one with staunch believers on both sides. It is most peculiar that traces of the Dharma cult are only to be found in West Bengal and not in the East or North Bengal. The earliest treatise on the cult, viz., *Sunya-Purāṇa* by Ramai Pandit perhaps belongs to the 10th century A.D.¹ and contains very early fragments of Bengali Prose. That the cult was considerably Buddhistic is evident from such lines of the *Sunya-Purāṇa* as “ধর্মরাজ বজ্র নিন্দা করে” (the God Dharma speaks ill of the sacrificial rites) and “শ্রীধর্মদেবতা সিংহলে বহুত সন্মান” (the God Dharma is much respected in Ceylon). That the Tāntrikism of a degenerate kind entered into it may be proved from the rites enjoined in the “Dharma-Puja Paddhati.” In the tāntrik worship self-mortification is predominant. The “Sādhaka” (the votary) sometimes gives up his own head to the object of worship but such instances are not found in pure Buddhism where ‘Himsā’ of any kind is disallowed. We find a devout worshipper like king Bhumichandra sacrificing his own head to his object of worship, the God Dharma. Another grotesque example is found in the repulsive cooking of a prince’s (Luichandra’s) flesh by his dear mother Madanā herself. This was done to satisfy the God Dharma in the guise of a Brahmin guest. This latter story, to be found in the Dharmamangal poems (see Ghanaram, p. 38),

¹ The date is a disputed one, especially with a view to the fact that the only extant manuscript raises suspicions of interpolations of a much later period.

reminds one of Prince Briṣa ketu's story as contained in the Mahābhārata.

(2) *The Sahajiyā Cult.*

The Sahajiya cult which arose from Tāntrik Buddhism was a most peculiar feature of the religious annals of Bengal. It was based on such tantras as Mantrajān, Bajrajān, and Kālachakrajān—all being generally known as Sahjāmnāya. Some Tantras written in Bengali have recently been recovered by MM. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri from Nepal. These are Vajra-Dāk-Tantra, Chariyā-Chariya Vinischaya, Vodicharyyāvātāra, and others. The tantras mentioned here belonged to the particular creed known as “Sahjāmnāya” as mentioned above, and became, in course of time, popularly known as Sahajiyā. Kanu Bhatta, the writer of the “Chariyā-chariya-vinischaya,” was the earliest Sahajiyā Buddhist writer on the subject. From Kanu Bhatta's writings it may be imagined that the Sahajiyās tried to attain perfection through the satisfaction of their carnal desires. According to them these passions are natural to human beings and as such they sought perfection through them (*vide* Sastri's newly discovered Tantras from Nepal). The Sahajiyās were once much hated as it seems from the epithet “বৌদ্ধপাশ” given to them by the people. (See Mālatimādhava, Prabodh-chandrodaya and some other Sanskrit Dramas.) The Vaisnava Sahajiyā was a later development and Chandiḍas was its greatest apostle. Many of his lines sparkle with a very sublime idea¹ which is the essence of Vaisnava Sahajiyā though not of the Buddhist Sahajiyā. Love for a woman and especially for one who is not one's wife is the cardinal principle of the Sahajiyā.

¹ (a) সহজ সহজ সবাই কহয় সহজ জানিবে কে।

কলক সাগর যে হইয়াছে পার সহজ জেনেছে সে।

চণ্ডীদাস।

(The word “Sahaj” is on everybody's lips but who can realise its proper significance? He who has crossed the sea of ‘Kalanka’ (ill-repute) has really been able to understand it).

(b) কোটিতে পৌঁটিক হয়।—চণ্ডীদাস।

(Among a crore of so-called Sahajiyās only one may be found to be the real one.)

According to this theory pure love can only be possible between a pair who are not connected in society as husband and wife. To attain such a love one must experience all the earthly pangs and sufferings (কলঙ্ক) like a martyr. Such love is "Parakiyā" which is, according to the Sahajiyās, more fine and selfless than "Swakiyā," i.e., that between a husband and his wife, the connection being imposed upon the pair by society. The lines of Chandidas—

শুনহে মানুষ ভাই ।

সবার অধিক মানুষ বড়,

তাহার অধিক নাই ॥¹

(Listen to me, oh man. Man stands supreme over all and no other creation is superior to him)—show in what high respect man as man was regarded by Chandidas.

This Sahajiyā cult gradually degenerated and became a vehicle of illicit relations between Vaisnavas of opposite sexes known as "Neḍā-Neḍis" (shaven-headed beings), the name being adopted from the Buddhist monks and nuns who used to shave their heads.

The Sahajiyā literature such as Ānandabhairab, Amritaratnā-bali, Amrita-rasāvali, etc., forms a very considerable portion of the Vaisnava literature and numerous tīntrik theories are mixed up with it.

According to some scholars,¹ the modern Sahajiyā (Vaisnava) doctrine of Bengal is distinctly Post-Chaitanya in origin. A belief has somehow gained ground that it originated from the Buddhist Sahajiyā doctrine; but this theory is based on imperfect knowledge of the spirit and principles of the Vaisnava Sahajiyā doctrine. People generally speak of the Sahajiyās as a sect who do nothing else but observe mystic practices with 'Parakiyā'

¹ Vide Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal by M. M. Bose.

women. In this aspect of culture, which may properly be called the later form of t  trikism, the Sahajiy  s have undoubtedly many things similar to those advocated by the Buddhist Sahajiy  s. But the spirit of the two cults are quite different. Whereas the Vaisnava Sahajiy  s culture love in the company of women, the Buddhist Sahajiy  s cultivate knowledge being associated with women as "Uttar-S  dhik  s." The real truth is that the idea of the culture of love can scarcely be traced in the literature, either of the Buddhist Sahajiy  s or of the t  triks. The latter cultivated Sakti and the Buddhists sought Jn  na ; but the Vaisnavas cultivated love and this is the distinguishing feature of the modern Sahajiy   doctrine of Bengal. This idea of love in the domain of religion was first preached in Bengal by Chaitanya and the Sahajiy  s later on adopted love as the object of culture. This is the essential feature of the modern Vaisnava Sahajiy   doctrine.

(3) *Ths N  tha Cult :*

N  thism was another peculiar cult of the period. It was a cult of saint-worship and followed by the Yogis—a caste once occupying rather a high position, but now degraded. The Saints or Gurus such as Minanath, Gorakshanath, K  lup  , H  dip   and others were once much esteemed by this Yogis (see Mayan  matir G  n, Gopich  ndrer Git, M  nikchandra R  j  r G  n, Goraksha-Vijaya, Min-chetan, etc., etc.).

The followers of N  thism were essentially Buddhistic as they also worshipped the God Dharma who might be Buddha himself or very much Buddhistic in character. (See Mayan  matir G  n and M  nik Chandra R  j  r G  n). Saivism and N  thism have also much in common especially when we see the N  tha Guru Minanath overhear the mystic knowledge that was going to be imparted to Gauri, Siva's consort, by the God Siva himself (see Gorakshavijaya). Affinity between the two cults might still be seen in Nepal.

(B) The Paurānik Cults.

(1) *The Vaisnava Cult.*

The Paurānik Hindus are divided into five groups, *viz.*, the Gānapatyas, the Sauris, the Saivas, the Sāktas and the Vaisnavas. Of these five the followers of the God Ganapati as a separate group do not exist in Bengal. Of the other four, only traces of Sun worship (by the Sauris) are to be found in Bengal. These may be gleaned from the peculiar rhymes called the Bratakathās, chiefly current in Backerganj side. Among the remaining three, the Vaisnavas received great impetus at the hands of Chaitanya whose sublime teachings imparted a new lease of life to the religious fervour of the Bengali people. It was at the hands of his companion Nityananda and his (Nityananda's) son Birchandra that the Vaisnava cult received a new interpretation and the Vaisnava sect was really built up. Chaitanyism gave the Bengal Vaisnavas the name of Gauriya Vaisnavas (a new type of Vaisnavas) and the historical-biographical works, *viz.*, Chaitanya-Bhāgavata, Chaitanya-Charitāmṛita, Bhaktiratnākara and Prembilās, besides a host of other valuable writings are living monuments to the intellectual progress of the community. Besides the lyrical productions the Padas of Chandidas, Jnanadas, Balaram Das, Govinda Das and a number of other Padakartās stand incomparable in the annals of the literature of the world. Vaisnavism stood against caste-orthodoxy and revolutionised the Bengali Hindu society and produced a literature unique in every respect. However, the Vaisnava literature came out of social-religious reforms, while the translation literature (*e.g.*, translations of the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata) was the mainstay of the orthodox Hindu community and both the activities although almost simultaneous with the indigenous literature, around which clustered so many cults, came a bit late. The local cults

chiefly fostered indigenous literature and thus originated the Sivāyanas and the Mangal-Kāvya, the latter partly devoted to extolling the God Dharma and partly or rather chiefly adoring the Goddesses of the Sākta cult. (The Dharma cult and the Dharmamangal Kāvya have already been referred to.) Now let us mention here the remaining two cults, *viz.*, the Saiva and the Sākta (the others having been already described above)¹ and the literature peculiar to each of them :—

(2) *The Saiva Cult.*²

Between the Saiva and the Sākta cults the former is more ancient in Bengal. A time came when the Saiva and the Sākta cults, though originally at loggerheads, compromised and Siva occupied the position of the husband of Sakti or Durgā. The Sunya Purana (10th century A.D.?) incidentally refers to the God Siva and contains some fine devotional lines in this connection. Besides the Sunya Purana, a class of literature grew up around Siva known as the Sivāyana literature of which the Sivāyanas of Rāmeswar and Ramkrishna are the most famous. A word may be said about the conception of the God Siva in Bengal. With the rural poets Siva became the God of agriculture and lost all Vedic prestige. Owing to the action and reaction of mutual influences among the rival cults, Siva was partly endowed with the attributes of the Buddha and thus we find Siva in meditation. According to some Siva in the Vedic days was known as the fierce God Rudra. But it has recently been found out that Siva has no connection with the Vedic Rudra who was a different god. The worship of Siva was current among the Dravidian people in the Deccan, long before the introduction of the Aryan Pantheon. (See Saivism and Vaisnavism, Bhandarkar.) Various vulgar attributes were sometimes given by the

¹ Vidyonmāda-tarangini by Chiranjiva Bhattachāryya furnishes an excellent picture of different Hindu cults in connection with their religious controversies.

² It is peculiar that though in each cult the principal deity was revered other subordinate deities were not ignored.

people to the god Siva and thus we get “হরপার্বতীর কোন্দল” and “বান্দির পালা.” Thus the God had two sides—one local and another Paurānik, in his nature. The attribute of inaction that the God Siva took owing to Buddhistic influence made the God lose all charm for the people, which resulted in the gradual elimination of the Saiva cult from any place of importance. The downfall perhaps became rapid with the advent of Islam in Bengal. Islamites always found help from the Almighty and so did the followers of the Sākta cult, but Saivites never received any active help from their god which was one of the reasons for the rapid rise of the Sākta cult and the gradual elimination of the god Siva from any position of importance. Examples are not rare to prove this point from the Manasāmangal poems, where Chand, the devout follower of Siva, suffered so much without receiving any help from his god, whereas, the follower of Manasā and Chandi received immense help from their respective deities. (*Vide* the Manasāmangal and the Chandi-Kāvya in which Behula, Srimanta, Kalketu and others secured immediate help from their respective goddesses in times of need.)

(3) *The Sākta Cult.*

The Sākta cult, though of hoary antiquity, could not at first make much headway in Bengal, as Saiva cult held sway upon the upper classes of Bengali Hindus while the Sākta cult was in vogue among the humbler ranks of the Hindus only and possibly in Non-Aryan homes. However, as regards antiquity, the Sākta cult perhaps ranks foremost. There was a time when Sakti worship was current amongst almost all the civilized and ancient nations. Traces of Sakti-worship have been discovered in the eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea. Dr. Evans found it in Crête. According to B. Mazumdar, the current non-Aryan Kumāri Puja of the Sambalpur District of Orissa has something to do with the Durga Puja of Bengal. The Sakti cult or mother-worship probably flourished at one time among the nomadic

nations where marriages were hasty and the union of the couple was temporary owing to nomadic tendency. The child then could only know the mother and not so much the father. The goddesses Durgā and Tārā may have some Non-Aryan origin. (See p. 12, Introduction, Modern Buddhism.) *

It is very peculiar that the Dharma worshippers did not usually take to the Paurāṇik Sākta Pujas with a good grace as is evidenced from the lines of Dharmamangal poems wherein the Sakti-worshipper Ichhai Ghosh of Dhekur is badly beaten by the Imperial army of Gaur headed by Lausen (the devout Dharma-worshipper). The story is significant enough for our present purpose. That the Sākta cult was introduced into the homes of the rich merchant community by the ladies of the house after much trouble and that their Saiva husbands were at first unwilling to accept it, may be learnt from a perusal of the Manasāmangal poems. Evidently the two cults of the Saiva and the Sakta were at first not on good terms (see Vidyonmāda-tarangini) and their rival position is lucidly exemplified in the Mangal-Kāvyaas such as those of Chandi and Manasā, but curiously enough the two effected a compromise in later days, when Sakti became identified as the wife of Siva and the doctrine of 'Purusa and Prakriti' was brought forward for the support of this idea. Unlike Siva, Chandi, Manasā and other female deities, were very much active to help their votaries when in distress. They were also no less active in their jealousies and rivalries amongst themselves (See Kavikankan Mukundaram's Chandi-Kāvya and Bangsidas's Manasāmangal among other works.)

That the goddesses Chandi, Manasā and other deities of the Sākta cult, were afterwards brought to a footing of compromise may be inferred from the following lines about Manasā in Bangsidas's Padmā Purān (Manasāmangal):—

যেই দুর্গা সেই তুমি জগতের মাতা ।
অভেদ চণ্ডিকা তুমি নাহিক অণুখা ॥

There is no difference between you, oh mother of the world, and the goddess Durgā. You (Manasā) and Chandikā are one and the same goddess. There is not the least doubt about it.

Bangsidas's Padmā Purān. p. 193.

This, in short, is a brief sketch of the more important cults of mediæval Bengal, which will incidentally show to what extent our Bengali literature is indebted to them and to what extent our society has been moulded by their mutual rivalries and jealousies.

TAMONASHICHANDRA DAS GUPTA

DARIO'S SONG •

(From the Operetta "Gloria Romano")

Where once I roved with joyous heart
I view with eyes of gloomy mien ;
Ah ! oft the blinding tear-drops start
When memory brings a happy scene.
Or in the echo of a shout
Whose gladness only brings me pain
A well-loved whisper stealeth out
To wake the long-dead past again !

Oft in the wavering candle-light
Within my tiny garret bare,
I strive with all my puny might
To paint Love's sacred image there ;
But O ! my brush hath no such skill
To shape an image just as pure,
Or give it such a rapture, till
O'er everything it would endure, '

I hear the bell of Citrine ring
It soundeth o'ermuch like a knell.
To me, no gladness doth it bring,
But folds me in a gloomy spell.
O God ! To paint—to carve—to mould,
My haste Thy gifts eluded me ?
One life to serve, to love—to hold,
And give unto Eternity !

LELAND J. BERRY

INDIAN FINANCES

Mr. Layton's Scheme Examined

Coming next to the important items of expenditure in the central Government's budget, we are faced at the very outset with the cost of India's defence of the total income of the Government of India, which according to the current year's budget estimate is expected to be Rs. 90·23 crores, the expenditure on military services of all descriptions is Rs. 54·35 crores, which works out at nearly 62½% of the total ; though Sir W. Layton thought that he was not authorized to express an opinion on the policy underlying this huge expenditure on the Army in India, he has been constrained to admit, and thereby to lend weight to the contention of Indian critics, that " it is evident that the dominant factor " in the Indian Financial situation is her disproportionately large expenditure on defence, the fact being that the proportion it bears to the general revenues is as large as that in any other country, notwithstanding the palpably low economic position of the country when compared with all those other countries. And all this while the expenditure on essential national services is comparatively very low, and therefore the opportunities for increasing her productive capacity are comparatively narrowed down. There need be no doubt or hesitation, as such, in agreeing with Sir W. Layton's diagnosis when he says that " economically speaking, it is the most burdensome of expenditures," that " it cannot promote productive efficiency " and that our military expenditure " had risen more rapidly than in other parts of the Empire." Add to this the two facts that, firstly a high proportion of the cost is incurred primarily in the

interests of, or for purposes which directly concern, Indian defence but for the entirely extraneous purpose of imperial defence, and secondly, much of the cost is unnecessarily kept high owing to the policy of deliberate and scrupulous avoidance of the introduction of a larger Indian element into the Indian Army and the elimination of the high-paid British officers and men, and the burdensome character of the expenditure on the army becomes completely exposed.

This fundamental fact of the Indian defence problem has been having undesirable repercussions on the capacity of the Indian finances to meet increased expenditure on essential, public and nation-building services like Public Health, Education, Sanitation, etc., which have the merit, as has already been pointed out, of adding to the productive capacity of the nation, especially at the present time, when, compared with other countries, such expenditure is very low and needs to be increased. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, to recognize, as Sir Walter Layton has recognized, that economies should be introduced into the Army Department, that the expenditure on the army should be curtailed by the inauguration of the necessary reforms and that the money so released should be spent on social services, which are being starved at present.

There are two ways in which economies could be introduced : (i) the British Exchequer should be charged with the cost of that portion of the army which is being maintained in India for purely imperial purposes, and (ii) the British Government should be made to pay for the training of the officers of that part of the Indian army which is not for entirely Indian purposes. And, again there are two reforms which will, if introduced, also result in a considerable reduction of the burden of the Army expenditure : (i) the replacement of the British units kept in India for purposes of Indian defence by Indian troops, (2) the Indianization of the higher ranks of the Indian Army. In the matter of all the above reforms, the Simon Commission made very unsatisfactory and unprogressive recommendations; while in regard to the latter

set of reforms they are so reactionary as to suggest that they could not visualize a time even on the far distant future when the British army could be replaced by Indian troops officered and manned by Indians: Their recommendations in this connection have become the 'bete-noir' of every Indian critic who has bestowed any thought on the Commission's work in its relation to the one main point which has a bearing upon the all-important and fundamental consideration, *i.e.*, that it offers a very serious obstruction to the gradual evolution of a full-fledged Dominion army, which is a necessary accompaniment of Dominion Status.

The results that emanated from Sir Walter Layton's analysis of the Indian Defence problem is that it would be possible, provided the British Government takes over the capitation charges which amount to nearly Rs. 2 crores annually, and provided also that no extraordinary situation would develop necessitating any extraordinary expenditure on the army, to reduce military charges to Rs. 48 crores by 1940. This is, of course, on the basis that no political Reforms affecting the army problem would be introduced and the Indianization scheme does not proceed as rapidly as it is demanded by Indian Politicians; but, if in these two matters there are advances, as it is very likely there would be, the burden may be still further reduced. The Simon Commission's recommendations cannot be considered sacrosanct from any point of view and least of all from the army point of view; and reforms in the direction of a progressive realization of a responsible army administration with possibilities of Indianization at an increasing pace, are not beyond the degree of probability.

Civil and Debt Services.

The expenditure of the Government of India on the civil and debt services has also considerably increased since the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, owing largely to

the Government's action on the recommendations of the Lee Commission, which proposed increase in the salaries of the All-India Services, but to a certain extent also on account of the necessity for incurring fresh expenditure on such items as civil and commercial aviation and other similar activities. Unless it be that expenditure on the civil services is considerably curtailed in the years to come, the expenditure of the Government of India is not calculated to be reduced ; nor does it seem possible to lessen the interest on our Public debt or the burden of debt itself, in view of the increased necessity there is for constructing irrigation and other public utility works of a productive character. But if economies are introduced into the Army Department on the basis of even Sir W. Layton's recommendations, and if, as anticipated, there is going to be a steady rise in the revenue from customs, there is no possibility or probability of any deficit being faced by the Central Government. Further, so large a proportion of our Public debt is of a productive character that it is not necessary to be alarmed about its figure ; and if a definite policy of debt redemption along the lines proposed by Sir Basil Blackett, former Finance Member in the Government of India in 1924, is followed, it will be possible to avoid a situation wherein the burden of our public debt might become insupportable.

*Provincial Government's Sources of Revenue :
Land Revenue.*

Coming next to the resources in the hands of the Provincial Governments, we are faced with a situation which is not altogether encouraging. Land Revenue, which is by far the most important source of revenue to the Provinces, has already reached the utmost limit of its productivity and has reached a stage when it has come to be considered as pressing rather too heavily upon the agricultural classes and when no Finance Minister can expect to secure an increased income from it, without running

the serious risk of reducing the agriculturists to absolute poverty. This fact is more than borne out by the almost stationary state of the income from the source, and any increase that may have taken place was due more to the extension of the cultivated area rather than to any increased rates of land revenue. It is also borne out by the consideration that Governments have invariably found it inexpedient to press the theory of the state ownership of land and have been willing to limit land revenue assessment to a fixed maximum—as for example, in Madras, where $18\frac{3}{4}\%$ has been fixed as the maximum assessment that could be levied at any fresh settlement. Even after these changes that have gradually and slowly become established practices, land revenue taxation has been felt to be a terrible handicap to the improvement of the economic position of the agriculturists while the existing system of land tenure and land-revenue administration, especially in the temporarily settled areas, have been felt to be antiquated and out of date, leaving, as they do, the agriculturists at the mercy of settlement officers and the Executive Government. The Simon Commissioners have recognised these difficulties for they state in the first volume of their Report with reference to the system of land revenue assessment that “there are obvious objections to this form of taxation” and quoted with approval the opinion of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919 that “the imposition of new burdens should be brought gradually within the purview of the Legislature.” That the system needs radical reform is more than proved by the awakening that has come about in the country in regard to this matter and by the interest which the Provincial and Central Governments have been evincing in it with a view to effect the necessary Reform, though, of course, the results attending these efforts have not been either remarkable or striking. The total income derived from Land Revenue is about Rs. 36 crores out of the total income of 97 crores of all the Provincial Governments put together from all sources, which means that it still forms a considerable proportion of Indian Revenues ; and, in view of

these facts, it is enough if it is stated here that it cannot be made a source of further revenue. All that is necessary to do in regard to it is to devise measures for the alleviation of the hardships of the agriculturists who have to bear this burden of land Revenue by bringing it into accord with the well-known canon of taxation that a tax should not be beyond but approximate to, the ability of the tax-payer to pay.

Tax on Agricultural Incomes.

In this connection, it is necessary to consider the suggestion that land Revenue Taxation should be brought into line with taxation on other kinds of income and that the tax on income from land should follow along the same lines as income tax. This suggestion, which has been made before by many people, is endorsed by the Taxation Enquiry Committee and now by Sir Walter Layton himself in order firstly to remove the inequalities between industrial and agricultural occupations and make them both contribute equitably to the public revenues of the country, and secondly to remove the invidious system in vogue whereby a class of big landholders in the permanently settled areas of Bengal, United Provinces and certain portions of Madras and the Central Provinces are exempt from paying any tax on their income of land beyond a pittance fixed nearly a century and a half ago. The protagonists of this form of taxation propose a graduated tax to be levied on agricultural incomes on the same lines as on incomes from industrial, commercial and other occupations. The evil effects of the permanent settlement on the financial position of the Provinces where the system is in vogue and from the point of view of equitable adjustment of tax burdens, are now very generally recognized and very little opposition will be forthcoming against the proposal to impose some sort of compulsory contribution on the zamindars who now escape any such burden and thereby share their enormous profits from land with the State.

If a radical modification of Land Tenures prevalent in the permanently settled areas could be effected by the complete abolition of that system, nothing would be better or more welcome; but as the administrative and political difficulties in the way of such reform are so big that it does not come within the range of practical probability, the only method that remains to adopt is the one suggested by so many financiers and reformers, *i.e.*, the imposition of income tax on agricultural incomes. There are, of course, certain points which have to be cleared up before it can be suggested that the proposal will confer all the benefits and secure all these advantages which have been claimed for it. One such is the difficulty of assessing small incomes to the income tax, in the levy of which a particular exemption limit is invariably fixed. If this exemption limit is fixed at a particular point, say Rs. 1,000, the question arises as to what is to be done with agricultural profits below Rs. 1,000, which, considering the small and often uneconomic holdings of the agriculturists in India, will be very considerable and which therefore escape taxation altogether. Either these incomes are to be emancipated from all burden or they should be made to pay the ordinary land tax, while all the incomes above the exemption limit will be assessed to the income tax. The first proposition is wholly impracticable and unjustified, and the latter alone appears to be the most appropriate and equitable one.

A second point which also needs clearing up is the method to be pursued for the determination of agricultural profits in a vast country like India, where holdings are hopelessly subdivided, where absentee landlordism is very rampant and where the records of rights are imperfect. But this difficulty is not very formidable and the Revenue Departments in the Provinces can be relied upon to cope with the work entailing upon them by this change.

The advantages of imposing a graduated income tax on agricultural profits are very considerable as has already been pointed out; but its greatest recommendation is that it will

reduce the inequalities existing between the industrial and agricultural provinces, as both categories of administrative units will be in a position to share in the proceeds of income-tax.

The Future of the Land Tax.

Before leaving the topic of Land Revenue and the tax on profits from land, it will be permissible to refer succinctly to the changes in the Land Revenue administration that should be introduced to bring it into line with the criticisms of the system made above. The Agricultural Commission which made so many useful and beneficial recommendations for the improvement of Indian agriculture was unfortunately precluded from making any suggestions with regard to the highly important matters affecting the lives and prosperity of the agriculturists, *i.e.*, the systems of Land Tenure and Land Revenue administration, which, if it had been done, would have enabled that body to make authoritative recommendations in regard to them also. As it is, the justifiable and imperative thing for the State to do in connection is (1) to recognize the *de facto* state of affairs in regard to ownership of lands and definitely and finally abandon its claims to ultimate ownership of land, (2) to introduce a sort of semi-permanent settlement of land by fixing the currency of each settlement at 50 or 60 years, (3) to define clearly the basis and the pitch of each assessment that would be made at successive settlements, (4) to conduct a thorough economic enquiry into the condition of the ryots before fixing the rates of assessment, (5) to curtail the scope for the play of the whims and caprices of executive officials of the Settlement Department in the matter of land revenue assessment and collection, (6) to place Land Revenue administration on a statutory basis and bring it completely within the purview of the Legislature, (7) to assess agricultural profits to the Income Tax, and (8) lastly, to effect the necessary

modifications in the Permanent Revenue Settlement so as to bring the system into accord with modern ideas of distribution of tax burdens. These suggestions have been made time and often and have recommended themselves to even the Government.

Other Sources of Provincial Revenues.

Next to Land Revenue, the other important source of Provincial Revenue is Excise, which yields annually about Rs. 19½ crores. The Excise duties are levied mainly on the manufacture and sale of country liquor and, as the Simon Commissioners say in the first volume of their Report, "there is a complete separation of the privileges of sale and manufacture." The system of licenses for the sale of liquor is in vogue in many Provinces and the licensee is not permitted to sell the liquor off the premises of the licensed shop and even there liquor of a particular strength prescribed by the Excise Department alone can be sold. The Provincial Governments also derive a limited income from licenses granted for the sale of foreign liquor, the main burden on which is the customs duties collected by the Central Government. There is, however, a strong movement in the country in favour of Temperance and the demand had been made in more than one Provincial Council that Government should take up the initiative in the direction of Temperance reform. The most formidable objection against it has, however, been the loss of revenue which the step entails and this is the rock on which till now the efforts of Temperance and Prohibition reforms have broken. Excise is a transferred subject under the Reforms and Provincial Ministers have had to face the unenviable prospect of having to defend an unpopular policy because, otherwise, the Provincial budgets will have to experience a deficit. But Prohibition is bound to come in the years to come and the revenue from Excise is as surely bound to deteriorate,

while in the meanwhile there is no prospect of its increasing in any substantial degree. There is need, on this account, for concern in regard to Provincial Revenues; but the Provincial Fund which is now recommended for institution will have to be looked up to fill the gap.

The Revenue from Stamps is also considerable being Rs. 14.35 crores according to the Budget estimates of last year, while Forest dues, Registration fees and Irrigation dues and other minor heads bring between themselves about another Rs. 28 crores into the Provincial Exchequer. There is no necessity to refer in detail to any of these sources of revenue, all of which are more or less stationary ; but in regard to stamps, it is necessary to point out that whereas hitherto the whole revenue from stamps had been going into the Provincial coffers, a separation between general and commercial stamps will have to be effected hereafter (as suggested in a previous section above) and the revenue from the latter will have to be transferred to the Central Government.

Items of Provincial Expenditure.

On the expenditure side of the Provinces, the most striking feature, as has already been remarked above, is the comparatively low proportion of revenues spent upon Education, Sanitation, Agriculture and other “ nation-building ” departments, though the fact has also got to be admitted that since the introduction of the Reforms, there had been a steady growth of expenditure on these services. In spite of the steady improvement there is still much to be accomplished considering the extensive ground that has got to be covered for, as the Simon Commissioners say, the facilities for medical relief, to take only one instance, are “deplorably inadequate, the total number of Hospitals and Dispensaries, public and private, in 1926-27 for the whole of

India was only 4,205 for 247 millions of inhabitants, while as regards educational facilities, they are not as widespread as they should have been. The expenditure on Education is only Rs. 12·95 crores according to the figures of 1929-30 out of a total Provincial income of Rs. 98 crores and the expenditure on Public Health is only Rs. 6·38 crores, which considered, side by side with the expenditure on the army and the civil services, doubtless gives the impression that these departments are being starved. Indiscriminate spending on these departments with no eye to practical results is not what is required : it is on the other hand needful to devise a systematic, well-planned art and well-directed policy of educational expansion and rural sanitary development, with the simultaneous evolution of an effective and efficient supervising agency, so as to obviate wastage and stagnation in the first-mentioned of these departments and mere outward show and apology for propaganda in the second. Caution, systematization and supervision are especially required in regard to primary education, which is the most urgent need of the hour and the spread of which amongst the people is calculated to secure improvement in every and all directions, and in regard to which the Auxiliary Committee under Sir Philip Hartog's presidentship had recommended the co-ordination of Provincial efforts and the intervention of the Central Government to secure uniformity of control and regulation.

Next to Education and Public Health, the Industrial and Agricultural departments ought to have a claim upon the Provincial revenue to the exclusion of everything else. The Agricultural departments in the Provinces have taken very few steps to acquaint the people with the latest improvements in scientific agriculture or to make agriculture a paying proposition to the vast majority of people engaged in it and earn their livelihood thereby. The Agricultural Commission as well as the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee have made very beneficial and far-reaching recommendations as to the best methods of assisting the agricultural industry ; but the method which is stressed by

one and all is the method of creating a spirit of hopefulness in the people engaged in the industry, which can be done only by the spread of education and a knowledge of things which will be conducive to their own interests. The Banking Committee has also suggested the organization of Provincial Boards of Economic enquiry to aid the Agricultural and other allied Government Departments to study from a scientific standpoint the requirements of the Agriculturists with a view to promoting their welfare and prosperity. The Government of India has, it is true, organized in pursuance of the recommendation of the Agricultural Commission and appointed an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, but the popularising of the work carried on by that body has not been as widespread as it ought to be ; and the Agricultural Departments have to incur additional monies for this purpose with the sure conviction that they will reap ample compensation for the money spent.

With regard to the Industries Departments, very little, if at all has been done by these departments either developing Industries or in promoting Industrial Research, and they have been treated up till now more or less with step-motherly affection. In the Madras Presidency, the Report of the working of the Industries Departments contains a statement of a number of improvements effected by it in the way of giving aid to indigenous industries : of disseminating information regarding industrial and commercial questions, of carrying experiments in new methods of industrial expansion and in industrial engineering ; but though the list of achievements is imposing enough the net result of it all is disproportionately insignificant. But the State Aid to Industries Act passed by the Madras Legislature is a useful piece of legislature with many potentialities for good if properly administered and similar legislation can be adopted in other provinces too and through it facilities may be provided for giving direct aid to industrial undertakings satisfying certain requirements. The need for a technical expert instead of a layman being appointed as Director of Industries in the various

Provinces, one who will have a firm grasp of the necessities of the situation and with the technical knowledge necessary to meet those requirements, requires to be stressed.

Next to those departments discussed above, the outstanding items of expenditure on the Provincial List are general administration, Police and Justice. The remarks made in connection with the discussion on the Civil Expenditure of the Government of India apply with equal force to the expenditure of the Provincial Governments on general administration, the most outstanding reform needed being a general cutting down of expenditure by the application of the principle of retrenchment, wherever found desirable, and by the general lowering of salaries in the higher grades of the Provincial services. A suggestion has been made that Police should be made a central subject, but as there are no strong grounds, either administrative or otherwise, to show that the change would be of greater advantage than the arrangement at present in existence, it must be considered a needless and unnecessary one.

Constitutional Implications.

Arising from the scheme of Federation and its necessary concomitant of Provincial Autonomy and from the necessity there is now a due co-ordination of Provincial financial activities by the action of the Central Government, it necessarily follows that so far as the question of Provincial Revenues and Expenditure is concerned, they should be entirely within the purview and control of the Provincial Cabinets responsible to the Legislatures. The powers of reservation and safeguards recommended to be entrusted to the Provincial Governors by the Round Table Conference Scheme enable the latter to continue to remain the financial overlords in the Provinces, which they have been all these years ; and these powers will have all to be taken away and the Governors reduced to the position of constitutional

heads of the Government acting on the advice of the Cabinet. As a necessary corollary to this position, the Governor-General's and the Secretary of State's powers of superintendence and general control over Provincial Finances will be reduced to the barest minimum, while the Government of India's powers of influencing Provincial financial policy will be limited to the part it plays in the matter of collecting and distributing the Provincial Fund.

Consistent with their control over the Provincial Finances, the Provincial Legislatures should possess also the power of scrutinizing expenditure and the Provincial Audit Reports should be submitted to the Public Accounts Committee, which should report upon them to the Provincial Councils. The function of Audit is a very important function and the Auditor-General is in a way the watchdog of the public revenues and should be assigned a position of independence by statute, if he is to discharge his duties free from all political influences.

Some General Principles.

Before concluding this survey of the financial system of British India, it is necessary to point out that the Indian taxation system has not been based on any definite and fixed principles evolved after a scientific examination of the taxable capacity of the people. There has not been any systematic enquiry into the economic position of the different classes of the population nor any systematic endeavour at graduating taxation to suit the capacity or the ability of the tax-payers to pay. The result has been that on one side there has been increase in tax-burdens out of all proportion to the economic position of the people of India as a whole, and on the other, while certain sections of the population have been taxed heavily, other sections have been enabled to escape comparatively lightly. A detailed enquiry into the economic conditions prevailing in different regions and into the

economic position of different classes of the population is therefore essentially called for and will have to be undertaken at least immediately after the new Reforms are inaugurated.

It is in this connection necessary to point out that in addition to such an enquiry as that recommended above, it is also desirable in view of the abnormal complexity of the political problems which will confront the country that its resources in government and administration should be supplemented for economic problems by the association of those, who through collective institutions, like Chambers of Commerce, Institutes of Bankers, etc., represent its organized economic life. The views of Sir Arthur Salter, Director of the Economic Section of the the League of Nations Secretariat, who has lately come out to India to advise the Government of India in financial matters, is very valuable with regard to this question. Sir A. Salter wrote: "The special conditions of India suggest strongly that what is required is the association not only of expert opinion but of representative opinion—opinion which is representative of every main sphere of the organised economic life of the people." He suggests for this purpose the constitution of (a) a Central Economic Advisory Council and (b) an Economic Advisory Council in each province. The members should consist of persons respecting the various types of economic experience, interest, etc., like Agricultural Banking and Finance, Commerce, Co-operative Organizations, Economists, Industrialists, Labour Organization, Members of Legislatures and officials and while the predominant mode of selection is by election, nomination also might be resorted to by Government to equalise inequalities of representation. As Agriculture is the most important industry in the country, it is obviously essential, says Sir Arthur Salter, that the members and quality of those who represent Agriculture on the Council should be such as to secure an expression of its point of view and interests which is adequate and bears a due relation to the position of Agriculture in the general life of the country. A permanent secretariat will have to be established to

carry on the work of the Council and it might be found convenient to associate the Central Statistical Organization of the country very closely with the secretariat 'of the Council. The object of the scheme is to make it play a useful part in India's economic development by "encouraging scientific investigation and objective discussion of economic problems" ; and since the whole of the organization is to be, according to Sir Arthur, predominantly non-official in character, since its members draw their authority from a different source than that of the general electorate and since the Government will have to consult it on all important economic and financial questions demanding their decision, the Councils here proposed will be very effective instruments for achieving the abovementioned aims besides being favourable to securing a greater continuity of policy throughout the successive changes of parties and ministers.

Note.

Since the above was written two important developments have taken place, the first being that the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference has appointed a committee under Lord Peel's Chairmanship to suggest methods of distributing the financial resources between the Central and Provincial or State Governments and the second being that the financial position of the Government of India and in fact of almost every Government in the world has been overtaken by a significant change for the worse owing to the trade depression that has been prevalent for the last two years or more, resulting in a violent dislocation of their financial machineries and in the resort to emergency measures of the nature of extra taxation, drastic cutting down of expenditure and so on. It is not to be thought that these extraordinary conditions that have supervened will continue for any considerable length of time and it may be anticipated that what with the heroic endeavours made by the various Governments and in particular by the Government of India, with which we are primarily concerned, to balance their finances and weather the financial storm, the financial equilibrium will be restored in a short time

and a return to normal conditions will result. But for the present, the most outstanding fact that invites notice is the all-round increase in taxation, especially in the customs duties and Income Tax, some of them imposed without any concern for and even in direct contravention in some cases of the recognised principles of taxation, and which did not take into consideration the well-known canon of modern financial systems that taxation should be based on the ideal of "equal sacrifices from all in proportion to their ability."

To meet what is admittedly an emergency situation, Sir George Schuster, the Finance Member to the Government of India has plumped in for an extra taxation to the tune of Rs. 16 crores to cover an anticipated deficit of Rs. 19 crores, but he has not stopped to look at the other side of the picture which clearly and unmistakably indicates that the limit of productivity of almost every tax proposed to be tried by him has been reached in India and that augmentation of taxation will only lead to augmentation of the economic distress of the people and decrease in income. He should have noted that in two of what may be regarded as the most productive sources of revenue, Income Tax and the Railways, there has been a steady and continuous deterioration of their capacity to yield increased income since the beginning of the Reform Era (in Income Tax the fall has been from Rs. 19 crores in 1921-22 to 18 crores in 1931-32 and income from Railways has decreased from Rs. 6.44 crores in 1923-24 to Rs. 5.74 crores in the last year's budget), and he should have drawn from it the only possible conclusion that could be drawn from that phenomenon, the lesson namely that these two sources of revenue have attained the utmost limit of their productivity and cannot be made to yield more unless there is an appreciable advancement in the country's economic prosperity, by methods calculated to secure that prosperity; even the revenue from Customs Duties, though these have proved so far the milch cow of the Indian Finances, cannot be expected to retain the same measure of productivity when, as at present arranged, they are raised from 15 per cent. to 25 per cent.; for even the lower rate has been held to be too heavy and had been criticized in the most unsparing manner from that point of view by Sir Walter Layton. Said Sir Walter: "The present standard rate of 15 per cent. with 30 per cent. on luxury goods is already high for a purely agricultural country and in some cases rates have been put so high as to be prohibitive"; and he added that it is possible that in a number of cases duties are already beyond the point of maximum yield and that more revenue may be obtained from a general lowering of duties. Moreover it would be worth while even from a purely revenue

point of view to lower duties even at the risk of losing revenue at the moment for the sake of encouraging the general economic development of the country." This statement from an unimpeachable financial authority who had studied the Indian Financial question from a detached standpoint, should be taken to heart by Sir George Schuster. The only remedy in the circumstances, a remedy which however has only been very tardily accepted and acted upon by the Finance Members, is to lower expenditure on the government developments, both Civil and Military, by the drastic and merciless application of the pruning knife of retrenchment ; and then when it is found that the revenue from the tax resources mentioned above is in excess of the expenditure, to apply it to the development of the nation-building services.

Finally with regard to the first of the developments referred to at the beginning of this rate, the committee appointed by a Financial Structure Committee is still in session ; but one of the questions that it will have prominently brought up before it and which it will have to tackle, is the exploration and discovery of methods whereby the distribution of the financial resources and of the revenue from those resources between the authorities of the All-India Federation on the one hand and the Native States on the other. The latter have been complaining that they are labouring under the disadvantage of being deprived of their legitimate share of the Indian customs Revenue and the Indian Postal and Railway earnings at the same time as they are forced to pay tributes to the Central Government. They demand that a scheme of financial readjustment will have to be formulated side by side with the abolition of the system of payment of tributes, which will serve, if continued, to be humiliating reminders of their position of subordination even after they enter the Indian Federation, which they will do, if at all, on an equal footing ; and this they do in order that they may secure for themselves a proper and fair apportionment of the income from customs and railway. The whole question assumes however a new orientation by the decision of the states to enter the Federation on a footing, it may be presumed, of equality with the British Indian Provinces ; and in the altered circumstances, it will have to be decided whether, in addition to the revenue resources that will be assigned to them along with the British Indian Provinces, they (the Native States) have still to be given a share of the proceeds of customs and other revenue receipts, which will hereafter be spent by the future Federal Government for purposes which are common and equal to all the units of the Federation, both States and Provinces. When the former become the constituent parts of the Federation on a co-equal footing with the

atter, the question will naturally arise, "Are they accorded special treatment by being allowed to be participants in the Federal Revenues from Customs and Railways along with the Federal Government when the Provinces are not to be so allowed ?" But if the scheme of a Provincial Fund materializes, they will be certainly entitled to have a share thereof in accordance with any principles that may be accepted hereafter for the distribution of the proceeds of the same.

A second question in this connection that will have to be decided is that relating to the control exertionable by the Secretary of the State for India over the Indian Finance. On this question, the opinion is unanimous that the development of Responsible Self-Government cannot by any stretch of imagination be reconciled with the control of the Secretary of State and that the removal of that control will have to be the necessary and inevitable accompaniment of that development. The control will therefore have to be taken away and full financial authority should be vested in the Governor-General and the Cabinet in the Indian Federation. The "safeguards" proposed in this connection insist upon so much by die-hard British opinion, are all calculated to militate against the principle of Dominion Responsible Self-government, to stultify it to the utmost possible extent, and to tighten still more than at present the control of an extraneous authority, although it may be the Governor-general and not the Secretary of State, over the Indian Finances ; and as obviously there is and can be no necessity for such safeguards except and beyond those provided by the capacity of Indian public opinion to see to it that Indian Finances are managed well and managed in India's interests, they will have to be removed wholly and completely.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

ALL THAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

All that you have learned
Then all that must you know now,
It may lie partially out of the call of memory
But there is no real forgetting.
That which has been built into the structure
Must remain for ever.
Therefore, one cannot be less in knowledge,
Or less in capacity for knowledge
In this incarnation...in this minute...
Than in the last.
It is man's duty not only to learn,
But to become aware
Of all that he knew in the past.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

ADVICE TO INDIAN STUDENTS WHO WISH TO CARRY ON HIGHER STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

It is most gratifying to us to see that many Indian students are anxious to carry on their higher education in German universities. During the last three years we have received some two thousand letters from India, asking for information about educational facilities in Germany. We have answered these letters individually and we shall always be glad to supply information asked by *serious students*. However we wish to make the following points clear which should be kept on mind by all Indians who wish to come to Germany as a student or seeker after knowledge.

1. No Indian should come to Germany without sufficient funds for his maintenance. This is self-understood. However during the last few months we have received applications from various Indians, who are already in Germany, seeking pecuniary aid and some seeking employment. We wish to make it absolutely clear that there is no opportunity for any foreigner to earn a living in Germany. No foreign student can secure any opportunity for employment. German people are now out of employment and during the coming winter the number may rise upto 8,000,000 or more. According to the laws of the land no foreigner can be given an opportunity to get into any gainful occupation which may displace a German worker from his position.

2. Although German factories, in the past, have extended opportunities for practical training to many Indian students and they are willing to extend the privilege whenever it is possible, yet it is practically impossible for German factories to make any special arrangements for foreign students for practical training which may displace a German worker. In some cases foreign

students who pay their own expenses may get the opportunities for practical training. *But no Indian student should take it for granted that he will get the opportunity. He must make sure of the possibility of securing the opportunity before leaving India.* No Indian student can be given any opportunity, unless he knows German well enough to carry on conversation in German and has good theoretical knowledge on the subject he wishes to master.

3. We have received several applications for help from Indian students. We wish to make it clear that Die Deutsche Akademie is not a charitable organisation. It has secured several stipends for Indian scholars and has arranged for practical training for others. It hopes to facilitate exchange of Professors and students between Germany and India. It has no special fund for aiding Indian students other than those who receive stipends.

4. We often receive many letters from Indian students who are undergraduates and wish to secure a degree from a German University within a short time. There is no short cut for securing a degree in any German University. For a German graduate of High School (Gymnasium) it takes *at least* eight semesters or four years' study to get a University degree. Let this be fully understood that every German student who devotes, not four years' study in a university is not eligible for a degree. He must not only finish his studies satisfactorily, but will have to write a thesis in German and pass a difficult oral examination given by Professors. These examinations are to test the knowledge of the candidate for a degree.

An Indian student who has passed his Intermediate Science Examinations may get along as a regular student in a German University, provided he is very diligent. Such a student will require more than four years, sometimes six years, to finish a regular University course. We therefore advise that Indian students wishing to study in German Universities should have their B.Sc degree from an Indian University before they take

admission into a German University. In fact we think it to be economical and more practical if Indian students finish their Engineering education or take their M.Sc. degree in Physics and Chemistry, before they come to Germany for higher studies in these branches. Indian Medical students should finish their regular studies in Indian Universities and take the M.B. degree before they come to Germany for higher medical training. For beginners in Medical studies in German Universities it takes at least six years to complete the course. A medical graduate from Indian universities can secure M.D. after 4 semesters' study and passing the required examination.

5. In every case, it must be remembered that it is absolutely necessary for a prospective student to have adequate knowledge of German, so that he will be able to follow lectures in classes which are delivered only in German. Even those who have working knowledge of German, should come at least two months before the beginning of semesters (Winter Semester begins in early November and the Summer Semester begins in early May), so that they will be able to carry on intensive study of German language from competent German teachers before taking admission into Universities.

6. For a foreign student it is essential that he should be well provided with funds to meet his expenses. *One wishing to live modestly in Germany requires Two Hundred to Two Hundred and Fifty Marks per month, i.e., Rs 150 to Rs. 175. One must also be prepared for extra expenses for clothing, etc.*

Lest there be any misunderstanding we wish to say that German universities welcome Indian students, whether they be beginners or research scholars. We at the same time think that it is better for India's and Germany's cultural relations, if India sends her most worthy scholars to German universities. German education stands for efficiency and Indian national efficiency can be raised quickly through the efforts of the highest type of Indian scholars willing to acquire all that is best in Western civilization and its assimilation. We are anxious to

promote cultural co-operations between India and Germany, which can be carried out effectively by the co-operation of Indian cultural leaders.

FRANZ THIERFELDER

Reviews

The Scientific Basis of Woman's Education.—By the late Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar. D. B. Taraporexala Sons & Co. 1930. Rs. 3.

This is, it is sad to observe, a posthumous publication. Prof. Chiplunkar had been associated with the cause of woman's education in Western India for long and had put down the results of his experience and deep thought, but he died a little more than two years ago, on the 20th December, 1929, rather suddenly, before he could see his book published. The earlier pages are more or less records of the opinions of foreigners, thinkers on this most important subject, but we feel constrained to note that such a collection by itself is not calculated to attract a high class of readers. In the second part, however, the learned professor comes forward to discuss some fundamental issues, giving a constructive scheme of woman's education adapted to local (Indian) conditions, and suggesting courses in home economics in great detail as well as appending a general outline of woman's education. The facts, figures and documents attached are bound to prove of great interest and the select bibliography, carefully prepared index and the chart of the method recommended, further enhance the value of the book. There is something to be said on each detailed suggestion, *e.g.*, the school-time. The professor suggested "8 A.M. to 4-30 P.M., with an hour's recess in the noon." This is hardly to be justified even on his own showing; the morning is the best time for work and the noon the worst, and if girls and women are forced to slave then, it is nothing but a foolish repression on the part of the authorities concerned. Regarding compulsory cheap tiffin, the idea is good no doubt, due regard being paid to the nature of the food supplied, but compulsory long rest is more desirable and effective in toning up the system. Again, whatever arguments may be adduced against the present method of examinations, when education has to be imparted on a large scale, no better method of testing the knowledge of the students has yet been found. Another point should be emphasised in this connection: though memory alone should not be at a premium, it should be properly cultivated, for it is "not a negligible commodity in life's vocations." As against the charge that very few electives are offered in India, the situation is rapidly improving. But such objections should not be stressed too much in estimating the value of the book.

The woman's question is coming more and more to the forefront even in our country; the work under review supplies a great need in that respect.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth.—By P. N. Roy. 275 pages. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.

The book contains an exposition of Fascism mainly based on the speeches of Benito Mussolini. It is divided into nine chapters in which the author has traced the origin of Fascism, compared the Fascist administration with the old and given a good exposition of the progress brought about by the Fascist Government in the economic, agricultural and other domains of national life.

We generally sneer at Fascism without knowing much about this powerful political movement which has brought about a great change in the political outlook of Italy during the last decade. The author who is well-versed in Italian has translated a number of documents from the original which are meant as the *pièces justificatives* of his exposition, to enable the reader to form an honest opinion about the work done by the Government of Mussolini.

Mussolini started his political career as a socialist, changed his creed in 1914 and founded the new party of which the motto was "chi ha ferro, ha pane"—he who has steel has bread. According to it "democracy does not signify descent to low standards, it means to ascend. It means the elevation of the lowest classes to the highest standards."

This party gradually rose into prominence under the leadership of Mussolini and took possession of the Government in 1922, not by constitutional means but by *coup d'état*. Since then Mussolini has, as the leader of the Fascist party, remained at the head of the Italian Government, and has been trying to realise the ideals for which he had been working.

His doctrine of the state is not a liberal one. The state, according to him, is "the highest manifestation of men as social animals and has an existence of its own, different from and superior to that of the individuals." He thus believes in hierarchy and subordination of individual interests to the higher interests of the nation. He therefore does not believe in universal suffrage which is "purely a conventional fiction" according to him but in governing through syndicates, legally recognised and supervised by the state. To these syndicates are entrusted the responsibility

of protecting the interests of different classes. Mussolini believes in war, armament and militarism and dreams that by 1950 "Europe will be wrinkled and decrepit. The only country which will remain young is Italy, and people will come from beyond the frontier to see the phenomenon of this renewed spring of the nation!"

The author amongst other things has explained the causes of the failure of socialism in Italy. The causes were: (i) The Italian socialists were disappointed with the socialist parties of other countries—particularly after their failure to bring about proper adjustments since 1918. (ii) They preached class-hatred and pushed the masses to an extreme class-war. (iii) They insisted on a better distribution of wealth and reduced the whole problem to a class-problem which was entirely wrong in the case of Italy which was not an advanced industrial country and had not the maximum capitalistic development. (iv) Socialism was also weakened by the conditions of Italy which was a proletarian country. Ten millions out of fifty millions live abroad mostly on manual labour. These immigrants require the backing of a strong Italian Government. Besides these there is another and that the most important failure of socialism in Italy was that it did not succeed in organising itself timely and capturing the Government as the Fascists did.

On the whole the book is well written and is meant not so much to placate the Fascist administration as to present facts about it before the Indian reading public so that they may form a just opinion about it. In the words of the author himself, "In Italy a new flame of spirit has been kindled by a race of young men, in defiance of all claptrap and catchwords. It is for young men and women of India to judge if this light can be of any use to them. The aim of the present book is to help them a little in understanding the new phenomenon."

PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI

"Kavye Rabindranath" (Rabindranath as He is revealed in His Poetry) by S. Bishwapati Choudhury. M.A. (published by Saratchandra Chakrabarty & Sons, Calcutta) is a valuable contribution to literary criticism in Bengali literature made by a young writer possessing powers of literary appreciation of a high order. Within the narrow compass of 218 pages, divided into four chapters, the writer has brilliantly succeeded in putting convincingly all that is really necessary to say in order to show the gradual development of the great Indian poet's mind and art, and the quotations from Rabindranath's extensive poetical works have been made with rare

skill and accurate judgment. The writer's power of expressing himself clearly, lucidly and with impressiveness is simply wonderful, and his style is marked by spontaneous ease and elegance. Judicious application of critical canons is a remarkable feature of the writer's method of study, and he seldom fails in aptly bringing out the deeper significance of the numerous poems which are here subjected to a critical analysis. The parallel movement of deep thought and artistic creation in the genius of a world-poet has always been carefully kept in view, and stress is always rightly laid upon the aesthetic side of that great genius without losing sight of his progressive spiritual growth and the main current of his profound philosophy of life. Each important stage of this comprehensive growth is here carefully defined, and in the case of almost all important poems great care has been taken by this critic to show how an appropriate poetical form is given by our poet to every one of the valuable truths realised by him in and through his personal experience.

We have read this critical estimate of Rabindranath with real pleasure and profit, and hope that it will be received by all true lovers of poetry in the way it so richly deserves.

J. G. B.

Ourselfes

THE LATE DR. P. K. RAY

It is with deep and sincere grief that we have to record the death, at the ripe age of eighty-two, of one of the most distinguished sons of Bengal, Dr. P. K. Ray, D.Sc., at his Hazaribagh residence on the 22nd of January, 1931. The late Dr. Ray was a brilliant scholar, a renowned educationist, a man of sterling character and an ardent reformer whose memory will be held in loving esteem by more than two generations of educated Bengalis who enjoyed the privilege of having been his students at Dacca and Calcutta. Though he has passed away full of years and honours, his loss will be deeply felt by all who had the pleasure of coming into close contact with his ennobling personality. He consecrated a long life of strenuous activities to the intellectual, social and spiritual advancement of his countrymen and won love and respect from all classes alike. He passed from Dacca to the University of London whence he proceeded next to the University of Edinburgh where no less a person than the late Lord Haldane happened to be his fellow student with whom his intimacy continued up to the end of the latter's life. He held the responsible post of Principal both at Dacca and the Presidency College of Calcutta at a time when promotion to such honour of Indians was rather difficult, and served with great success also as the Registrar and later on first Inspector of Colleges of the Calcutta University.

We offer to his bereaved family our most sincere condolence.

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN LITERARY SUBJECTS
FOR 1930

The Premchand Roychand studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1930, has been divided equally amongst the following scholars on the usual conditions :—

- Mr. Haricharan Ghosh, M.A.
- „ Narendrakrishna Sinha, M.A.
- „ Prabhaschandra Bâsu, M.Sc.
- „ Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, M.A.

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS
FOR 1931

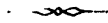
The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Scientific Subjects for the year 1931, has been divided equally amongst the following scholars on the usual conditions :—

Dr. Md. Qudrat-i-Khuda, M.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.), D.I.C.

Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1932



ANNUAL CONVOCATION

CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLMEN,

A month ago in this place, in the presence of many who are here with us to-day, an honour was conferred upon me, by direction of the Governing Body of this University, which the practice and custom of this and other Universities denied me the privilege of acknowledging at the time. I wish, therefore, to take the first opportunity which has presented itself to me to express in some measure the feelings which I experienced on receiving the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law of the University of Calcutta. Though I took a degree in Law at Cambridge I cannot claim to have advanced the theory or the practice of law or jurisprudence. For the reason of the honour I prefer to depend upon what you, Sir, set forth in your very generous and, I fear, too complimentary address on that occasion. Four years ago when first I stood before this Convocation as Governor and Chancellor I said it would be my duty and my desire to use my best endeavours as Chancellor to assure the efficiency and progress of the University: in the address to which I have referred, you, Sir, were good enough to say that positive advantages had accrued from the manner in which in time of difficulty and some difference of opinion I had been able to discharge the dual functions of my position, bringing to bear upon the responsibilities of each office the knowledge and experience gained in the other. I should be happy to think that in the verdict which I have just

¹ Delivered at the Senate Hall, on February 6, 1932.

quoted you have seen the fulfilment,—in part at least,—of the undertaking I gave. I shall always be doubly proud of my Calcutta Degree if I can think that its bestowal had been intended as a mark of the University's belief that I had done my best to serve her, for that has been my aim throughout the period of my term as Chancellor. I am indeed proud and greatly touched to have received this honour : I am very grateful to all those who gave expression to their good wishes by attending the Special Convocation at which it was conferred, and I thank you, Sir, for the very generous references to me and to Lady Jackson which you made on that occasion and which you have again repeated to-day.

We have all listened with attention and great interest to the Vice-Chancellor's thoughtful address. From what he has said it is, I think, clear that the record of the year shows solid work and substantial achievement in most spheres of the University's activities.

The hand of death has fallen unusually heavily upon those in whose care the teaching and administration of the University have rested in the immediate or more remote past. I desire fully to associate myself with the eloquent tributes which the Vice-Chancellor has paid to the memory of General Harris, Mr. James, Mr. Lalmohan Das, Mr. Percival, Principal Raye, Maulvi Muhammad Irfan and Dr. P. K. Roy. In Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri Bengal has lost, a distinguished Sanskritist who for nearly half a century has been an international name. We shall miss also the keen intellect and the trenchant wit of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh whose death last August, after a comparatively brief illness, came as a great shock to his many friends. And lastly the University shares, if indirectly, in the heavy loss which India as a whole has suffered in the death of that great statesman and educationalist, Sir Muhammad Shafi, whose services to the country, educational and political, and whose sympathetic outlook had won him the friendship of every community in India.

The University has also suffered a loss in its personnel in the retirement of the Registrar, Rai Bahadur Jnan Chandra Ghosh. The office of Registrar is very much what its holder makes it,—some men make themselves seemingly indispensable, and the Rai Bahadur was one of these. I welcome the new incumbent of this important post,—Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherjee,—who had already made his mark in Government service and in the work of this University.

You have, Sir, in your speech referred to the joint labours of the University and Government to bring into effect the recommendations of the Reorganisation Committee and to the state of uncertainty in which the University staff must remain until you receive from Government an official statement about the amount of financial assistance which will be given by Government in this and succeeding years. This question of the financial assistance required to enable the University to carry out the most important features of the reorganisation scheme, has been very thoroughly thrashed out, largely as a result of the conferences to which you have referred, and I think we may congratulate ourselves on the atmosphere of mutual co-operation which has been created and in which this difficult problem has been solved.

I fully share the very natural anxiety of the University and its staff on this question of finance and I realise that insecurity of tenure does not make for good work. I am happy, therefore, to be able to inform you that a letter has been sent by Government this day to the University which should set your fears at rest. Government's grant to the University this year will be four lakhs and next year and in succeeding years (subject to certain conditions) the figure will be 3·6 lakhs of rupees.

I shall not take up the time of this Convocation by detailed reference to the excellent work which has been done or to the various distinctions which have been earned during the University year just ended. I should like to take this opportunity of offering my congratulations to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan

upon the honour which has been conferred upon him by the King-Emperor. Except to those fortunate persons who have earned distinction there is a sameness which it is impossible altogether to avoid in comments on the academic work of a body like the University. Outside the purely academic sphere, however, the past year has been marked by one welcome innovation to which the Vice-Chancellor's modesty has prevented him giving the publicity which, from a University point of view, it undoubtedly deserves. Last year, for the first time in the history of the University, the Vice-Chancellor attended a session of the Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire. It is a matter for gratification that in all gatherings whether official or social he was accorded the position of leader of the delegates from Indian Universities and that when, for the first time, a delegate from India was invited to preside over one of the sections of the Conference, this honour also fell to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta.

Another feature in the University's extra-academic life which I most heartily welcome is the setting up of a Club for the better organization of the University's sports and for the awarding of "Blues." Let me say at once that in my opinion the formation of a central body to regulate these matters for the University as a whole was a reform long overdue, and I very much welcomed the privilege of being the Club's first President. It has always been a matter of the keenest regret to me that the exacting conditions of my office preclude me from coming into more constant and intimate contact with the students of the University, and it was, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I welcomed the first recipients of the coveted "Blue" and presented them with their badges.

I was much struck by the Vice-Chancellor's remarks upon one of the most serious educational problems before us in India, namely, the menace to the educational system of the country, and to the young lives which are entrusted to it, which the present wave of indiscipline and intolerance of control present.

I heartily welcome the resolution on the subject which the Syndicate passed last November and the action which the Vice-Chancellor has taken to secure for that resolution due publicity. It is unfortunately true that teachers and parents alike appear of late to have lost that influence which they could and should wield over the rising generation. This process, unless it is arrested, is fraught with disaster to the country and its students alike. The active participation in the political arena of young boys in their teens has not, I think, proved beneficial either to themselves or to the body politic. Teachers and guardians can do much to counter this tendency. I think it was last year that you, Sir, quoted some pungent remarks of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on this point. A better and more attractive method of occupying the spare time of our young men must be provided. Boys and girls must have interests outside the classroom. We have a saying "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" and I believe that the saying applies not only to Jack but to Jill no less. Youth will have its amusements and its excitements. For the favoured few the things of the intellect may suffice,—and these are the stuff of which great scholars are made. But the ordinary boy demands something more and it is hard to say that he is wrong. At present he is getting this excitement from politics and picture houses: that is bad for him: a very little of the one at his age is indigestible and too much of the other is enervating. It is here that the guardian and still more the young school-master or active Professor has his chance. Without denying for one moment that the advancement of learning is the chief object of our educational institutions, it is certain that athletics, sports, well-run common-rooms and a healthy interest in healthy activities taken by Professors and students alike,—all are necessary to the proper development of a University and, I may add, to the making of the complete man. It is in this way, it seems to me, that the touch which has been lost can be regained. It is in this way that the awful tale of ill-health which is such a handicap

to our student community here in Bengal can be lessened. It is in this way that we can make of the bulk of our students fine, upstanding, clean-living men like those to whom I had the privilege of presenting their Blues at Government House some months ago.

I offer my congratulations and good wishes to those who to-day have been admitted to their degrees,—many of whom will now be embarking for the first time on the sea of life. The problem of what to do with our graduates is one that does not grow less serious as years go by. In the days when this University was established, nearly three quarters of a century ago, the theory known as the “filtration” theory was a favourite one with educationalists. The essence of this theory as I understand it was the introduction of secondary and higher education for the benefit of the higher classes in the hope that education would then “filter” down to the lower and poorer classes. It was, I am afraid, a pleasing theory which did not work out in practice, yet it contains perhaps the germ of a useful idea.

The University of Calcutta is turning out year by year a very large number of graduates, many of whom will find it impossible to go further in their studies. Some will turn to teaching in secondary schools, and to these is due every encouragement. But what of the others? At present too many of them go to swell the ranks of the unemployed and it is not altogether surprising if some of them become disaffected. And yet Bengal is full of illiterates who ordinarily will have no chance of gaining even the elements of education. Surely here is the field where the “filtration” theory can work. Bengal now has a Primary Education Act. When it comes into full operation the task of the village school-master, if humble, will be one of responsibility and honour. An opportunity for much good work awaits our graduates who would turn their faces to the villages and realise that the task of regeneration there awaiting them is one of the most vital which confront the people

of Bengal. A great deal of useful work has been done in this way by young Bengalis, but the field is almost unlimited and I would suggest to young graduates that they should look to village work as a proper and patriotic outlet for their energies.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is the fifth time that I have addressed Convocation as Chancellor and it must in the due order of things be the last. At such a time it is natural that one should look back and "take stock," as it were, before making over charge and severing one's active connection with the concern. The process of stock-taking is rarely one of undiluted pleasure: there is much that must of necessity be "written down" and there may be losses which have to be written off altogether. My term has seen its share of problems and anxieties: I cannot hope that it has been altogether free from mistake. I hope, however, that you will not think me complacent if I say that, looking back, I do find cause for gratification. When I first addressed you four years ago I said "that I was informed that there was need for change and reform" in the working and organization of this University. Perhaps, as the Vice-Chancellor seems to think, in matters of this kind we move slowly: but the point is that we are moving. In various ways the process of reorganization and reform has made considerable strides during the past five years,—and if we have not got as far as many of us would have wished, we, may, I think, claim to have made very definite progress and to have laid the foundation well and truly upon which further reform may be built and established. For this, of course, I claim no personal credit: for the work has prospered through the labours of the University itself on the one side and the Ministry of Education on the other,—my contribution being chiefly that of the humble man with the oil-can whose task it is to keep the working surfaces well lubricated and to reduce friction to a minimum. In the same way, I think, I may claim that during the past five years the old misunderstanding between the University and the Government,—

misunderstanding based, I fear, on mutual suspicion,—has proved amenable to treatment and has been largely reduced by the process of getting together and discussing things frankly.

I believe,—and I am glad to think,—that both in its contact with the Ministry of Education and in its general relations with Government authorities the University is now in a happier position than it was five years ago. For this result we have many people to thank,—members of the Senate and Syndicate : members of the Government and of the services under it. But most of all I wish to attribute the responsibility for this improved state of affairs to three gentlemen to whom I, as Chancellor, owe a personal, and the University as a whole, a public debt of gratitude. From the successive Vice-Chancellors who have held office during my Chancellorship,—Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Dr. Urquhart and Colonel Suhrawardy,—the University has received ungrudging service and I am glad to take this opportunity of thanking them for the whole-hearted assistance and sound advice which they in turn have placed so willingly at my disposal. The post of Vice-Chancellor is always an arduous and responsible one : in times like these it is fraught with anxiety as well. That men of the ability and character of the three gentlemen with whom I have been fortunate enough to be associated should be willing to come forward and face the labour and shoulder the responsibilities of this office is the best augury for the future both of the University and of its relations with Government and the world outside.

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the time has come for me to say farewell, I shall have much reason to remember with pleasure and gratitude my connection with the University. It has already played a noble part in the life of Bengal : it may justly look forward to a still greater future,—a future in which it may well be that its responsibilities will be greater than they have ever yet been. I shall watch your progress with interest. May peace and prosperity attend you.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I rejoice to be able to extend to you a cordial welcome once again to our Convocation Hall.

It is customary for the Vice-Chancellor on this occasion to review in brief the work and activities of the University during the past twelve months.

OBITUARY.

Before taking up this task I must perform the mournful duty of referring to those whom the hand of death has taken away from us. All of them had retired from our University's active life as Members of the Senate except two. They had all worked in their respective spheres of life ungrudgingly with the common aim of advancing the cause of learning in this country and suitable reference has already been made in the Senate at the time when the news of their death was received.

Major General G. F. A. Harris of the Indian Medical Service was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1900, was a Member of the Syndicate and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. He was Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals from 1910-1912 and the first Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal when this office was created in this Presidency. The Companionship of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India was conferred on him. He retired from service in 1915. He was a most eminent physician and a teacher of remarkable gift.

Mr. H. R. James joined the Bengal Educational Service in 1890 and was Principal of the Presidency College from 1907 to 1916. He was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1904 and served on the Senate and Syndicate for many years. He was one of the stalwarts in the domain of Arts and Literature.

Mr. Lalmohan Das was a prominent Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1906, a Dean of the Faculty of Law in 1910 and Tagore Law Professor in 1889 and retired as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

Mr. H. M. Percival was appointed a Fellow of the University of Calcutta in 1885. He was an eminent scholar and a great educationist. He was senior Professor of English in the Presidency College and also acted as Principal of that College. After his retirement he continued to serve our University by acting as an Examiner of thesis for our Doctorates.

Mr. N. N. Raye was appointed a Fellow of this University in 1916, and was appointed a Fellow of the newly-created University of Patna in 1917. At the time of his death he occupied the responsible position of Principal of the Ripon College.

Maulavi Muhammad Irfan was appointed a Fellow of the University in 1915. After his retirement from service he continued to be an Examiner of this University and his services to learning were recognised by the award of the title of Khan Bahadur in the New Year's Honours List, which unfortunately he did not live to receive.

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy was the first Indian to have taken the Degree of Doctorate in Science from a British University. He was appointed a Fellow in 1879 when many of us were not perhaps born. He was the first Indian to be promoted from the Provincial to the Indian Educational Service and was for years Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Presidency College. He was appointed Principal of the Dacca College in 1903 and, in 1905, became the Principal of the Presidency College. He was also the first Indian to be the Registrar of the University of Calcutta and served from 1887 to 1889 as such. He was our first Inspector of Colleges from 1907 to 1916. At the time of his death he was one of the Honorary Fellows of our University.

By the sudden death of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and the death of Mahamahopadhyay •Haraprasad Sastri Islamic scholarship and Sanskrit learning have sustained irreparable loss.

Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh was a gentleman of remarkable intellectual gift and of an extremely genial disposition which made him popular with every person with whom he came into contact. He was the eldest son of Khan Bahadur Maulavi Khuda Bukhsh Khan, C.I.E., the founder of the well-known Library at Patna. He had inherited the genius and the love of learning and of books from his father and, like him, made a large collection of rare and valuable books and manuscripts. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was educated at Oxford from where he took his M.A. and the B.C.L. Degrees and was also called to the Bar. He was appointed a Lecturer in Islamic History and a Professor of the University Law College; both positions he occupied till his death in August last which, after a brief illness, came as a shock to his many friends.

Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri was appointed a Fellow of our University in 1888. He was Principal of the Sanskrit College from 1900 to 1908. He occupied a prominent position among Sanskrit scholars and a title of Mahamahopadhyay was conferred on him in 1898 and a C.I.E. in 1911. The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on him by the University of Dacca in 1927, where he was for some time Professor and Head of his Department. In spite of failing health and old age, the Mahamahopadhyay attended meetings of the Senate on all important occasions.

Lastly, I have to refer to the death of the Hon'ble Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi who died in harness as a Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy in charge of the Department of Education, and was an *ex-officio* Fellow of our University. His unexpected and sudden death is a tragedy which the country deeply mourns. He had served under three Viceroys as Education and Law Member. During his first term of office as Member in charge of the Department of Education,

no less than 6 Universities were established in India which is a unique record. He was uniformly popular amongst Hindus and Muslims, Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials. His hospitality and genial kindness were extended to all. While he was anxious to do all he could for the Muslim community, he never forgot the larger issue of the country as a whole.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

My term of office as Vice-Chancellor began with the retirement, after 15 years of service, of the Registrar, Rai Bahadur Jnan Chandra Ghosh, M.A., on whose knowledge and experience I had hoped to count upon. Mr. Joges Chandra Chakravorti, M.A., our able Assistant Registrar, very efficiently continued to carry on the duties of the Registrar till 31st March last year when the Senate appointed Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherji, M. A., Ph.D., I.E.S., retired Principal of Sanskrit College, who resigned his appointment and retired from Government service to take up his present duties.

Mr. Haran Chandra Banerji, M.A., B.L., Secretary of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Science retired from service after 15 years. He proved himself a worthy son of his distinguished father, the late Sir Gurudas Banerji, who not only adorned the Bench of the High Court but was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of this University.

CONGRATULATIONS.

It is a matter of the greatest gratification to me and I take a legitimate pride in the fact that so many distinctions have been attained by Members of the University during my incumbency as Vice-Chancellor.

Among the recipients of honours conferred by the Crown there are several Members of our Senate and our teaching

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, who till lately was a Member of our Senate.

Sir Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, Barrister-at-Law, a distinguished scholar whose contributions to Islamic Law and Literature have been recognised by competent authorities in India and abroad and who is recognised as an authority in Muslim Law.

The Hon'ble Sir Bepin Behari Ghosh, a past Dean of the Faculty of Law, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who after retirement has filled more than once the post of Member of Your Excellency's Executive Council.

Mr. C. C. Biswas, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, a brilliant graduate of the University and one of the most active Members of the Senate and the Syndicate and in the public life of the country, has been made a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

The honour of Knighthood has also been conferred on our King George V Professor of Philosophy, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, about whose appointment on the Executive Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations I made reference in my Convocation Address last year and who has been granted leave to take up the duties of Vice-Chancellor of the newly-created Andhra University. This is the second instance when the occupant of King George V Chair of Philosophy of our University has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of a University in the South, Sir Brajendranath Seal, the predecessor of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, having been similarly called to organise the then newly-created University of Mysore.

During my term of office the University has conferred Honorary Degrees of Doctorate on four distinguished Members of the Senate.

Last year, the University for the first time conferred the Honorary Degree of D.Sc. in Engineering on that eminent Engineer of India and the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering

of our University, Sir Rajendranath Mookerji, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., and the Honorary Degree of D.Litt. on Professor Herambachandra Maitra, M.A., and that of M.D. on Dr. Charles Bentley, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., late Director of Public Health, Bengal, and the Degree of Doctor of Law on Your Excellency on the 11th January this year.

In my address at the Special Convocation I referred to the services rendered by Your Excellency to the cause of education and the advancement of learning and the positive advantages which have accrued to the University during your term of office and it is a matter of great regret to me that to-day is the last occasion when I shall have the privilege of welcoming Your Excellency as Chancellor to preside over our Convocation.

I would like to take this opportunity of bearing public testimony to the manner in which I have profited by your ripe experience and far-sighted guidance, in piloting the affairs of this great University which, difficult at all times, have been particularly arduous and troublesome of late.

I cannot help expressing my regret that the Hon'ble Lady Jackson is also visiting us for the last time. In spite of the many calls on her fully occupied time she has always made it a point of attending our Convocation and encouraged us by her presence, and by her graciousness and charming personality, has won all hearts.

READERSHIP LECTURES.

During the year under review the University has been able to secure the services of distinguished scholars to deliver courses of lectures as University Readers on specialised subjects for the benefit of our advanced students.

Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutt, D.Sc., delivered a course of lectures on "Some Aspects of the History of Mathematics in India before 1600 A.D."

Mr. Hasan Shahid Suhrawardy, M.A. (Oxon.), was appointed on the recommendation of our late Chancellor, the Earl of

Lytton. Mr. Suhrawardy had won distinction as a connoisseur of Art in Moscow, Paris, Rome and Madrid and other important intellectual centres of Europe and his scholarship and command over the principal European languages and literature elicited the praise of such distinguished scholars as Walter Raleigh and Robert Bridges. It was a great pleasure for us to see Science and Art mingle in such friendly relations. The greatest Scientist of Asia, Sir Venkata Raman, presided over the entire series of his interesting and illuminating lectures on "Muslim Art in Spain" which were illustrated by means of lantern slides.

During my recent visit to Europe I had taken interest in the student's Self-Help Movement in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe and therefore it was a great pleasure for me to arrange for Dr. Anna Selig, Executive Secretary of the International University Service of Germany who is a visiting Professor of Viswa-Bharati, to deliver a course of interesting lectures on (1) International Students' Service—A modern University Movement, (2) Ideas and methods of University Education in Germany (with special reference to the new facilities for study of foreign students in Germany) and (3) Problems and movements of the students of Germany (including an account of the students' self-help movement after the War).

Mr. C. S. Rangaswamy, Editor of *Indian Finance* and Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal have been invited to deliver courses of lectures on Indian Finance in relation to World Finance and Ancient Indian Historical Records, respectively.

Madame Montessori, the eminent educationist of Italy, has been invited to deliver a series of lectures on her new educational system.

Professor W. Blaschke of the University of Hamburg was appointed a Reader of this University in 1930 and is on his way to deliver a course of lectures on the Origin and Development of Affine Geometry.

Dr. Julius Germanus, Professor of Islamology at the Oriental Institute of the Buda Pest University in Hungary and the

first Nizam-ul-Mulk Professor of Islamic Studies in the Viswa-Bharati, has been appointed to deliver a series of lectures on "Turkish Contribution to Islamic Culture from 1826 to 1926" and will deliver his lectures as soon as Government's approval of his appointment is received.

We have also been able to arrange interesting and highly instructive lectures for our students.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1931 on "The Evolution of Moral Ideals in India."

Professor W. S. Urquhart delivered a course of lectures on the "Idea of Progress in Eastern and Western Thought" as Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1930.

Professor Hemendra Kumar Sen, M.A., D.Sc., Sir Rash Behary Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1931, his subject being "Chemistry and Industrial Development in India."

Mr. Bipinchandra Pal, the eminent journalist and public man, has been appointed Girish Chandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931 and will deliver a course of lectures on the "Place of Girish Chandra Ghosh in modern Bengali Stage and Drama."

Dr. S. C. Bagchi, Principal of the University Law College, delivered a course of Lectures as Asutosh Lecturer on "Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities."

Our distinguished Scientist, Sir Venkata Raman, Palit Professor of Physics of our University, delivered a public lecture of absorbing interest on Atomising Light and Sound. It was a great pleasure for me to be able to arrange for the Most Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, Bishop Westcott, whose hereditary interest in science and learning is well-known, to preside over the meeting.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS.

Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., University Lecturer on History, has been appointed Professor of Mediaeval

and Modern History, in the chair associated with the name of our great Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Professor Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor, has been appointed to act as King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the leave vacancy of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

Dr. Arnold McNair, C.B.E., LL.D., Fellow of the Caius College, University of Cambridge, and Lecturer in Law in that University, was appointed our Tagore Law Professor for the year 1931 and delivered a course of lectures on British Air Law.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.I.E., has been appointed Tagore Law Professor for the year 1932 to deliver a course of lectures on "History and Function of the Supreme Court."

Realising the importance of the subject and at the same time the great financial stringency through which we are passing, the Syndicate and the Senate invited me to deliver a course of lectures on selected topics of Hygiene and Public Health in an honorary capacity as a University Professor, giving me this status as a personal distinction.

FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS AND TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS

While we have thus been able to bring our students and teachers into closer association with so many distinguished scholars from the different parts of the country and from outside, we rejoice that we have also been able to send out some of our University teachers to famous seats of learning in the West to undertake research work in their special branches of learning. Dr. Praphullakumar Bose and Mr. Debiprasad Raychaudhuri, both of them University lecturers in the Department of Post-graduate Teaching in Science, have been awarded Foreign Scholarships out of the endowment created by one of our most generous benefactors, the late Sir Taraknath Palit. Our Khaira Professor of Chemistry of the University, Dr. Jnanendranath Mukerjee,

D.Sc., has been awarded one of the Travelling Fellowships founded by our eminent benefactor, the late Sir Rash Behary Ghose. The Second Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Science was awarded to Dr. Kedareswar Banerji and he is carrying on investigations on a problem in Molecular Physics in Davy Faraday Laboratory.

Mr. Benoykumar Sarcar, Lecturer on Economics in the Post-graduate Department, during his leave out of India usefully employed his time by visiting several Universities in Europe where he delivered lectures in different European languages, and I appreciate the co-operation of the Deutsche Akademie and the Bavarian Ministry of Education in this connection.

Mr. Jitendramohan Sen, an officer in the Education Department of the Government of Bengal, has been also awarded a Ghose Travelling Fellowship in Arts to enable him to study the working of compulsory Education Acts in some of the important States in the U. S. A. and to examine their provision with a view to tackle the problems concerning administration, finance and curriculum of primary education in urban and rural areas of Bengal.

The Radhikamohan Educational Scholarship for 1931-32 was awarded to Mr. Labanyamohan Ray to enable him to study Metallurgy and Cutlery in Sheffield.

The University of Calcutta was represented on the 4th Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the British Empire for the first time by its Vice-Chancellor. The value of coming in contact with so many educationists has been great indeed.

The Senate has recently placed Sir Venkata Raman, our Palit Professor of Physics, on special deputation to Europe to enable him to attend the 9th International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry to be held at Madrid in Spain in April of the current year and then to visit and lecture at various European Universities.

CHANGES IN CURRICULUM AND REGULATIONS.

The year under review has been marked by activities in the direction of re-organisation of Regulations and Rules for the improvement of standards of studies, examinations and general efficiency.

We have been able to make some material changes in the existing syllabuses in Mathematics for the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations which are now being examined by the Government of Bengal, while a Committee has been appointed to secure measures for re-organising the methods of teaching Solid Geometry and Astronomy to the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours students, the syllabus of studies in History for the B.A. Examination, in Anthropology for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, in English for the M.A. Examination and in Geology for the Civil Engineering students at the B.E. Examinations.

The courses of study in many other subjects for the different examinations have undergone changes which are too many to refer to in detail here. Mention may however be made of the recent changes in the syllabuses of study in Arabic and Persian for the M.A. Examination for the University which include a provision for the submission of a thesis in lieu of part of the examination. I have no doubt that this has removed a long-felt want of students of the Mussalman community who would now take advantage of this important provision and engage in original investigation in Arabic and Persian in increasing number. Another important change in the curriculum of studies of the University is the proposed institution of a special degree, namely that of Doctor of Science in Public Health. My thanks are due to Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart, I.M.S., Director of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, through whose untiring efforts we have been able to work out the details of this special degree.

I am also indebted to my colleagues on the Faculty of Medicine and the Syndicate for helping me in maintaining a

high standard in Medical Examinations generally, and in the award of Doctorates and higher Medical Degrees.

Another important change in our Regulations has been with regard to the academical dress for the holders of the Doctorate Degrees. In order to distinguish between the Doctors of different Faculties facings of the colour of the appropriate Faculties have been provided for in the gowns, while it has been laid down that in the case of recipients of Honorary Degrees, the gown shall be of scarlet red colour with facings of the colour of the appropriate Faculty, and Your Excellency has been the first recipient of an Honorary Degree under this Regulation.

Unfortunately it has not been possible up till now to give a final shape to the proposed new Regulations for the Matriculation Examination which were first initiated in 1921 by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. These regulations will entirely change the system of teaching and examination for the Matriculation Examination now being followed in the University and a Committee of the Senate is now examining the proposal.

UNIVERSITY ORGANISATION AND FINANCE.

The Regulations providing for the institution of Selection Committees for the appointment of Professors and Readers and of the Special Selection Committees for the re-appointment of University teachers which were framed on the basis of the recommendations of the University Organisation Committee, have been sanctioned by the Government of Bengal only three days ago and we expect to take up this important question very soon. Our teachers have ungrudgingly rendered valuable services for the cause of advancement of learning in this University and it is but fair and proper that the University will give them security of tenure and a suitable honorarium. Through their endeavours it has been found possible in this University to establish schools of original research in the different branches of learning which has earned for the University of Calcutta a prominent position in the world of science and letters.

The recommendations of the University Organisation Committee, as adopted by the Senate, together with the financial implications, had been submitted to Government in July, 1931. As the decision of Government was not received by the University in time to prepare the Budget Estimates for the year 1930-31, it was decided to prepare these estimates on the basis of the present commitments, without giving effect to any of the recommendations of the Organisation Committee. The Budget Estimates for the current year, as passed by the Senate, showed a deficit of Rs. 1,83,026 under the Fee and Post-graduate Teaching Funds, after taking into account the Government grant of Rs. 3,00,000 which was being paid from the commencement of the five-years period of settlement. An application was made to Government in August, 1931, for an additional grant of Rs. 1,83,000 to meet this deficit. Government informed the University that, under no circumstances would it be possible for them to make any additional grant in excess of the amount of one lakh paid last year. The Syndicate was thus faced with the difficulty of finding this additional sum of Rs. 83,000 to meet the deficit in its entirety. A Committee was appointed for the purpose to advise the Syndicate as to the course that should be followed. The Committee found that the opening balances of the two Funds, *viz.*, the Fee and Post-graduate Teaching Funds, had been practically exhausted and that there was no other source from which this additional amount could be met. The Committee had, therefore, to recommend various reductions in the sanctioned grants which amounted to Rs. 35,848. This amount, together with a total saving of Rs. 25,000 due to certain posts not being filled up, had the effect of reducing the deficit of Rs. 83,000 by Rs. 61,000.

Government have already paid a grant of Rupees Three Lakhs to meet the deficit for the current year and a further grant of Rupees One Lakh is expected within the current financial year.

The final decision of Government regarding the financial

assistance required for giving effect to the proposals of the University Organisation Committee has not yet been communicated to the University. Two Conferences were held for discussing the matter, one at Darjeeling and another at Calcutta. Final orders of the Government are being awaited.

AFFILIATED INSTITUTIONS.

During the year under review two more colleges were affiliated to the University—Jorhat College of Assam and the Dupleix College at Chandernagore which has established yet another link between the cultured people of France and our University. As many as 6 colleges were granted extension of affiliation in additional subjects.

The total number of affiliated Colleges at the end of 1932 was 56, while the total number of recognised Schools was 1,171 of which 578 enjoyed permanent recognition and the rest enjoyed provisional recognition. As many as 39 Schools were recognised by the University for the first time during the year 1931.

HIGHER DEGREES AND RECOGNITION OF RESEARCH WORK.

Eight candidates have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and one candidate has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The subjects of their research are indeed varied. A high standard has been maintained, and the recommendations for award have been received mostly from examiners in Europe of international reputation, and we had no hesitation in applying the pruning knife wherever necessary.

The Premchand Roychand Studentships in Arts and Science for the year 1930 have been awarded, four in Arts and two in Science, for original research in different branches of learning.

The rules for the award of these Studentships have been remodelled and the new rules have come into effect from the year 1931.

Under these rules the Studentship will ordinarily be indivisible

and in no case shall it be divided between more than two students.

For purposes of the award of these Studentships, the Literary and Scientific subjects have been divided into two groups each, and two studentships will ordinarily be awarded every year, one in a Literary subject and the other in a Scientific subject from these groups of subjects in rotation.

I offer my hearty congratulations to Dr. Quadrat-i-Khuda, D.Sc., on the award of the Premchand Roychand Studentship and to Mr. Abul Hussain who is the first Muslim to obtain the degree of Master of Law.

The Jagattarini Medal for the year 1931 has been awarded to Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., as most eminent for original contributions to Letters written in Bengali language. Dr. Dineschandra Sen has earned a European reputation as a Bengali scholar. It may be recalled that the first award of the Jagattarini Medal was on the great Laureate of Asia, our national poet Rabindranath Tagore, the first recipient of the Nobel prize for Letters in the East and the first Doctor of Literature, *honoris causa*, of our University. It is a curious coincidence that in 1913 my great predecessor, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, should have passed a resolution in the Syndicate for the conferment of this Honorary Degree and that in 1931 I shall have the honour of similarly taking the unanimous vote of the Syndicate for arranging an academic reception for Tagore. This pleasant function would have taken place to-morrow, but for reasons of health of the poet we had to postpone it. I wish the poet long life and health and that in the near future we may have the privilege and pleasure of receiving our septuagenarian poet-philosopher in this historic Hall.

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INFLUENCE OF TEACHERS ON STUDENTS:

I should like to say a few words regarding the relations of pupils and their teachers and guardians. I have often heard

the complaint that students in these days have lost respect for their teachers, and that parents and guardians have lost their hold and influence over them. I am afraid I cannot put the entire blame on the young men for this unfortunate state of affairs. I began my professional career as a House Surgeon and teacher in the Medical College of Bengal where I was a student, and I have personal knowledge of the value of the golden link of the affection and respect that bind the teacher and the pupil and the tremendous influence which a teacher wields over the pupils in his charge. I am afraid something has gone wrong, some link in the chain has grown weak and things have been allowed to slide and pious expressions of regret at the turn of events have been made time and again without doing anything actively either to remedy or to overcome the evils. The result is this lamentable want of influence of the elders upon the minds of the young, and of the teachers upon their pupils.

I was painfully surprised when I was told the other day that neither the principals nor the professors of certain affiliated institutions were in a position to identify their students whom they were going to present at the Convocation. I deplore the loss of that personal contact and healthy relation between the pupils and the teachers which elicited the devotion of the *Sishya* for his *Guru*.

I feel that a drastic and early change in the present policy is essential in order to counteract the unfortunate results which we painfully witness to-day. The teachers of our young students along with their parents and guardians possess the widest possible opportunities of directly and strongly influencing their minds and characters during the most receptive periods of their lives and they can give the most powerful turn to their entire intellectual and moral development. "As the sapling's bent so the trees incline." With this end in view, the students should be brought into intimate personal relationship with the teachers and professors outside the class-rooms and receive healthy inspirations from them. I should like Government on the one hand

to do everything possible to help and advance the status and dignity of teachers and on the other hand the authorities of every school and college should appoint only specially selected instructors who both inside the class-rooms and outside the school and on the playgrounds, by their acts and utterances, help to create in the minds of young students those fine sensibilities which lead to the development of lofty character and high ideals. Every one must have the highest regard for persons who at the call of duty, at personal inconvenience and sacrifice of opportunities of adopting a lucrative profession and chances of becoming a dignitary of the State or a well-paid officer of the Crown, have devoted themselves on short rations to the noble ideal of propagating the light of Knowledge and Learning.

I need hardly stress the fact that in the East we have an ancient tradition of showing the highest respect to the selfless devotees of the temple of learning. The echoes of the striking words of *Chanakya* have rolled from soul to soul for generations.

বিদ্বৎ নৃপত্বং নৈব তুল্যং কদাচন ।

স্বদেশে পূজ্যতে রাজা বিদ্বান্ সর্বত্র পূজ্যতে ॥

“You can never compare those who hold the highest position in riches and power to those who hold the highest position in learning. The potentate commands the allegiance of his own people, whereas the learned Savant is adored by the people of every country.” O *Vidwan*, practise *Tyaga*, renunciation of self, and demonstrate your *Guna*, potentialities of the force of your character, and regain your lost position—the age-old heritage of your country.

During my term of office I have had the privilege of having many opportunities of cultivating friendly relations with professors and principals of colleges and of exchanging views in conferences. It is indeed gratifying for me to be able to state that they have always given ready support to the University and wise counsel and constructive suggestions to me. I am glad to gather

from the information given to me at a recent conference of principals that the tendency amongst students to commit breaches of discipline and insubordination, to indulge in disrespect and defiance of authority and to rush headlong into political agitation and demonstrations had not assumed such proportions as to cause them serious anxiety. Though I am not a pessimist I cannot deny the undoubted fact that some of our young men have been misled by designing persons who have beguiled them into wrong paths for their own selfish ends and that the danger is still very great and our utmost efforts should be directed towards keeping our students in the path of their normal activities.

Realising the urgency of the situation and the supreme necessity of stemming the tide of terrorism, the Syndicate in November last viewed with strong disapproval and concern the growth of terrorist activities in the country and earnestly appealed to all responsible persons having the guidance of young men in their hands to exert their active influence to counteract the spread of terrorist ideas amongst impressionable youths. I repeat what I mentioned at the meeting of the Senate a couple of months ago, that it is not for me to digress into the paths of politics and civics and speak of the terrible disaster that terrorism will bring in its train to the country and the setback it will cause to our aspirations for attaining Swaraj. But as the custodian of the honour and good name of the greatest Seat of Learning in Asia, I thought it necessary to give the resolution of the Syndicate publicity by bringing it to the special notice of all members of the Senate and through them of the wider public and appeal to the parents and guardians of boys and girls, whose young lives are threatened with destruction by the torrential gusts of revolutionary ideas, to lend their whole-hearted support and active co-operation to the University in counteracting this terrible menace to the peaceful pursuit of knowledge.

GRADUATES AND STUDENTS.

I must now perform the time-honoured duty of addressing the graduates and students on the day of the Convocation.

New topics and fresh ideas are not easy to bring out—

صریفان بادہا خوردند رفتند * تمی خمخانہا کردند رفتند

(My companions have been in the Tavern before me. They have drained the cups dry and have not left even the dregs for me.)

Graduates of the Calcutta University! To-day marks the crowning event of your labours of years. I offer you my sincere and hearty congratulations. By virtue of the authority vested in me as Vice-Chancellor of this University I have to-day admitted you to your respective degrees. I have charged you that in your life and conversation you show yourselves worthy of the same. It is not a conventional phrase which I have repeated to you. It is not a mere formula but it is a solemn and a serious parting message from the University to each and every one of you. You have been educated under the auspices of this University and have been equipped with the best accoutrement for the battle of life. You should receive this message from your *Alma Mater* in all seriousness. May you serve your Motherland, your community and your University as true and faithful sons and daughters. You have been fitted by your education to judge and examine for yourselves every question that comes before you with care and thoroughness. By your training you should have your character and mind so well formed and developed that you may have the courage to refuse to be carried away by doctrines the sophistry of which is masked by making them appeal to one's feelings or imaginations and are set out with subtlety or with an air of dogmatic authority. Accept them only if they stand the test of truth and considered reason. I do not ask you to be self-opinionated. On the contrary, I ask you to be

tolerant of the motives and actions of other people. Do not be aggressive but live and let live. Pray do not mistake rudeness for independence nor courtesy and reverence to elders and obedience to authority as a mark of weakness or servitude. They are indeed the marks of a strong character and of gentlemanly and manly instincts. May you never deviate from the straight path of honour and wisdom.

Students of my University! You are the future hopes of your country. Endeavour to attain stability of character. Cultivate and develop that spirit of obedience to lawful authority which is the necessary concomitant of true academic discipline and if you aspire to be in the position of leaders of men to-morrow you must learn to obey to-day. Make yourselves leaders of culture and progress—prove yourselves true and useful citizens, worthy of the confidence and respect, alike of your countrymen and of yourselves. Discipline of mind such as I have advocated does not in the least mean relinquishment of your own national dignity or loss of genuine pride in the magnificent legacy which has been bequeathed to you by your ancient civilization. Do not allow yourselves to be exploited by designing persons for their own ends. Do not participate in movements which will divert your energies from the pursuit of knowledge which is your primary concern. Premature participation in active political propaganda is analogous to the artificial stimulation caused by dope or drink. One gets used to it and craves for more and more and the dose is increased on and on till a stage arrives when the mind refuses to react any more to any form of stimulation whatsoever. The system can bear no more and the crash comes, and disaster and ruin suddenly overtake the unfortunate victim. Continued extra-academic excitement undermines the stamina of our students and their capacity for sustained work. One of the evil consequences of this is manifest in the deplorable results in competitive examinations. There are other unmistakable signs of retrogression which I would not elaborate or recount on this occasion.

We are passing through stirring times. The whole world is confronted with a grave crisis. Unrest, financial distress, unemployment are all staring you in the face and, I am sure, new ideals and new aspirations are passing through your minds. I strongly advise you to take count of these new thoughts and a balanced view of things with a calm mind.

It is a matter of great pleasure to me, and I dare say to you as well, to notice unmistakable signs of the fast disappearance of bigotry and denominational bias from amongst our educated young men. Having drunk at the same fountain of knowledge, I want to see Hindu and Muslim students cultivate understandings and friendships in the class-rooms, in the field of sports and manly games, which will enable them to go out into the world as comrades and brothers in arms, for the realisation of their great ideals. There can, however, be no true friendship and goodwill without a feeling of equality and the breaking down of the barriers of snobbery and the tyranny of the caste.

Hindus and Muslims should allow each other to maintain their own identity and treasure their own traditions. One community should not try to overpower, stifle or efface the other from existence but help the other to conjointly develop their special culture and genius. Like flowers of different hues and shades, of different degrees of perfume, sweetness and beauty, Students of our University of all castes and creeds, enrich and beautify the garden of your country !

VALUE AND PERSONALITY

The problem of value has in recent times occupied perhaps the foremost position in philosophy. Even amongst the so-called scientific writers on matters of fact the consciousness of value is gradually gaining its legitimate ground ; they are beginning to think of things and events not wholly in terms of fact, but largely in terms of value. They are gradually discovering that all our estimations are after all evaluations. Value and evaluation are not foreign to facts, rather fact and value imply each other ; reality is ideality, existence is worth, only from a different outlook and one is really inseparable from the other. "There can be no existence without value and no value without existence."¹ Reality is neither mental nor material but a realm in which thought and thing, fact and value, are inseparable, neither having any existence apart from its correlative. This much is coming to be realised by most varied forms of philosophical thinking, by pragmatists and axiologists, by idealists, both subjective and objective, and by implication at least even by some exponents of realism. The value consciousness of to-day, however, is no innovation into philosophic consciousness, but only a legitimate and inevitable development of our estimation of things. So long as the fact was there, there was the value, only that the value was not discernible equally in all ages and by all minds. To quote Professor Münsterberg, "Through the the world of things shimmered first weakly, and then even more clearly, the world of values." The concept of value, therefore, is only the fuller stature of our philosophic consciousness developing in its proper environment and direction within the scheme of our estimation of life and the universe.

¹ W. M. Urban's article, *Value, Logic and Reality*, in the Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy.

² Prof. Münsterberg quoted in "*Philosophy To-day*" by Schaub and others.

The problem of value to-day has acquired such a large dimension that an exhaustive treatment of value in all its bearings within the limits of this present paper is simply out of the question. The questions generally raised as to the nature, origin and development of the concept of value may be subsumed under two more fundamental questions, one psychological or phenomenological, and the other metaphysical, or more technically, axiological. Value considered from the psychological point of view has its origin in human desires and feelings; it is the affective life of man that comes to make things valuable, in so far as they influence it well or ill, agreeably or disagreeably. Value is thus a matter of feeling and nothing else. Slightly different from the account of this school, but falling within it, is that of the pragmatists who read value in things in so far as they lead the agent to fruitful activity.* The value of a thing, they say, depends not on the emotive affection, but rather on the conative satisfaction of the man concerned.

The general outlook of the psychological and pragmatic school, however, having tendency to make value empirical, individualistic and relative, has failed to satisfy the demands of the metaphysical school who have naturally raised the questions: Is value a mere subjective addendum to reality? Or is it a part of the nature of things? Or is it the essence of reality? And these are the fundamental metaphysical questions on value and reality, and have been responsible for the "Great Divide" in philosophy, between Realism and Idealism; the realist maintaining that value is an indefinable *quality* attaching to existence as sense-qualities to objects, or even to essences, and the axiologist emphasising that value is the *character* or *condition* of existence and of our knowledge of existents.

From this general but short and analytical survey of the value-questions of to-day we now pass on to that more special one we are primarily concerned with, and that is the relation between value and personality. Here the question further

dissolves itself into : Whether value exists only in, for and through personality either individual or universal : Or whether it is ever personal or impersonal and enjoys an absolute existence apart from and independently of valuing persons : Or whether personality is itself a value ; Or whether all values being pragmatic and relative in a sense, the ultimate reality as a non-personal existence is independent of value.

These questions evidently presuppose an idealistic attitude to life and the universe, but the idealists are not all at one in their handling of them. Among the idealists who make value and personality to be co-extensive we may mention T. H. Green, William Temple and others. According to Green all values are for, of, or in a person. Values are personal standards and all other so-called values are but relative to persons. Values are thus wholly in a subject, and not in objects and are therefore personal or subjective ; they are predicable of persons and not of things. But this is ignoring the fact that human life and mind live in an objective world which has a contributory importance for the realisation of their ideals and are not mere unconcerned and unrelated entities out of touch with the world of nature.

If individual persons can develop values independently of the objective environment, much more so can the universal reality realise itself only in and through the individual persons. But to make values purely personal, depending entirely upon its self-evolution and completely out of relation with the environment, is to forget the important fact that self or person is not an isolated unit but forming a necessary part of the scheme of the universe. And Green not only denies objective validity in so far as value is embedded in the nature of things, but also he goes so far as to say : "To speak of any progress or improvement or development of a nation or society or mankind except as relative to some greater worth of persons, is to use words without meaning." Green applies the concept of values to persons not always finite but rather the collective or divine personality or the eternal self which realises its values in and through individual persons.

Whatever view we may accept about the number of kings and whatever order of them we may accept, neither can we fix any precise dates to these kings nor can we determine the total regnal period of these kings. As we have seen, the Purāṇas assign 28 years to Bimbisāra (though some make 38 for 28 which is apparently due to the errors of the scribe) whereas the Pali works give him 52 years. Illustrations of such disagreement between the sources may however be added. As for the total duration, the Purāṇas assign 363 years to the dynasty as a whole, in which case we are to allot 36 years to each king (ten kings taken) which Dr. Bhandarkar observes 'is quite preposterous.' At the same time, we cannot assign the period 321 (Matsya), 332 (Vayu) obtained by adding together the duration of the several kings.

In this troubled sea of chronology of the Śīśunāga dynasty we have, however, got some 'sheet anchors,' if we are at all allowed to designate them so. Proceeding from some definitely known facts we can arrive at a probable date of the accession of Bimbisāra and Nandivardhana and the time when the dynasty came to an end. The usual method of ascertaining the probable date of the accession of Bimbisāra is to reckon back from the date of Buddha's parinirvāṇa. Buddha's parinirvāṇa took place in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign who succeeded Bimbisāra. Accordingly, we find that Bimbisāra came to the throne 60 years before the Master's parinirvāṇa (parinirvāṇa, eight years of Ajātaśatru and the reigning period of Bimbisāra, p. 8. B).

As for the date of parinirvāṇa, and for the reign of Bimbisāra there is a difference of opinion amongst the traditions. The two traditional dates of parinirvāṇa are 543 B.C. and 483 B.C. Without entering into details we can note here that the year 483 B.C. has been admitted by competent critics to be the probable date. The arguments in favour of this date are strong enough to compel even Dr. Smith, an upholder of 543 B.C., to admit that 'the date can not be fixed with anything like certainty.' He has preferred the year 543 B.C. in the light of the reading of the Khāravala Inscription. According to the

reading of Messrs. Banerjee and Jayaswal in 1917 J.B.O.R.S., wherein the accession of Nandivardhan has been placed at 465 B.C., we are obliged to move back all the Śiśunâga dates more than fifty years, which supports the Ceylonese date for the death of Buddha, *viz.*, 544-45 B.C.

As we shall shortly see that the reading of 1917 has been given up and according to the new reading of 1927 the date of accession has been fixed at 457 B.C. This makes us move back the date not by 50 years but by 42 years. Though this change does not materially affect his arguments, yet, for another ground, his arguments cannot be accepted. He has put too much reliance on the Purâṇas as regards the period assigned to each king.

On the other hand, the dotted records kept up at Canton until A.D. 469, Paramârtha's life of Vasuvandhu and the Khotan tradition, all support the year 483 B.C. What is more convincing is that Profs. Geiger and Fleet have proved that in Ceylon, down to the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Nirvana era was reckoned from 483 B.C. In passing it may be noted that the origin of the era of 543 B.C. is probably the era of the accession of Bimbisâra, current at first at Magadha, which in later times travelled to Ceylon, and was thus confounded with the Nirvana era of 483 B.C.

Taking 543 B.C. as the date of Parinirvana and assigning 28 years to Bimbisâra Smith has obtained 582 B.C. as the probable date (543+8 years of Ajâtaśatru's reign and 28 years of Bimbisâra with a marginal error of three years). Dr. Raichaudhuri in his Political History has fixed it at 543 B.C. by taking 483 B.C. as the Nirvana date and allotting 52 years to Bimbisâra.

Though according to many it is absurd for a man to rule for 52 years, yet this much can be asserted at any rate that Bimbisâra lived before 516 B.C., because of the fact that in the time of Bimbisâra, Gandhara was an independent kingdom ruled over by Pâkkāsâti. By 516 B.C., Gandhara had to lose her

independence being subject to Persia, as recorded in the Behistun Inscriptions of King Darius.

Nandivardhan, one of the ten sons of Kâlâsôka, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, is probably Nandivardhan of the Puranic list. Mr. Jayaswal opines that the headless Patna statue of the Indian Museum is a portrait of this king to which view Mr. R. D. Banerjee concurred, though it is not yet accepted by all.

The Hatigumpha Inscription of king Khâravêla of Kalinga informs us something about a Nanda king. The sixth line of this inscription runs thus : Panchame cha dâni vase Na(m)darâjativasasata(ô)(ghâ ?)titaṃ.¹

“In the fifth year he had an aqueduct that had not been used for 303 (103) years since king Nanda conducted it to the city.” This Nanda is identified with Nandivardhan on the strength of Kshemendra’s reference to Purvanandas who, we are told, should be distinguished from Nava or New (Later) Nandas and identified with Mahanandin.² The Kathâsaritsâgara, however, distinguishes Purvananda not from Navananda but from Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda) the re-animated corpse of king Nanda.³ The existence of one Nanda line is vouchsafed, by both the Puranas and the Ceylonese chronicles, in which Nandivardhan is represented as a Saîsunâga king and sharply distinguished from Nanda line. Mr. Chanda says that there is nothing in the Purâṇas to say that Nandivardhana had anything to do with Kalinga. Moreover those authorities the Purâṇas state that when the Śîsunâgas were on the Magadhan throne, thirty-two kings were ruling at Kalinga synchronously.

All these have however been put to an end by the revised reading of the Khâravêla inscription of 1927. In this reading

¹ Panchamedam.

² J.B.O.R.S., 1918, p. 91.

³ Taranga, 4.

Nandamahâpatî Kathâ, Taranga, 5.

Yogananda Katha, pp. 8-17.

⁴ J.B.O.R.S., III, p. 238.

Mr. Jayaswal has found fault with the old translation and holds that "the natural translation is that one canal excavated in 300 (103)th year of king Nanda and not by king Nanda (the varsha or year of Nanda = the year of Nanda) in which case the original passage would have been *Nandarājōghatena*. Where is this Nanda era? Alberuni speaks of an era beginning in 458 B.C. associated with king Harshavardhana which did puzzle him. But Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has rightly pointed out that this is not Harshavardhana era but Nandavardhana era (*Harsha = Nanda = Nandavardhana*). With our knowledge of the existence of an era of Nanda beginning with 458 B.C. (actually in use in Mathura and Kanauj, as Alberuni states), and the fact that Nanda was a great conqueror, to which his conquest of Avanti of the Pradyotas might be referred, we can safely identify the Nanda era or the era of 458 B.C. as one started by king Nanda.¹ In this connection it would not be out of place to mention that the Ceylonese account of the rise of the Nandas after the *Saisunâgas* fits in well with the Greek account of the rise of the Nandas.

As to the last limit of the dynasty we are to know the unknown from the definitely fixed known dates. From the definitely known date of Chandragupta Maurya which is 322 B.C. with a probable error not exceeding three years we are to move backwards, for we know that after the *Sisunâgas* came the Nandas and then Chandragupta Maurya. Now tradition assigns a hundred or a hundred and fifty years to two generations of the Nandas which is highly incredible. The *Ananda* mode of reckoning used by the poet Chand suggests ninety or ninety-one years as the true period covered by the two generations. In that case the *Saisunâgas* came to an end by the year 322 and 91, i.e., 413 B.C.

MANINDRA NATH BAGCHI

¹ J.B.O.R.S., XIII, p. 240.

CORSAIRS

With reaping sweep of watery chime the tawny rowers kept in
time
And beat the sea to frothy flakes one morning at the glimmer-
ing prime.

South-east the turbaned Nubian steered before the sun had comb-
ed his beard;
Under the goad, south-east they rowed till distance like a fish
was speared.

The galleon stood with idle sails ; the crew were lolling at the
rails ;
And waiting for the wind they told great merry tales of deep-
sea gales.

Swift as a snake into a brake the corsairs swept across their
wake
And circled round in angry mood, and soon their smoking broad-
side spake.

The galleon's masts crashed overside; the galleon dragged in her
pride,
Swung helpless as a rotted log adrift upon a running tide.

In red-scarved rout they swarmed aboard and ravished her with
fire and sword,
And took, like kings or cardinals, their pleasure of her precious
hoard.

THE VALUE OF HYBRIDISATION IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF CROPS

The agricultural departments of India have reason to be proud of the results they have achieved through their efforts to improve the crops of the country. Much work has been done; but much remains to be done. The recent Agricultural Commission,¹ under the Chairmanship of the Marquis of Linlithgow, remarked in its abridged report that: "The agricultural departments of India are still at the beginning of the work on improving some of the most important crops in India, such as the millets, of which *Juar* (*Sorghum vulgare*), the acreage under which is only exceeded by that under rice and wheat, is the most extensively grown...The comparative neglect of these millets is especially to be regretted in view of the prominence of these grains in the diet of a large section of the population throughout peninsular India and of the fact that they are so largely grown in tracts which are liable to famine."

How, therefore, may we improve our crops in the future? Briefly, the answer is, apart from improvements in soil conditions, by the acclimatization of superior foreign types, selection and hybridisation. The introduction of foreign seeds and the replacement of existing indigenous varieties by superior exotic types has not, however, proved very successful in India, chiefly on account of unfavourable climatic and soil conditions. For example, several attempts have been made to introduce American cotton into India, but, though the area under this variety in the Punjab has increased "the quality of the lint (according to Dr. A. Howard) appears to have deteriorated and the fibre is now deficient in strength." Moreover, as Mr. W. Roberts has pointed out in a paper² on the failure two years ago of the

¹ *Abridged Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, Calcutta, 1928,

² *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIV, ii, 1929,

American cotton crop in the Punjab. "The history of American cotton in the Punjab for the past nine or ten years has been one of occasional serious crop failures." There have been partial but extensive failures in the last two years, and a particularly serious failure in 1926.

Attempts to introduce exotic varieties of wheat and tobacco have also proved unsuccessful, mostly because they require special treatment and favourable conditions, which are not obtainable in India. And it is the considered opinion of Dr. A. Howard¹ who, with Mrs. Howard, has done more than anyone else for the improvement of Indian crops, that: "The application of modern methods of selection and hybridisation to the mixed crops now grown have proved much more successful than the acclimatization of exotics."

To selection a great deal of importance has been attached in India. The Agricultural Commission expressed the opinion that "...there can be no doubt that selection offers the readiest means of effecting improvements in Indian conditions, and it is by this method that the greatest successes of the agricultural departments, except in regard to wheat and sugar-cane, have been obtained. Hybridisation is a much slower process than selection and requires greater scientific experience and a higher level of scientific aptitude."

It is noteworthy, however, that in other countries (and even in this, as our agricultural periodicals prove) increasing attention is being paid to hybridisation as a means of improving crops, and on reflection it will be obvious that the ultimate improvement of almost any crop will depend on successful hybridisation. Indeed, selection is but a prelude to hybridisation. A time must come when the isolation, introduction and cultivation of special natural varieties of crops can offer no further opportunities for improvement, which must then depend on hybridisation. For successful hybrids possess an increased

¹ *Crop Production in India*, p. 68 (Oxford University Press, 1924).

adaptability and vigour (due, it is supposed, to their heterozygosity) and new combinations of certain desirable characters which natural forms do not possess.

I believe, therefore, that more attention should be paid to hybridisation as a means of improving our crops, though the Agricultural Commission is of opinion that we should 'adhere' to selection for the present, for it is always wise to anticipate what is inevitable. The criticism of the Agricultural Commission is scarcely relevant. Scientific successes are seldom won without patient research, and the presumption that the production of good hybrids requires "greater scientific experience and a higher level of scientific aptitude" is scarcely an argument against hybridisation. Moreover, as Mrs. Gabrielle L. C. Howard pointed out in her presidential address¹ to the Agricultural Section of the Sixteenth Indian Science Congress held in Madras in 1928, the insinuation that selection work can be carried out by untrained men is erroneous, and "if adopted is likely to lead to much waste of time and money." Both methods of securing improved varieties require similar qualifications and powers of investigation. The Agricultural Commission's comments, however, seem to be the result of unfortunate phrasing, for it recognises that: "Sooner or later, of course, there comes a point when the plant breeder may be forced to resort to hybridisation if any progress is to be secured."

The mechanism of heredity is so well-known that it is unnecessary to discuss the principles on which hybridisation is based. It is with the value of hybridisation that we are concerned here and I shall attempt to prove its value with selected examples. In Canada and the north of the United States of America, to go outside India for a moment, after experiments extending over several years, Saunders obtained a high quality bread wheat known as "Marquis" by crossing "Red Fife" with an Indian variety—"Hard Red Calcutta." It is probably

¹ See the *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIV, 1929, p. 153.

the most successful hybrid yet produced, and is now grown over 2,000,000 acres or more of land. The Farrer hybrids, cultivated in certain parts of Australia, have done much to raise the standard of wheat in that country, while in England, Biffen's new hybrid, "Yeoman," is in great demand by most farmers.

Turning to India, we find that experiments in selection and hybridisation have been carried out successfully, as Dr. Howard and others have shown, in connection with cotton, wheat, sugar-cane and certain other crops. With such crops as rice, jute and oil-seeds, however, much remains to be done. At present, hardly any attempt is made to keep the varieties of the plants separate, and hence mixed crops are the general rule. Most of these are low and uncertain yielders, of no particular quality, and in consequence, their market value is low. If, on the other hand, better varieties were substituted, which give an increased and uniform yield, the value of the crops would be greatly enhanced. And "better varieties" eventually mean hybrid varieties.

Some idea of the value of hybridisation in improving the principal crops of the country may be gathered from a brief survey of our principal crops. With wheat, which occupies about 24,000,000 acres in India, we have been almost as successful in producing high-yielding, cross-bred varieties as workers in America and Australia have been, most of the work being done at Pusa by Dr. and Mrs. Howard, who were sustained in the belief¹ that "wheat of the same class as the best of those exported from North America could be grown in India." And that "There was every reason to place India on a similar plane to Canada in the wheat markets of the world."

One of the hybrids, "Pusa 107, produced at the Agricultural Research Institute won a prize at the Royal Agricultural

¹ See A. Howard and G. L. C. Howard: "The Improvement of Indian Wheat." *Bulletin No. 171, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, 1928.* (With bibliography.)

Show at Sydney, and was followed with a difference of half a mark by "Pusa 4," which Dr. A. L. Humphries, a former President of the National Association of British and Irish Millers, considers to be "as good as any wheat produced in the world" and selects as his "first choice of all Indian wheats for bread-making purposes." Another Pusa hybrid "Pusa 52"—one of the new "50 series" of improved Indian wheats which equals or exceeds the yield of older Pusa wheats—has given as high a yield as 27 maunds per acre at Pusa and 32 maunds at Benipore, and is consequently being extensively distributed where a bearded wheat is required. It was obtained by crossing "Punjab 9" with "Pusa 6," and combines the high yield and bearded nature of the former with the capacity for rust-resistance characteristic of the latter. The improved types (especially Pusa 4, 12, 52, 54 and 100) produced at Pusa have already benefited the country considerably, for about 2,500,000 acres have already been planted with them, and Dr. and Mrs. Howard estimate the annual profits to the growers at two and a half million pounds sterling. How much the country will benefit from the cultivation of these types, and from efforts to improve them still further, may be gathered from the area under wheat, which is second only to the enormous acreage planted with rice.

So far as rice is concerned, India produces from three-fifths to two-thirds of the rice-output of the whole world, excluding China, for which no statistics are available. From 1900 to 1921, the annual production of this crop approximated 35,000,000 tons of cleaned rice, of which Bengal produced the most, the total area under cultivation in 1922 being nearly 81,535,000 acres (the estimates for 1925-26 are 80,172,000 acres) and the average yield per acre 910 lbs. Yet the standard of rice produced by India can be greatly improved. A stronger straw and a better root development is required, but there seems to be at present no knowledge of the most efficient type of root-system for early, late or deep-water rices. No really detailed botanical

survey of the various varieties of rice has yet been made, though work of this description is not being neglected in India, as such papers as that of Mr. R. A. Beale¹ on the classification of the varieties of rice found in Burma and of Messrs. S. K. Mitra, S. N. Gupta and P. M. Ganguly² on colour inheritance in rice show. The extension of such work is essential, as among the wild rices, which in themselves are of no value, there may be certain useful characters which can be used in crossing with other forms. With a knowledge of desirable characters among these wild forms which are inherited, and of their root-development, improved hybrids might be produced which will respond to soil conditions.

And if these hybrids produce an increase even of ten per cent. on the annual yield, this would mean an addition of 3,500,000 tons to average annual output, and an enormously increased income varying with the current price of rice per ton. Hitherto attempts to produce good hybrids of rice in this country have not met with outstanding success, but the publication of occasional papers³ shows that some attention is being paid to hybridisation as a means of improving our output of rice, and the benefits to the country, which increased profits from its rice crop would bring, should encourage us to further and more co-ordinated efforts at improvement.

With regard to sugar-cane, the standard of production in India is low as compared with other countries. The sugar yield, during the five years ending 1918-19, was only one ton per acre, while in Cuba it was two tons per acre, in Java over four, and in Hawaii over four and a half tons per acre. This crop is cultivated all over India, the total area being nearly two and three quarter million acres, but production and consumption do

¹ *Bulletin No. 167, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, 1927.*

² *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India, XV, No. 4, 1928 (Botanical series).*

³ Such as those of R. K. Bhide on the results of crossing different varieties of rice at Karjat and of K. Ramiah on the technique for securing artificial hybrids of rice, published in the *Agricultural Journal of India*, Volumes XX, 1925, p. 28, and XXII, 1927, p. 17. respectively.

not balance. India, which should be self-supporting in sugar, imports it to meet her demands, and to make up the shortage has to spend vast sums of money in the form of exports. During the years 1910-14, according to Dr. Howard we imported sugar to the value of 12·71 crores of rupees from Java, Mauritius and Austria-Hungary. Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman has recently estimated¹ that at present 21-22 per cent. of our sugar consumption is imported, mostly from Java, at an average annual cost of about 15 crores of rupees.

In order that this money may stay in the country, the cane and juice must be increased on each acre and the cost of each ton of sugar grown must be reduced. This can only be done by planting more efficient types. A vigorous, rapidly-growing and quick-maturing cane, with a disease-resistance above the average, is required : the ratio of juice to cane should also be high, and its quality should allow for the easy manufacture of high-grade country sugar. In other words this means that good cross-bred varieties, suitable for particular localities, are required.

At Coimbatore, South India, experiments directed towards the discovery of such hybrids have been successfully carried out and several new varieties have been produced with *Saccharum spontaneum* L. as one of the parents. These new canes have been planted in parts of Northern India and elsewhere, and the results have been distinctly beneficial. In the paper already referred to Rao Bahadur Venkatraman said that 70,000 acres were under the improved Coimbatore canes, which give yields sometimes 100-160 per cent. superior to those of the indigenous natural varieties, and "a conservative estimate of the additional profit to growers has placed it at over 70 lakhs of rupees during the season just passed."

Further investigations are now in progress, and "Co. 290," a new cane produced at Coimbatore is now being widely distributed in the United Provinces the largest sugar-growing area in

¹ *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXIII, 1928, p. 170.

the county where, in the opinion of the Director of Agriculture of that Province,¹ it will "materially assist in raising the standard of sugar production." The results already achieved, therefore, show that the solution of the sugar problem has really begun, though the area sown with these improved varieties is only about three per cent. of the possible area on which they can be planted. The value of this work will be even better appreciated when it is remembered that our sugar consumption must grow considerably in the near future, for at present the consumption per capita is only about one-fourth or one-fifth of what it is in other countries.

Much research work has been done here in connection with cotton, the steady increase of cotton products, since the last war being described by Mr. B. C. Burt as remarkable.² About 25,000,000 acres are under cultivation,³ according to Dr. Howard, but the average yield is low, being about one maund of lint to the acre, which is only one-third of the average yield of the cotton areas of the United States of America. Owing to climatic conditions the growth period of the plant is short and consequently only a short staple is developed. If the yield per acre could be increased with a better fibre, the Indian cotton would be in as great a demand as the American species, as the evidence of the last few years shows.

Experiments in breeding pure lines have shown that, as a rule, long-stapled cottons possess a low ginning percentage, while a high ginning percentage is usually associated with a short staple. Cross-breeding between the two might, therefore, produce a long-stapled, high-ginning hybrid, and Mr. G. L.

¹ See T. S. Venkatraman: "Report of the Government Sugar Cane Expert," *Scientific Reports, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa*, 1926, p. 137. It is also interesting to read in this report that Coimbatore canes are being successfully reared outside India, especially in Cuba and Florida. From Florida a recent communication to Rao Bahadur Venkatraman stated that, in spite of the rather difficult conditions of soil and climate "it looks now as if it (Co. 281) would be one of our best, if not our very best cane."

² *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXXII, 1927, p. 446.

³ 18,186,000 acres according to the figures for 1925-26.

Kother of Bombay has spent several years in trying to obtain a successful hybrid of this sort. Seven years ago he published a paper on¹ the history of a cross between *Gossypium herbaceum* and *G. neglectum* which appears to have the desired qualities, and two years later² he said that: "Two pure strains, one of Kumpta with a low ginning percentage (28) and a long-staple (1 inch) and another of *neglectum rosea* with a high ginning percentage (36) and a short staple ($\frac{1}{2}$ inch) were crossed with the idea of improving the ginning percentage and colour of Kumpta cotton. This cross has after careful selection continued for five years to yield pure strains which combine the desired characters of both the parents." He added that they were being sent out to replace Kumpta cotton.

Indian cottons cross easily—a circumstance which is particularly fortunate as several of them have a high ginning percentage—and other workers have also produced promising hybrids. In 1919-20 Messrs. M. L. and S. J. Patel began the crossing of pure types of the Broach-Deshi and Gohari varieties as *Gossypium herbaceum*, and two years ago they reported³ that: "This crossing has not only led to types with the combination of characters desired, but has provided a considerable amount of interesting material relative to their behaviour in crossing..." In 1920, Kotter⁴ crossed a pure strain of Dharwar-American with Sea-Island cotton and, in his own words, he found that "it is possible to produce in the first generation the same quantity of lint as Dharwar-American but of Sea-Island quality." Messrs. T. R. Khadliker and R. K. Kulkarni have continued this work and published the results in a recent paper⁵ on the improvement of Dharwar-American cotton by hybridisation.

On the whole the rearing of successful cotton hybrids is, however, more difficult than in other crops, as the results of

¹ *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India* (Botanical series), XII, 1923, p. 71.

² *Agricultural Journal of India*, XX, iii, 1925.

Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India (Botanical series), XIV, No. 4, 1927.
Bulletin No. 189, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, 1929.

See, for example, B. C. Desai ; *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXII, 1927, p. 357.

Zaitzev and other workers have shown and, as Mr. Trevor Trought says in a paper ¹ on the improvement of the cotton plant : “ It is possibly significant that no commercial variety at present grown in any bulk has originated as a deliberate synthetic product by a plant breeder.” It may be that artificial hybridisation *at present* does not “ introduce any certainty of improvement along directed lines,” but even Mr. Trought admits that hybridisation combined with selection “ probably increases the chance of obtaining desirable combinations of characters.” It is my belief, however, that it is to hybridisation and selection that we must look for radical improvements in the present situation, for the demand is for long-stapled cottons with the maximum ginning percentage and three-fourths of the cotton grown in this country is short-stapled. And once we can isolate strains of guaranteed purity there is no reason why hybrids of real commercial value should not be raised. The experience of to-day should lead to the successes of to-morrow.

Some idea of the extent to which the country would benefit by the improvement of the cotton crop may be formed by the fact that Dr. D. Clouston, late Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, estimated ² in 1924 that ‘the area now being sown in India every year with improved varieties probably exceeds 2,000,000 acres, and the increased profits therefrom, calculated on the basis of an increase of Rs. 10 per acre, must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of two crores of rupees annually.’ As the total area under cotton at present is something like 20,000,000 acres, the universal sowing of “ improved (by which Dr. Clouston seems to mean mostly selected) varieties alone would result in an increased profit of about twenty crores of rupees, which can be considerably enhanced by the introduction of good hybrids. The future benefits to the country from the improvement of its cotton will be even better appreciated when it is remembered that, according to acknowledged experts,

¹ *Agricultural Journal of India*, XXI, 1926, p. 310 *et seq* (with bibliography).

² *Agricultural Journal of India*, XIX, 1924, p. 167,

it is to India that the world will shortly have to look for relief from cotton shortage. The hybrids already produced by Mr. Kottur and his colleagues seem to show that it will not look in vain.

In a short essay, these examples must suffice to show the value of hybridisation in the improvement of our crops. Indeed it would seem almost superfluous to support with examples the indisputable value of hybridisation, for nearly all agri-botanical research of fundamental value is now directed towards the improvement of crops by selection and hybridisation. The last report of the Imperial Economic Botanist, Mr. F. J. Shaw, shows that hybridisation experiments on most of the crops discussed were conducted or contemplated.¹ For example, some very encouraging hybrids of oats were obtained by crossing the Scotch Potato oat and two Pusa selections, and, according to Mr. Shaw,² "The good grain and strand quality together with the heavy tillering power of imported varieties have been combined with the earliness and disease-resistance of the Indian parent, and when some of the types are fixed, a very great improvement in oats for Indian soils and climates will be achieved. With tobacco also—on which a great deal of basic research has been published—promising hybridisation experiments are proceeding.

Before concluding, therefore, I need only reiterate that the vital improvements which can be effected by selection and hybridisation would result in the gain of several crores of rupees (Dr. Clouston says "hundreds of crores" through the substitution of "improved" strains, alone), even if those improvements be restricted to the rice, wheat, sugar-cane, cotton, jute and millet crops—the principal crops of the country. Already the monetary gain to India from the planting of selected and hybrid varieties is estimated at nearly eleven crores of rupees per annum.

¹ See, for example Shaw and Khan's study of the types of *Capsicum* and of the Lentil by Bose and himself, published in *Memoirs, Department of Agriculture in India* (Botanical series), XVI, 1928, Nos. 2 and 6 respectively.

² *Scientific Reports, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa*, 1928, pp. 9-23.

And increased prosperity will result in improvements along other directions. Our minor crops will be more thoroughly investigated and cultivated; our cattle improved; our fisheries developed, our industries expanded. But pure research must not be overlooked, for it is on the theories postulated by pure research workers, most of whom are not directly concerned with the economic application of their work, that agriculture and the other applied sciences depend. We are too apt to look only for "practical" and more or less immediate results, and it would be well for us to appreciate the deep significance of Mrs. Howard's warning in her speech at the last Science Congress: "As the years pass (she said) it will be increasingly difficult to maintain the economic work at its present level unless it is stabilised by a school of pure research in the country itself."

Given this appreciation of both pure and applied science, the prospect before us is bright indeed. For, the potential resources of this country are probably second to none, and the labour is here to help in their exploitation. Exploit them properly and it will not be long before India takes her rightful place among the most prosperous nations of the world.

(*Acknowledgments.* I am indebted to my husband, Mr. Cedric Dover for suggesting this subject to me, and for helping me with the literature. Many papers were consulted, but in view of Dr. Howard's splendid work on *Crop Production in India* it was inevitable that it should form basis of this essay. M.H.W.)

MERCIA HEYNES-WOOD

CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL FINANCES

Some Problems discussed.

In view of the Round Table Conference and the impending constitutional changes and also in view of the fact that those changes depend for their successful working upon a satisfactory and equitable re-adjustment of the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments, it is necessary that an examination of the salient and outstanding problems of Indian public finances should be undertaken at this juncture. In such an examination, it is but fitting that the financial proposals of Sir W. Layton, Financial Assessor to the Simon Commission, should be taken into consideration; for not only is Sir Layton a financial expert of no mean repute but he has also brought to bear upon his task in connection with the reorganization of Indian finances a sympathetic outlook and a broad-minded vision. In the first place he had started on the fundamental assumption that India would have a Federal constitution and he has adjusted all his recommendations in such a way that they fit in with the requirements of that form of constitution. There is an unanimous expression of opinion in the country in favour of the assumption that India should have a constitution based on the Federal plan; and it is a thing to be commended in Sir W. Layton that he was able to appreciate this factor about the political evolution of the country. And secondly, proceeding from this basic assumption, he has arrived at the conclusion, with which every one will naturally agree, that in a Federal constitution, the Provinces or the Federating units will have administrative and financial autonomy, that the Central or the Federal Government shall possess only an irreducible minimum of intervening authority in the affairs of the former, and that, so far as the financial relations between the two units of government are concerned, there must be as definite and clear-cut a

demarkation of financial resources and the imposition of corresponding financial obligation upon them, as it is possible to have.

Implications of Provincial Autonomy.

The principle of Provincial autonomy such as the one which is to be introduced into the framework of the future Indian constitution presumes the grant of entire freedom to the provinces to legislate on matters and subjects assigned to them specifically under the constitutional instrument and to raise taxation, on their own initiative, in order to defray their financial requirements. The functions which will be entrusted to the provinces in the constitution will be, from the point of view of past experience and future indications, such that they will prove highly beneficial for the purpose of advancing the material and moral well-being of the mass of the community ; and the consequence of this phenomenon of Provincial autonomy and the division of subjects between the Provincial and the Federal Governments is and will be the limitation to a very considerable extent of the scope and the number of functions which the latter Government would be called upon to undertake responsibility for. And, with such a curtailment in its functions, the need for assigning to the Central Government too many of the elastic sources of revenue like the Customs, Income Tax and others loses its *raison de être* and will become a matter for consideration with a view to their transference to other hands where they are more urgently required. It will at the same time become necessary that the Provinces with several spending departments under them should be placed in possession of resources which will be capable of automatic expansion and of yielding an elastic income. The main principle to be borne in mind in regard to this matter therefore is the well-known and highly equitable one—that the biggest share of the public revenues should be utilized towards the maintenance and furtherance of those services

which go to build up the strength of the nation and advance the welfare of the community as a whole and that expenditure on the Army, the Navy and other departments, the potentialities for injurious effects of which are of comparatively greater volume than the benefits which they of course undoubtedly secure, should be on a scale which is the minimum possible consistent with the requirements of national security. If Indian public expenditure during the last one decade is to be judged from this standpoint it will have to be admitted that the principle adumbrated above has not been kept sufficiently well in mind by the designers of the Indian financial machinery. For while the central Government has been given such elastic sources of revenue as Customs Income-Tax, and the Railways, the Provincial Governments, which have to perform important social services like Education, Public Health, Sanitation, etc., have been entrusted with sources of revenue, which, on account of their inelastic and stationary character, had landed the provinces in great financial straits in the first three years of the post-Reform era and blocked the undertaking and pursuit of all progressive measures by the Provincial ministers.

Evils of "Contributions" and "Doles."

The system of financial distribution between the centre and the provinces as a result of the Meston settlement introducing the novel principle of the Provinces paying contributions to the Central Government must be deemed an exiguous and indefeasible one, producing as it did the two deleterious consequences, firstly, of encumbering the agricultural provinces like Madras, which have necessarily enough to incur considerable expenditure for the improvement of their agricultural population, with an unbearable burden, and secondly, of reducing the industrial provinces like Bombay to a position of financial helplessness owing to their being deprived of the much needed resources for their internal development supplemented by a loss

of income due to the assignment of Income-Tax to the Central Government. It was however fortunate that the system was abandoned by Sir Basil Blackett shortly before he vacated the office of Finance Member of the Government of India, and let us hope that it had been abandoned for good. Equally exiguous and unprincipled are the systems of the Central Government's paying "doles" to the Provincial Governments and of the "divided heads" which were in vogue at different periods in the pre-Reform era. For, for one thing, any financial arrangement in which one unit of government is made to depend upon another for financial support induces a sense of superciliousness and an attitude of fault-finding on the part of the payer and a feeling of subservience and parsimoniousness in incurring expenditure on essentials on the part of the receiver. For another, it will lead, as it has actually led in the past, to the cultivation and development of a feeling of unedifying interprovincial jealousy and wrangling, which, in the peculiar necessities of the Indian situation to-day, would be prejudicial to the growth of a spirit of national harmony and solidarity, so necessary for the successful working of any scheme of Federation. In any scheme of financial readjustment that may be evolved as a result of the constitutional discussions now proceeding, these two unsound formulae will have to be avoided as far as practicable, and a clear definite enunciation of the different heads that should constitute the sources of revenues for the Central and Provincial Governments should be attempted. Hereafter, therefore, the Central and Federal Government will have to deny itself the privilege of holding in its hands all revenue surpluses and of possessing at the same time, unlimited powers of borrowing ; and freedom should be given to the Provinces to develop their financial resources to the full extent of their possibilities and they should have autonomous powers in regard to raising of revenues and spending them and to borrow on their own initiative. The grip which the Central Government and the Secretary of State now possesses over provincial revenues is in reality a

tight one, notwithstanding the separation that had been effected and specially so in view of the fact that Finance is a reserved subject; and this control will have to be completely relaxed, finance should be placed in the hands of a responsible Minister who should take the Legislature into his confidence in every scheme that he proposes and finally the surplus funds lying unproductively in the Central Exchequer should be made available for provincial purposes of a beneficial character by being placed in charge of an independent financial tribunal to be distributed by it to the various provinces on certain well-defined principles.

The Provincial Fund.

There is, however, something savouring of the discredited system of doles from the Central Government in the proposal put forward by Sir Walter Layton that a Provincial Fund should be instituted out of the proceeds of certain indirect taxes to be collected by the Federal or Central Government and to be distributed by it amongst the various Provinces on a *per capita* basis. The arrangement prescribed has been described by him as an essentially Federal ideal calculated to strengthen the bond that is to bind the two branches of Government—the centre and the constituent provinces—together and to keep intact the control of the Central Government in regard to provincial affairs, whenever and wherever such control is needed in the interests of the whole Federation and consistently with the constitutional provisions. It will help also to keep constantly before the Provinces the vision of the Central Government as the embodiment of the principle of common nationality and commonness of ideals and interests, which animate the various provinces that integrate themselves into the Federation. As such there is perhaps a good deal to recommend it in the scheme as expounded by Sir W. Layton; but there is scope for entertaining the apprehension that in the practical working of it there may crop up difficulties and defects resulting in an unequal distribution

of the Fund amongst the different provincial units. For example, an industrially progressive and advanced province like Bombay with a big population will be in a far more favourable position and will receive a far bigger proportion of the fund than an agricultural province like Madras or a backward and comparatively undeveloped province like Bihar and Orissa, the financial position of which cannot at any time be said to be adequate or satisfactory. Again, a province like Bengal with a dense population and which further precluded from developing its revenue resources to the full extent of its capacity owing to the existence therein of a peculiar, out-of-date, and antiquated system of revenue settlement, will be in a position much better off than a province like the Punjab or Madras with an impoverished agricultural population already taxed to its maximum capacity.

The Provincial Fund may be characterised as the crux of the financial proposals of Sir Walter Layton, whose concern for placing the Provincial Governments in possession of funds necessary for development programmes to be put into operation by them is so genuine and undisguised, that he felt himself called upon to recommend that not only should expanding sources of revenue be placed under the control of the Provincial Governments but that they should be further benefited by being participants in the proceeds of the Provincial Fund, which is to be fed by indirect taxes like an excise duty on matches and cigarettes, the terminal tax and also the salt tax, if it is found necessary, and which is to be used exclusively for Provincial purposes though collected by the Central Government. The taxes recommended may not all be either very productive or justified from the point of view of the ability of the people to bear them ; but since they are to be spent exclusively for provincial developmental and native building purposes, since they are to be spent only on the recommendation of the representatives of the Provincial Legislatures, and since the Government of India are not to have any initiative or discretion

in the matter of apportioning it, it may be said that the objection on these scores will not have much force. It is also to be provided that all surpluses accumulating with the Federal or Central Government hereafter as a result of economies in central expenditure or expansion of revenue should be thrown into the Fund, so as to be available for nation-building services.

Defects and Remedies.

The idea of a Provincial Fund is undoubtedly an original one and intended to obviate the drawbacks incidental to the system of doles on the one hand and the system of Provincial contributions on the other ; for which the procedure suggested for its administration reduces the necessity for the intervention of the Government of India to the barest minimum, the method suggested for its distribution according to a *per capita* basis may be considered a compromise between the two principles, distribution according to population and needs, and as obviating an attitude of jealousy and constant wrangling between Province and Province. One fundamental point will have to be remembered in this connection and that is that when Sir W. Layton made his proposal for the Provincial Fund, he was relying absolutely upon the constitutional recommendations of the Simon Commission and considered their scheme of the Central Legislature indirectly elected and of an irresponsible Central Executive as being sacrosanct. But events in the constitutional world have moved fast since the Commission made its Report and it is now generally admitted that partly at least the Lower House of the Central Legislature should be wholly elected, secondly that central responsibility should be a fundamental feature of the constitution and thirdly that Federation, which was only a distant visionary ideal for the Simon Commission, should be the form which the constitution should take. As such the procedure prescribed for the distribution of the Fund cannot be accounted final but is subject to modification in the light of the constitutional changes that will emerge as a result of the deliberations of the Round

Table Conference. And in so far as these changes are most likely to be of the nature outlined just before and also in view of the consideration that full and undiluted provincial autonomy will also be a most probable part of those changes it has to be stated that the fund should be distributed in accordance with the decisions of a body fully representative of the various interests concerned and that the Finance Minister of the Federal Government should be the presiding officer over that body. The main principles of distribution may be settled by the Federal Legislature, because if the Native States also come into the Federation, as very certainly they will, their interests also will have to be safeguarded, which can be achieved if the Central Legislature has a voice. It may also be provided if necessary that the proposals adopted by the Inter-Provincial Provincial Fund Commission, as the body which is concerned with the administration of the Fund may be designated, should be submitted to a joint sitting of the Houses of the Legislature for approval. There can be no danger of that body coming into conflict with the commission referred to, because as much as the latter, and perhaps to a greater extent than the latter, the former also will be composed of representatives of the Provinces as political units and as population divisions, they being represented in the former capacity in the Upper House of the Legislature and in the latter capacity in the Lower House.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee postulated in the course of its Report that it is not possible to discover an ideal system for the division of the tax resources between the Central and the Provincial Governments, but it had, at the same time, pointed out that "a system of separation of resources is decidedly the best, if a scheme can be discovered under which the allotment of certain resources to the Imperial and certain others to the State Governments, gives each a revenue adequate to its needs and at the same time effects a fair division between the States." The award of the Financial Relations Committee, which constitutes the basis for the present distribution of Central and

Provincial revenues, had not worked satisfactorily in actual practice, because, firstly, it placed almost every expendable and expanding source of revenue in the hands of the Central Government, while it entrusted to the Provincial Governments all stationary sources of income, secondly, it benefited the agricultural provinces at the expense of the industrial provinces and thirdly, it attempted to affect a financial 'clear-cut,' which was in contradiction to the course of development of the Indian financial relations in vogue till then judged on its own merits; also the scheme pressed heavily even on agricultural provinces, which had to undertake several ameliorative schemes for the benefits of their agricultural population, but had been forced to hold their hand, because of their inability to realise the anticipated accentuation in their revenues, on account of the already existing heavy encumbrances on the cultivators, who had further to experience a series of bad seasons.

The Indian Central Committee also recommended a division of financial resources between the two spheres of Government as an essential *sine quâ non* of the constitutional evolution of the country along Federal lines; and the principle had been accepted by Mr. Layton himself as being absolutely sound in theory. There are, however, practical difficulties in the way of the adoption of a policy of absolute 'clear-cut' in view of the varying sizes of the provinces, their varying needs and the different problems all of which render such a policy more a hindrance and obstruction than an aid and a source of strength to the Provinces. The disproportionate and an equal degree of development of the Provinces, their differing agricultural and industrial need, some provinces being mainly agricultural and others mainly industrial, their diverse necessities—there are all hard facts, which make for the interference of the Central Government to maintain the balance and adjust the inequalities. The only practicable proposition under the circumstances is to devise a means whereby the Central Government's interference in Provincial affairs can be conveniently reduced to a minimum and whereby the

surpluses accruing to the credit of that Government may be diverted to provincial purposes. For this purpose, the scheme of a Provincial Fund, discussed above, is best suited and, as stated already, full approval should be accorded to the principle underlying it.

*Central Government's Sources of Revenue :
the Railways.*

It may now be appropriate to consider what heads of revenue will be enough to meet the requirements of the Central Government and what heads can with profit and advantage be transferred to the Provincial Governments. By far one of the most important sources of revenue for the Central Government is its control over the means of communication and transport—which control bids fair to be all-embracing in course of time in view of the policy of the state-ownership of Railways now being vigorously followed by the Government of India. The Indian Railways even under the present conditions of partial transference to state management have been able to bring in a steadily increasing contribution to the Indian Exchequer, rising as it did from 1·22 crores in 1922-23 to 6·44 crores in 1923-24 in which year the separation between Railways and General budgets was effected and it had remained steady ever since. There is infinite and ever-increasing scope for the Railways to expand both intensively and extensively, and with every extension in their mileage and with every fresh transfer of lines from company to state management, there will be an increase in the income to be got from them and a corresponding increment in the contribution to be made by them to the general revenues. The Railways will have, however, to take up in right earnest the work of the improvement of third class passengers and of reducing the rates and freight charges and a substantial proportion of their increased earnings will have no doubt to be utilized by them for bringing about the very urgent and necessary reforms in both those matters. But it is permissible to observe that, even after

incurring the expenditure on and satisfying the demands referred to, the Railways, if effectively and carefully managed, will be able to bring in a contribution of considerable size to the general exchequer. Sir F. Layton does not lay much store by this head of revenue, but his apprehensions about its unproductivity, will, it is to be hoped, be falsified by future events.

The Customs Revenue.

The second important source of revenue to the Central Government is the customs duties, the authority for levying which places in the hands of that Government a financial weapon, the potentialities for widening and expanding the scope of which is almost limitless, provided the Government of India follows a strictly national policy in regard to the protection of infant indigenous industries and ceases to entertain a tender conscience for sentimental shibboleths like Empire Preference and Empire Free Trade. A policy calculated to strengthen the position of Indian industries combined with a policy of securing as large an amount of revenue as possible by the taxation of import of foreign articles of consumption and the simultaneous development of a home market by taking vigorous steps to improve the purchasing power of the masses, will go a long way towards serving the double object of increasing the revenue from customs as well as improving the economic condition of the country as a whole. As Sir Walter Layton points out, India has to look forward to the customs duties as mean for securing a larger and increased income to meet the expanding expenditure on nation-building services and that in fact "the key to the situation" is clearly to be found in them alone. According to Mr. Layton's estimate, the customs revenue will expand at the rate of 3-4 crore a year ; and this, together with the economies in the military department and other reforms that are indicated below, will be sufficient not only to balance the Central Government's budget but also leave in its hands a substantial surplus to be allocated to the Provincial Fund for distribution amongst the

Provinces. But this anticipated increase in the revenue from customs is, of course, dependent upon a number of extraneous factors like good monsoons, the peaceful settlement of India's political troubles, the much-wished for reduction in military expenditure and the expansion of foreign trade; and any circumstance which interferes with this progressive increase will impede the growth and result in a set back. However, the phenomenal growth of the foreign trade of India which rose from Rs. 120 crores in 1923-24 to Rs. 190 crores in 1928-29 and, along with it, the corresponding growth of the customs revenue from 39·70 crores in 1923-24 to 53·14 crores in 1930-31, or on the basis of fixation in the previous year to 49·30 crores, gives encouragement to the optimistic forecast that, given normal conditions, it will expand at the pace above-mentioned.

Income Tax.

The Income Tax is a source of revenue to the Central Government which has not been sufficiently tapped till now, but which, if handled carefully, is capable of yielding considerably larger income than it does at present. This form of tax is the backbone of all financial systems of the modern times in Western countries and it is so because, first, it is a direct tax and all direct taxes are recommended as suitable from all points of view by financial theorists; secondly, it is a tax which lends itself to the introduction into it of an element of progression and progression results in a proper adjustment of the burden of the tax, so that the share of his income which each individual has to render to the state is in proportion to his ability; and thirdly, it has been universally acknowledged as a tax which can best minimize the inequalities inherent in the present system of the distribution of economic power and wealth amongst the different classes of people. In spite of the many favourable points it possesses in order to recommend it to the attention of Finance Ministers, it is sad to note, as Sir Walter Layton did in his Report, that the principal features of the Indian financial system are the small

yield from Income Tax and the total absence of wealth duties, which are merely an offshoot of the Income Tax along with the Super Tax and the Succession duties; and he considers that this latter along with the low rates of Income Tax and the high exemption limits of taxable minimum, are responsible for the almost stationary nature of the revenue from this source. It is a tax which, if it is to play its part in the financial system of British India, should be adjusted so as to depend upon the ability of individuals to pay, which means, in Sir W. Layton's words, that "as large a proportion of the additional burden as possible should be placed upon the richer classes by means of direct taxation." The necessary reforms in this connection are (1) the lowering of the exemption limit which at present stands at Rs. 2,000 for Income Tax and Rs. 50,000 for Super Tax, (2) the steepening of the progression of the rate of Income Tax for incomes between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 1,00,000, and (3) the inclusion with the schedule taxable of incomes the income earned by foreigners in India and the income earned by people living in this country from investments abroad. If, in addition to this, some more effective control than at present is introduced in the collection of the tax so that evasion is reduced to a minimum, the yield from this source will certainly show a considerable increase.

While on the question of Income Tax, it is essential to take into consideration one point of importance on the side of the administration of the Income Tax, *i.e.*, whether the tax should be a Central or a Provincial source of revenue or whether it should be a divided head. From the point of view of convenience of collection and uniformity in the rates of taxation, there is everything to recommend it as a central head of revenue; but the peculiar circumstances of the Indian situation are such that under an arrangement such as this, some industrially advanced provinces like Bengal and Bombay, which cannot expect to secure an increased income from agricultural sources and whose principal salvation consists in being able to

tax the industrial income, will be hard hit. It is, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme whereby, while the industrial provinces are enabled to secure their due share of the revenue from taxation of incomes within their borders, the central Government is not denuded of the funds necessary for it for balancing its budgets. There are obvious difficulties in the way of a total transfer of Income Tax to the Provinces and equally obvious advantages in allowing it a central head of revenue, at least so far as the work of collection is concerned, for even if there is justice and equity in that province enjoying the proceeds of the tax collected within its own borders, practical considerations necessitate the imposition and allocation of the tax-revenue to the Central Government. The Taxation Enquiry Committee recommended the total transfer of Income Tax proceeds to the Provinces; but Sir W. Layton has proposed a plan which, in essence, will amount to a compromise between the two extreme viewpoints and ought to be acceptable to the parties concerned. His proposal is to assign to the Provinces one half of the proceeds of the Income Tax paid by residents of a province on all incomes wherever earned together with an additional compensation in the shape of giving them a right of levying a surcharge on the income tax collected on the incomes of residents within the province. This method of distribution serves a three-fold purpose: it gives the industrial provinces a share of the proceeds of taxation on industrial incomes; it enables the agricultural provinces to adjust the inequalities on taxation between urban and rural areas; and it places in the hands of the Central Government adequate funds to adjust its income and expenditure during the transition period. It is estimated that the provinces will be benefited to the extent of Rs. 4½ crores by this arrangement, and, if the reforms referred to above are brought into effect, the benefit to them will be still larger. Sir W. Layton has set his face against the division of the proceeds of the super tax at present, but has recommended the change to take effect ten years hence,

by which time, the Central Government would have finally attained a position of stability. If, however, the income from the super tax are also to be distributed, the benefit to the provinces will be further enhanced, while at the same time, it may be noted that the administrative difficulties noticed in the case of Income Tax are not equally potent so far as the super tax is concerned—a factor which renders its transfer easier of achievement.

Other Central Sources of Revenue.

Commercial Stamps.—A further source of Revenue which Sir W. Layton would place in the hands of the Central Government is commercial stamps as distinct from general stamps. Both from the administrative and the financial standpoints, such a change is justified: for, so far as the first is concerned, the growing importance and volume of commercial transactions on an all-India basis make it imperative that uniformity should be maintained in the fees levied for commercial contracts affecting various provinces and so far as the second is concerned, the sacrifice, which the Government of India has been called upon to make, when it accepted the international convention to restrict the import and consumption of opium to a minimum and to strictly medicinal purposes and consequently agreed to a gradual elimination of revenue from that source, will have to be made good, for which purpose the separation of commercial from general stamps and the transfer of the former to the Central Government is best suited.

Salt Tax.—Sir Walter Layton has not recommended the abolition of the Salt Tax, which had been made the object of attack by Gandhiji in his latest Satyagraha Campaign; but while proposing its continuance, he has recommended the throwing in of its proceeds into the Provincial Fund, some time hence, when the finance of the Central Government permit of such a change. It is true that, in a discussion of financial questions, the main point of consideration should be finance

alone and not sentiment ; and, from the strict financial point of view, it may not be possible to abolish the Salt Tax, which has been bringing in a revenue of Rs. 7 crores annually to the central exchequer, altogether. But it must be possible for the rate of the tax to be reduced to 8 annas a maund, to continue it at that rate for a fixed period of time before which the Government should effect the necessary economies in other directions, and after that, to abolish it altogether, with liberty to revive it whenever any emergency arises.

Profits of the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves.—The Central Government can also desire a substantial income from another source, *i.e.*, the transfer of the Paper Currency and Gold standard revenues from London to India and the investment of their funds in Government Securities—a measure, which according to Prof. K. T. Shah's estimate (*vide* "Sixty Years of Indian Finance by Prof. K. T. Shah) will yield a total annual income of between Rs. 4 to 5 crores. This transfer involves, of course, certain charges on the constitutional side ; it necessitates the reduction of the Secretary of State for India's control of and superintendence over, Indian finances, the abolition of his right to invest the moneys in British securities and the divesting of his responsibility as well as the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain and 'manipulate' the exchange value of the Rupee. It also necessitates the establishment of a Central Reserve Bank for India, which will take up the work of keeping the Government's balances and managing the Indian Currency. Though, from his strict adherence to the constitutional scheme recommended by the Simon Commission and from the fact of his basing all his proposals to suit that scheme, Sir Walter Layton could not propose this change nor discuss the proposal on its merits, still it is a very highly desirable and useful one in view of the benefits it is capable of conferring from the larger national standpoint.

THE LONG ROAD

The long road lures me to its listless length,
No more with my books can I idly sit;
It calls me with irresistible strength
To its far-off end dim with shadowed sweet.

I stand by the wayside and look before
With half-shut eyes and forward slowly wend,
And trudge,—the vistas glimmer more and more,—
The unknown calls me from its other end.

The unknown calls me from its other end;
I know not what dwells in that far-off land—
Death, Hope, Beauty, Cherub, or what sweet friend,
I know not,—but 'tis some mysterious hand.

I trudge and trudge; now pause in pensive dream,
Some full-blown music on my ears doth roll;
And then forward move to its distance dim,
And towards its glory-glimmering goal.

I onward move and find me quite estranged
From all that's worldly and its thousand ties;
My mind is now to melancholy changed,
And finds the road in slumbrous stillness lies.

I love the lonely—the loneliest road,
The long long road leaning to the far-off west.
Winding through tree-fringed fields with harvest's load,
Stepping down the hill in some treasure's quest.

I trudge and trudge and trudge the whole day long,
I hear all round some accents clearly sweet
Of a wild crowd, of some invisible throng;—
I hear the pattering of unseen feet.

I hear the pattering of tireless feet
On the long lone road running on and on,—
They beckon—those footsteps feverish fleet,
As stars beckon the stars when night is done.

With half-shut dreamy eyes I walk alone,
The clouds trail by on shifting snow-white sails;
The cool light mellows, and the low winds moan,
And wild winds whisper weird and woeful tales.

I love the road : I love its strong fresh breeze,
Its shining summer light, and night-wind's gust,
Its moonbeams, and the dark luxuriant trees,
Its silence, and its yellow mica dust.

How sweet with wind-fanned footsteps tired yet strong
On this lonely road thus ever to roam ;
To wearied hearts like some dolorous song
It gives some idea of my distant Home.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

KISSORY CHAND MITTRA ¹

Kissory Chand Mittra, the fifth and youngest son of Babu Ram Narain Mittra, was born on the 26th. May, 1822, at the ancestral house in Calcutta, No. 20 Nimtala Ghat Street. In his boyhood he was placed under a *guru mohasaya* in the *path-sala* of his house and, in accordance with the prevailing custom, he was for sometimes placed in charge of a *Munshi* for a knowledge of *Urdu* which was then the Court language of Bengal. At about this period there was a free English School at Babu Ram Narain's house conducted by his fourth son, Babu Pearychand, then an advanced student of the Hindoo College.² Kissory Chand learnt the elements of English in this school; and as personages like David Hare, H. L. V. Derozio and other European and Indian promoters of education at times called at the school to inspect it, he was brought to their notice and Mr. Hare pressed the father to send the lad to his *own* school, Calcutta School Society's English School. Macaulay's famous Minutes promulgated at about that time (7th. March, 1835) gave a great impetus to English education. David Hare was highly satisfied with young Kissory Chand and promoted him to the Hindoo College where he made such a rapid progress that he soon surpassed his seniors and distinguished himself by winning several valuable prizes every year. At one of the Annual Examinations held at the Government House, Kissory Chand's essay was read

¹ I owe much to the co-operation and indefatigable industry of Babu Sukhendralal Mittra, a worthy relative of the late Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, who has assisted me in writing the present paper and also the one on the late Babu Peary Chand Mittra which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* before. Babu Kissory Chand, like his talented brother, Babu Peary Chand, was a lavish, willing and powerful contributor to the *Calcutta Review* to the hospitality of whose columns I am indebted for placing before the latter-day public a short story of his life.

² In a paper called *Education in Bengal* Babu Peary Chand wrote thus :—"One of the effects of the English education was the awakening of a desire on the parts of the students (of the Hindoo College) to establish free schools for poor students. Saroda Prosad Bose and I had morning schools at our houses."

by the Right Reverend Doctor Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. On another occasion, at the Prize Distribution of the College, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, awarded him the first prize. We quote the following extract from a newspaper of the day :—" One of the boys of the First Class (Kissory Chand Mittra) was then called upon to read an essay entitled,—*Travels and enterprises considered with regard to Hindoos*,—which he had been summoned to compose at a time when he was perfectly unprepared for it, and no assistance had been afforded to him from books, etc. He wrote it in the presence of Doctor (T. A.) Wise, the Secretary (to the General Committee of Public Instruction). It was a very creditable production and we are happy to see the infamous system of the Dharma Sabha touched upon. It was styled a diabolical system, the suppression of which reflected great credit on those who had done so. The same young man had answered in writing several questions from Grecian, English, Indian and Scotch histories. They also reflected great credit to the student. Lord Auckland awarded him the first prize which consisted of some dozen of books of great value."

In the Report of the Council of Education for 1842, we find the following under the heading of the *Report of the Annual Examinations* :—

" The order assigned to the boys of the First Class for knowledge obtained from reading the Library-books was as follows :—

- (1) Gopal Kissen Ghose.
- (2) Bholanath Chandra.
- (3) Mohes Chandra Dutta.
- (4) Bissu Nath Sing.
- (5) Sevoo Persad Ghose.
- (6) Kissen Chandra Mittra.
- (7) Joy Gopal Set.
- (8) Madhub Chandra Ghose.
- (9) Kally Kissen Mittra."

It is difficult to say if the name of the sixth student is a misprint for Kissory Chand's name, because, in the Library-class of the Hindoo College, students used to read even for three or four years to acquire a knowledge of literature.

The names of two teachers of the Hindoo College will be ever associated in its annals ; one a young Eurasian, Henry Lowis Vivian Derozio, and the other Captain David Lester Richardson. Derozio died when Kissory Chand was young, but he read under D. L. R., and had a high regard for both of them throughout his life.

In 1830 Rev. Alexander Duff came to Calcutta to found a college in Bengal to be conducted on thoroughly Christian principles. He founded the General Assembly's Institution in that year and in 1844 the Free Church Institution. Kissory Chand found a powerful friend and patron in Doctor Duff and used to call on him regularly to read English Classics under him. When the Free Church Institution was opened he taught the boys of the Institution gratuitously for several months. Kissory Chand was also at about this time connected with another educational institution. There was a school at Simla, Calcutta, patronised by Sir Edward Ryan. He used to take a leading part in its management and also to instruct the boys.

The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was formed in March, 1838, with David Hare as Honorary Visitor, Babu Tarachand Chuckerbutty as President and Babus Ramtonu Lahiri and Peary Chand Mittra as Honorary Secretaries. Kissory Chand used to take an active part in it. Of his addresses on *Truth* and on the *Present condition and future prospects of the educated Natives*, delivered while an advanced student of the Hindoo College, the Society in its Report remarked "that they exhibit much talent."

After the death of David Hare a public "testimonial" meeting was held on the 17th. June, 1842, on which occasion Kissory Chand, in moving a resolution, delivered a speech. This was perhaps his debut.

The Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society was inaugurated on the 10th. February, 1843, for the promotion of the moral and religious status of the Bengalis. At the inaugural meeting Kissory Chand delivered a speech. The Society published a volume of its discourses in 1844, which contained, among others, papers read by Kissory Chand. In the *Return of the names and writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali literature* written by the Reverend James Long we find the following :—

(Author) Kissory Chand Mittra, Magistrate of Calcutta. (Books)—(1) *Discourses of God's wisdom, power and goodness* and (2) *The Hymns of Raja Rammohun Roy edited with a preface*. The first paper was read at a meeting of the Hindoo Theophilanthropic Society and both the papers were perhaps among the tracts which the Society issued at times. It is to be regretted that besides these Kissory Chand did not attempt to write any more in the Bengali language; but he had always the object at heart.

When the Bengal British India Society was formed in April, 1843, Kissory Chand was one of its active Members. From the proceedings of meetings which appeared in the newspapers, we find Kissory Chand joining in the discussions that followed the lectures. Of these we gather the following :—

4th. May, 1843—Constitution of the Society,

4th. April, 1844—Dram drinking.

22nd. January, 1845—Female education.

18th. February, 1845—Polygamy.

On the 18th. April, 1843, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall to present an address to Mr. James Sullivan expressing the gratitude of the Indians for his advocating, at the Court of Proprietors' Meeting, the substitution of the Indian for European agency in the civil administration of the country. Kissory Chand, in seconding a resolution, delivered a speech.

At the first anniversary of the death of David Hare, at the instance of Kissory Chand, a meeting was held at his ancestral

house on the 1st. June, 1843, and a Committee was formed with Kissory Chand as its Secretary to arrange for holding such meetings annually. At the next meeting held on 1st. June, 1844, a fund—Hare Prize Fund—was started to grant “premiums” for best essays in the Bengali language to be chosen by the Board of Trustees of which Kissory Chand was nominated the Secretary.

The students of the Hindoo College conducted two periodicals,—*Gnananeshan* (search after knowledge) from 18th. June, 1831 to January, 1840 and the *Bengal Spectator* from April, 1842 to 20th. November, 1843. Kissory Chand was a regular contributor to both the papers.

A public meeting was held on the 25th. November, 1844, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lord Hardinge for his “passing” Minutes of 10th. October, 1844. In seconding a resolution Kissory Chand delivered a speech.

Kissory Chand, at about this time, began to accompany Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, an intimate friend of his brother, Babu Peary Chand, transferred to Alipur in 1844, as Principal Sudder Amin, to acquire an insight into the judicial administration of Courts. He also connected himself with the “Bengal Hurkaru” as one of its paid contributors.

Having a literary turn of mind he wrote an article on Raja Rammohun Roy in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1845). The leading newspapers of the day, e.g., the *Friend of India*, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, etc., reviewed it favourably.

While Kissory Chand was thus engaged Mr. Henry Torrens, the Vice-President and Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society, requested Babu Peary Chand to recommend a competent person for the post of Librarian and Assistant Secretary to the Society which would shortly be created. Babu Peary Chand recommended his brother who was accordingly appointed in March, 1846.

The article—Rammohun Roy—the first biography in the English language written by his countryman was so well written

that its perusal powerfully impressed the mind of Mr. F. J. Halliday (afterwards Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal), then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, who sent for Kissory Chand's no-less renowned brother, Babu Peary Chand, and offered through him a post of Deputy Magistrate, an appointment which in those days was not so plentiful as now-a-days and which carried an initial pay of Rs. 350 per month—an emolument almost equal to that of a Covenanted Member of the Civil Service on his first entrance into official life. He joined the service at Rampur Boalia in Rajshahi, on the 1st. April, 1846. *The Bengal Hurkaru* wrote thus:—"We are glad to hear that Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, the Sub-Librarian of the Asiatic Society, has been appointed a Deputy Magistrate in Rajshahi. The Baboo is a zemindar and a man of some property and has, it is said, been induced to accept the situation from other than pecuniary consideration."

The Committee of the Asiatic Society granted him leave of absence and after his resignation Babu Rajendra Lall Mitter (afterwards Raja Rajendralala Mitra) was appointed to the post.

Kissory Chand while faithfully serving the Government devoted his spare time for the good of the locality, and so, although an official by position, he became the virtual leader of the community. His first act was to join the local Committee of Education at Rampur Boalia. A debating club—the Friendly Club—formed at his instance was started in February, 1848, to discuss the problems of the day. He then influenced Babu Lokenath Maitra to establish an Anglo-Vernacular School in 1848 at Boalia (*Sambad Probhakar*, 27th. June, 1848, 17th. *Ashar*, 1255) and acted as its Honorary Secretary.

On the 28th. October, 1848, he was placed in charge of the Sub-division of Natore with the full power of a Magistrate.

A public meeting was held on the 22nd. January, 1849, at Kissory Chand's house to consider the question of opening a charitable dispensary at Natore. In moving the first resolution he

delivered a speech, and a Committee was formed. Kissory Chand was nominated the Honorary Secretary to the Committee.

An English School was inaugurated by Kissory Chand on the 1st. July, 1849, at Natore. He took a lively interest in the School; in fact he used to pay all expenses for maintaining it.

The First Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at his house on the 17th January, 1850, when the Secretary read the Report after a short speech. Doctor J. R. Bedford, the Civil Surgeon present at the meeting, pointed out the institutions founded by Kissory Chand and compared him with the "Man of Ross."

The Second Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Lokenath School was held on the 25th. June, 1850, when Kissory Chand, the Secretary, read the report, the most interesting portion of which was the formation of a section for teaching the girls of the locality.

In 1850 Kissory Chand laid a proposal for preparing a metalled road from Dighapatia to Rampur Boalia before the Ferry Fund Committee. He also influenced Babu (afterwards Raja) Prosonno Nauth Roy to pay the expenses who accordingly offered on the 26th. June, 1850, the necessary amount.

The First Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Natore School was held at Kissory Chand's house on the 8th. July, 1850. Kissory Chand, the Secretary, delivered a long speech.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at his place on the 21st. April, 1851, when a letter from Doctor J. R. Bedford was read. We give an extract from it:—"you (Kissory Chand) have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindoostan and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand."

The Second Annual Examination and Distribution of Prizes of the Natore School was held at his house on the 18th. August,

1851, with Doctor Bedford in the chair. The President delivered an address concluding thus :—"With Babu Kissory Chand Mittra's exertions you are all well-acquainted. To him you are indebted for your school and hospital, two most important institutions to a community's welfare,—the first to form the mind and raise it above sensual pleasures, the last to preserve life or cheer, if I may so express it, to the bed of death. I am sure you well understand me in saying that I feel more than I can speak of this gentleman's exertions to the good of this town in which his duties happily for itself lie. In reference to them and in conclusion to these few and imperfect observations I cannot do better than paraphrase our English bard and say :—

Who bade your school and hospital to rise
Kissory Chand each lisping baby replies.

A public meeting was held on the 24th. January, 1852, with Kissory Chand in the chair when Prosonno Nauth Academy was inaugurated. The President in moving the first resolution delivered an appreciative speech. The Natore School founded by him was subsequently amalgamated with this institution.

A general meeting of the residents of Natore was held at Kissory Chand's place on the 7th. April, 1852, to consider the desirability of putting into force Act XXVI. of 1850 (Muffosil Conservancy Act). Kissory Chand delivered an address.

The Third Annual Meeting of the Natore Charitable Dispensary was held at Kissory Chand's place on the 8th. April, 1852, when Kissory Chand, the Secretary, read the Report after a speech.

Kissory Chand also influenced the local zemindars to excavate tanks and *dighis* and to hold occasional fairs or *melas* of indigenous goods.

In about November, 1851, the Government decided to appoint an Indian in the Calcutta Magistracy. There were several suggestions, and one of the newspapers of the day wrote as follows :—"Considering that the Deputy Magistrates are

promoted only once and for ever it is due to them and one from among them and that the most meritorious should be translated to the Calcutta Magistracy. If the recorded opinions of the Superintendents of Police could guide the selection, the prize would no doubt fall to the lot of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, whose Muffosil experience and length of service added to the suave and conciliatory manner point him out from among the Uncovenanted Magistrates as the most eligible for the new office." But Kissory Chand was passed over and Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose was appointed in February, 1852.

On the 15th. June, 1852, Kissory Chand was transferred to the Subdivision of Jehanabad now Arambagh (my home Subdivision) in the Hooghly District. As at Natore here also he won the golden opinion of his official superiors ; but, although he distinguished himself as an intelligent and conscientious officer, he had not the same opportunity as in Rajshahi to carry out the measures of reform and improvement of the locality.

A general meeting of residents of Ghatal and the neighbourhood was held with Kissory Chand in the chair on the 30th. September, 1853, for considering the feasibility of establishing a charitable dispensary. The Chairman moved the first resolution with a persuasive speech. A Committee was formed including Kissory Chand's name as a Member. He was also appointed the Honorary Secretary to the institution. The Dispensary was opened but with Kissory Chand's departure its existence came to an end.

An English School was opened at the instance of Kissory Chand at the beginning of 1853.

As the road between Jehanabad and Dipa was in a dilapidated condition Kissory Chand raised the question in February, 1853, before the Ferry Fund Committee and got a metalled road constructed.

At a meeting of the School Committee held on the 2nd. March, 1853, Kissory Chand proposed to affiliate a public Library for the benefit of the locality. He also remarked that

Babu Joy Kissen Mookerjee of Utterpara and Babu Peary Chand Mittra of Calcutta would assist in presenting books, etc., to the proposed Library.

In 1854 Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, the Junior Presidency Magistrate, was appointed a Judge of the Small Causes Court in consequence of the death of Babu Rosomoy Dutt and Kissory Chand was appointed on the 14th. June of that year to the post. The *Friend of India* wrote thus;—"The *Englishman* reports that Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, Deputy Magistrate of Jehanabad, has been appointed Junior Presidency Magistrate. He is said to have been an active and energetic Magistrate." But, as he was rather junior in service, his promotion unfortunately excited jealousy amongst his brother officers and Barrister candidates too.

On his arrival in Calcutta Kissory Chand at first took up his residence at a garden house at Cossipore on the river-side ; but afterwards purchased a garden house, No. 1 Dum Dum Road and removed there on the 17th. June, 1855. Here he used to invite his friends, Europeans and Indians, to sumptuous dinners. In the life of his friend, Babu Roma Prosad Roy, which appeared in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, the author writes :—" Mr. Kissory Chand Mittra, who was a constant guest at the great man's (R.'s) table wrote in the *Indian Field* of those days that, though not convivial himself, Roma Prosad liked conviviality in others." This, we may say, also applies somewhat to the case of Kissory Chand himself.

At Cossipore he at once felt the want of an academic institution and the Paikpara English School was started on the 16th. October, 1854, chiefly through the instrumentality of Kissory Chand and Kumar Kali Krishna Roy.

Kissory Chand also worked for some time as a Member of the Managing Committee of the Hindoo Metropolitan Collège.

In 1852, while Kissory Chand was at Jehanabad, he purchased a share of the Calcutta Public Library and became a *Proprietor* thereof. On his arrival in Calcutta he used to read regularly

the books and magazines of the Library. He also used to take a lively interest in the General Meetings of the Library.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the Asiatic Society on the 1st. November, 1854.

The Society for the Promotion of Indian Arts was formed in April, 1854 and the School of Industrial Arts was opened on the 14th. August of that year. At a meeting of the Society held on the 8th February, 1855, Kissory Chand was elected a Member. At the General Meeting of the Society held on the 9th. May of the next year, an Executive Committee was formed which included Kissory Chand's name. From the *New Calcutta Directory* for 1856 compiled by A. G. Roussac (published by the Military Orphan Press) we find that besides the Society for the Promotion of Indian Arts, another association, *Society of Arts and Sciences in Bengal*, was formed "to give an impulse and systematic direction to artistic and scientific practice and enquiry." The members of the Committee were Lt.-Col. H. Goodwin, Raja Protap Chunder Sing Bahadur, Babus Ramgopaul Ghose, Kissory Chand Mittra and Joy Krishna Mookherjee.

The Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement was formed at Kissory Chand's Cossipore house. The inaugural meeting was held on the 16th. December, 1854, with Babu Debendra Nath Tagore in the chair, when Kissory Chand delivered an appreciative address. Babu Debendra Nath Tagore was elected President and Babus Kissory Chand Mittra and Aukshoy Coomar Dutt were Honorary Secretaries. Under the auspices of the Association Kissory Chand maintained a free girls' school at his Paikpara residence. The Association submitted a petition to the Government in 1855 for the suppression of polygamy. Subsequently when Pundit Issur Chunder Vidyasagar presented on the 19th. March, 1866, a similar petition, Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor, in his reply alluded to the petition submitted before. When the Hindu Widow Remarriage Bill (Act XV. of 1856) was introduced in the Legislative Council on the 17th.

November, 1855, the Members of the Association submitted a petition on the 7th. February, 1856, supporting the Bill.

The first widow marriage after the enactment of the Act took place on the 7th. December, 1866, which was supported by Kissory Chand by his presence. In fact Pundit Vidyasagar, Babus Ram Gopaul Ghose and Kissory Chand Mittra were the only persons, besides the members of the family, present in the hall where the ceremony took place.

The Second Annual General Meeting of the Association took place on the 27th. January, 1857, on which occasion Kissory Chand delivered a lecture. At the meeting Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra proposed a vote of thanks to Kissory Chand for his exertions during the period. The Association during the year discussed widow marriage, female education, suppression of polygamy, social condition of the depressed classes, hook-swinging on the *Charak puja* festival, *antorjoli* or as they called it, *ghat-murder*, etc.

Kissory Chand was nominated a Member of the Native Committee of the District Charitable Society in 1854 which post he held up to 1863.

Kissory Chand was a man of independent spirit. Determined to do what is right he did not care to please his superiors by cringing servility and adulation. We have noticed that some of his brother officers were jealous of his appointment. Kissory Chand had not only to contend with them, but also against some members of the European community who proposed a Barrister-Magistrate with more legal knowledge. But there were honest and conscientious persons among both the communities who once thought of holding a public meeting in order to thank the Government for the selection of a right person and to express their confidence in Kissory Chand. We quote the following from a newspaper of the day :—"The *Citizen* stated that a plot has been hatched against our Junior Magistrate, Roy Kissory Chand Mittra. We believed that the story against him was senseless and unmeaning and would soon die out, but our

contemporary assures us that the *Englishman* has raised it with an object. The post of Junior Magistrate and our contemporary might have added the Chief Magistrate are said to be wanted for Barristers ; and *ergo* the present incumbents must make room for them. Roy Kissory Chand Mittra may have his faults, who has not—and we have had occasion to comment on his decisions freely and to award to them censure or praise as they appeared to merit. He has not, we admit, received a scientific legal education and his not fully complying with technical requirements may be sometimes complained of, but we have no hesitation in saying that he makes up his deficiency in this respect by his talent and tact, his experience and his intimate acquaintance with the character and customs of the Natives who chiefly compose his division and to whom he renders more substantial justice than Mr. Bricfless is likely to do. We are therefore surprised to hear it is under the contemplation of the Native Community to convene a public meeting to express their perfect confidence in the Junior Magistrate and to protest against the interested and unjust attacks upon him. We also understand that some distinguished Members of the Bar who do not belong to the clique have expressed their readiness to join their Native fellow citizens in this expression of public opinion. We think, however, that this demonstration is not needed and that his countrymen would do well to let Roy Kissory Chand Mittra alone, as he will, no doubt, survive all attacks of the supposed clique.”¹

The Government also appreciated Kissory Chand's work and appointed him a Justice of the Peace.

When he was appointed Junior Magistrate Mr. E. A. Samuell was the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, who was succeeded by Mr. G. F. Cockburn. Kissory Chand pulled on well with these two officers. When Mr. Samuel Wauchope took charge of the office, the post was designated as the Commissioner of Police

¹ *The Sambad Probhakar* of the 20th, July, 1854 (11th, Sraban, 1261 B.E.) endorsed also a similar opinion.

for the town of Calcutta. Mr. Wauchope was of opinion that judicial officers such as Magistrates should help the criminal administration of the country and are expected to make up the small lapses, if any, of the Police. After filling the Bench with great credit to himself and to the country for several years, Kissory Chand, in an unfortunate hour, quarrelled with Mr. Wauchope and the malcontents alluded to above instigated the Commissioner of Police at this crisis.

At about this time a public meeting was held on the 6th. April, 1857, for the extension of criminal jurisdiction of the Muffosil Courts to all classes of subjects without any distinction of religion, race or place of birth. The restrictions against Government Servants writing for the press or delivering lectures in public meetings did not exist in those days, or if they did, they were conveniently ignored ; and Kissory Chand in seconding the first Resolution criticised the conduct of European officials in the Muffosil. The immediate effect of this was that Mr. Wauchope lodged a complaint with the Bengal Government on the 8th. April (*i.e.*, within 3 days) against him on a charge of miscarriage of justice. Kissory Chand submitted a report which satisfied the Government.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny a meeting of the Hindu residents of Calcutta was held on the 25th. May, 1857, for the purpose of considering the best means of expressing their loyalty and their readiness to afford all the assistance in their power to the Government. Kissory Chand was one of the promoters of the meeting.

During the Mutiny an address was presented to the Governor General in December, 1857, and from Kissory Chand's diary which appeared in a Bengali monthly, we understand that he was one of its organisers and acted as the spokesman.

He also wrote a pamphlet, *the Mutiny, the Government, and the People*, under the *nom de plume* of "A Hindoo." The main object of the paper was to vindicate the Indians against the charge of universal and active disloyalty which was brought

against them by a class of English politicians and also to justify the measures adopted and the policy pursued by the Government in dealing with the mutineers.

At the Third Annual Distribution of Prizes of the Konnagore English School,—a function at which I had the honor of presiding many decades later,—held on the 20th. July, 1858, Kissory Chand delivered a lecture stating that the Mutiny had nothing to do with the people in general and that education is the surest means of securing the fidelity of the subjects.

It also transpired that Mr. George Thompson, the famous political worker, who came to Calcutta at about this time, stayed with Kissory Chand at his Paikpara residence.

While he was engaged in these political propagandas, Mr. Wauchope reported to the Bengal Government that he had made alterations and interpolations in the Court records. Kissory Chand prayed for being tried publicly as none before him had ventured to do ; and a Public Commission consisting of Mr. H. D. Hamilton, Magistrate of Twenty-four Perganas, Babu Hurro Chunder Ghose, Judge, Court of Small Causes, and Mr. H. P. Hinde, Barrister-at-Law, was appointed to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the imputations. Mr. Joseph Graham was engaged as Counsel to prosecute on behalf of the Government and Mr. John Newmarch, supported by Messrs. Judge and Watkins, Solicitors, watched the proceedings on Kissory Chand's behalf. It was a *nam ka waste* Commission and the result was, as Babu Kristo Das Paul wrote in the *Hindu Patriot*, "the earthen pot shared the fate which usually attends a collision with the brass kettle." The Bengal Government ordered on the 28th. October, 1858, that he be dismissed from the appointment of Magistrate from that date. After his dismissal the Government could not secure a single Indian suitable for the post and appointed Mr. G. S. Fagan, Barrister-at-Law. The conspirators consisting mainly of European elements were jubilant at their success, while the Indian official section who joined with them received a lesson. From the *Calcutta Gazette* of 3rd. June,

1870, we find that Kissory Chand was appointed a Juror and Assessor for the District of Twenty-four Perganas yearly under Section 330 of Act XXV. of 1861 subsequently amended to Section 401 of Act X. of 1872.

Kissory Chand now became a law-agent or *mooktiar* of several Muffosil zemindars. Owing to preponderance of Solicitors this profession is now neglected ; but formerly, when there was no means of easy locomotion, it was a very honourable and lucrative business. Both Babu Dwarka Nath Tagore and Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore were the *mooktiars* of several Muffosil zemindars. Mr. William Tayler, when he was Commissioner of Patna, lost his appointment for dereliction of duty during the Mutiny. He was enrolled as a *vakil* of the Supreme Court, but preferred to carry on business as a *mooktiar* in the very District where he was formerly a Commissioner.¹

The *Indian Field* was started on the 27th. March, 1858, with Mr. James Hume, Kissory Chand's colleague in the Police Court, as the editor. Mr. Hume, with his co-operation, conducted the paper for some time ; and when he retired from India in about May, 1859, Kissory Chand was appointed as the editor. Some of his articles, which appeared in the journal in 1859, were subsequently published in book forms. Of these the following are noticeable : —

(1) Observations on the Rent Law, 7th. April, 1859. (2) Observations on the Sale Law, 25th. June, 1859. (3) Ryot and the Zemindar, 16th. July, 1859. (4) Education in India, 17th. September, 1859. (5) Muffosil Police, appeared serially from October to December, 1859.

Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's English novel, *Raj Mohan's wife*, appeared serially in the *Field*. Babu Narendra Nath Sen had his initiation in the journalistic career in this

¹ This is the same Mr. Tayler who had so grievously offended against the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter in 1869 and received exemplary punishments from the Hon'ble Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice.

paper. Kissory Chand conducted the paper for several years with considerable ability and it was afterwards incorporated with the *Hindu Patriot* on the 18th. May, 1865.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the British Indian Association on the 21st. September, 1859, and afterwards a Member of its Committee on the 29th. January, 1860, which post he held till his death. He used to take an active part in its management and on the following occasions he gave some of his principal addresses :—

(1) Ninth Annual General Meeting held on the 29th. January, 1860.

(2) Special General Meeting held on the 25th. November, 1863 (Bengal Agriculture Exhibition).

(3) Twelfth Annual General Meeting held on the 24th. January, 1864.

(4) Thirteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 15th. February, 1865.

(5) Monthly General Meeting held on the 19th. July, 1865 (Separation of Judicial and Executive Services).

(6) Six-monthly General Meeting held on the 31st. July, 1866 (Raja Protap Chunder Singh Memorial).

(7) Fifteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 6th. March, 1867.

(8) General Meeting held on the 18th. September, 1867 (re-Ayerton's motion in the Parliament).

(9) Sixteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 27th. February, 1868.

(10) Seventeenth Annual General Meeting held on the 26th. February, 1869.

(11) Eighteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 31st. March, 1870.

(12) Special Meeting held on the 4th. April, 1870 (Carnac Rivett's cotton production scheme).

(13) General Meeting held on the 22nd. September, 1870 (Re-Indian Penal Code Bill).

(14) Nineteenth Annual General Meeting held on the 24th. February, 1871.

(15) Quarterly General Meeting held on the 17th. November, 1871.

(16) Twentieth Annual General Meeting held on the 14th. March, 1872.

(17) Quarterly General Meeting held on the 30th. September, 1872.

Kissory Chand was a fearless advocate of his country's interests. It is very difficult to collect a complete list of his public lectures and addresses and we gather the following from newspaper files :—

(1) Meeting held on the 14th. February, 1861, at the British Indian Association Hall, re-N. W. P. Famine.

(2) Hurris Chandra Mookerjee Memorial Meeting held on the 12th. July, 1861, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(3) Meeting held on the 16th. April, 1862, at the British Indian Association Hall in honour of Sir John Peter Grant, the retiring Lieutenant Governor.

(4) Meeting held on the 7th. March, 1863, at the British Indian Association Hall to address Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Hallifax), the Secretary of State.

(5) Meeting held on the 21st. April, 1866, at the Town Hall to vote an address to Lord Hallifax on his retirement.

(6) Meeting held on the 12th. February, 1867, at the Town Hall, re-Orissa Famine.

(7) Meeting held on the 27th. February, 1867, at the Town Hall, re-Police Bill.

(8) Raja Radhakant Deb Memorial Meeting held on the 14th. May, 1867, at the Town Hall.

(9) Ram Gopaul Ghose Memorial Meeting held on the 23rd. February, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(10) Meeting held on the 2nd. September, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall re-Education Grant and levying of Road Cess.

(11) Prossono Coomar Tagore Memorial Meeting held on the 29th. October, 1868, at the British Indian Association Hall.

(12) Meeting held on the 18th. April, 1870, at the Town Hall, re-Imposition of Income Tax.

(13) Meeting held on the 2nd. July, 1870, at the Town Hall, re-Withdrawal of grant for English Education.

(14) Meeting held on the 3rd. April, 1871, at the British Indian Association Hall, re-Permanent Settlement Question.

(15) Meeting held on the 23rd. November, 1872, at the Uttarpara Public Library to present an address to Mr. James Routledge.

(16) Meeting held on the 26th. November, 1872, at the British Indian Association Hall to pass a vote of thanks to Henry Fawcett and the electors of Brighton.

Our readers will observe that Kissory Chand was a speaker at the Meeting held to vote an address to Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Hallifax) the grandfather of Lord Irwin, late Viceroy of India. When organised preposterous demands were made by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to coerce the Secretary of State in enforcing the cultivation of cotton in preference to anything else, he refused to do so. At the meeting held on the 7th. March, 1863, Kissory Chand said :—" Mr. Hugh Mason, a Member of the Chamber, has been pleased to declare that India means cotton and cotton means India. But Sir Charles Wood believes that cotton though a good thing and might be grown here not by Government but by private enterprise, is not the highest good of India."¹ The Manchester agitation was too strong for

¹ *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs from 1859-1866* by Algernon West, pages 116-17, published by Smith Elder & Co., London, 1867.

the Secretary of State to ignore cotton altogether, but in the process which followed to secure its extended cultivation, he softened the aggrandisement at every step and kept it well within limits.

Nemesis followed as it was bound to do. The indigo troubles also come into my mind in this connection, so the silk troubles of Bengal. Lord Irwin's fine and unshakeable interest in India in spite of abuse and calumny is hereditary. According to Sir Charles Wood the Manchester Chamber outweighed against his measures without considering the capabilities of India, or the tenure on which the land was held, or the position of the ryots.

A meeting was held on the 8th. December, 1869, at Natore to discuss the Road Cess Bill. Kissory Chand, representing the British Indian Association, attended and delivered a speech.

A meeting was held on the 27th. April, 1872, at the office of the *Friend of India*, Serampore, when Kissory Chand delivered an address on the *Life and times of Maharajah Krishna Chandra Roy*. An article, *Nadia Raj*, also appeared in the *Friend of India* of 1872.

The Bethune Society was formed on the 11th. September, 1851, with Doctor F. J. Mouat as President and Peary Chand Mittra as Honorary Secretary. At a Meeting of the Society held on the 11th. March, 1852, Kissory Chand was proposed a Member. He was a Member of the Committee of Papers of the Society from 1856 to 1859. At its Meeting held on the 10th. November, 1859, the constitution of the Society was remodelled and a scheme for division of its work into the following sections was proposed :—

(1) General Section with Mr. H. Woodrow as Chairman ;

(2) Literature and Philosophy with Mr. E. B. Cowell as Chairman ;

(3) Science and Arts with Mr. H. Scott Smith, Professor of Natural Science in the Engineering College, as Chairman.

(4) Medical and Sanitary Improvement with Dr. Norman Chevers as Chairman ;

(5) Sociology with the Reverend J. Long as Chairman ; and
 (6) Native Female Improvement, "inclusive of all that tends to improve and elevate the female mind and character, which from the very peculiar and delicate enquiries involved a native gentleman of the highest qualification, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, to head." But Kissory Chand declined and Babu Roma Prosad Roy was elected in his place.

Kissory Chand delivered the following addresses at the Society :—

(1) At a Meeting held on the 11th. December, 1862, on *Hindu women and their connection with the improvement of the country*;

(2) At a Meeting held on the 10th. March, 1864, on *Agriculture with special reference to Exhibition lately held at Alipore* ; and

(3) At a Meeting held on the 13th. December, 1866, on the *Lessons of the Famine*.

He also took part in the meetings held on the (1) 10th. November, 1859, to thank the retiring President, Mr. James Hume, (2) 8th. November, 1866, to express sorrow on the death of the Right Reverend Dr. E. B. L. Cotton, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and (3) 13th. December, 1866, to thank the retiring President, Major G. B. Malleson. At the time when Doctor Alexander Duff, the President, retired a deputation waited on him on the 15th. December, 1863. Kissory Chand was a member of the deputation. He used also to take an active part in the discussions that followed the speeches. Of these we gather the following items :—

Meetings held on the

(1) 11th. February, 1864, on which occasion Doctor Kanai-lal Dey lectured on *Combustion* ;

(2) 8th. December, 1886, on which occasion Miss Mary Carpenter delivered a lecture on the *Reformatory School system and its influence on female criminals*.

(3) 18th. January, 1867, on which occasion Major G. B. Malleson delivered a lecture on the *Empire of Akbar*.

He also presided at the meeting held on the 28th. November, 1867, when Mr. Justice J. B. Phear delivered an address on *Women teachers for women*.

Kissory Chand was elected a Member of the Council of the Bengal Social Science Association on its formation on the 22nd. January, 1867, and was also elected as one of its Vice-Presidents in that year. He delivered the following addresses in connection with the Association :—

(1) *Progress of Education in Bengal* on the 24th. July, 1867.

(2) *Festivals of the Hindus* on the 29th. January, 1868.

Here also, as in the Bethune Society, he used to join in the debates after the reading of the papers.

We have alluded to the David Hare Anniversary Meetings. Kissory Chand delivered the following lectures in the Meetings :—

(1) On the 2nd. June, 1862, on the *Hindu College and its founder* ;

(2) On the 1st. June, 1864, on the *Medical College and its first Secretary* ; and

(3) On the 1st. June, 1870, on *Dwarka Nath Tagore*.

He also presided over two meetings held on the 1st. June, 1865 and on the 1st. June, 1867 and often took part in the discussions which followed the addresses. Of these we gather the following :—(1) 1st. June, 1844, on which occasion Rev. K. M. Banerjea delivered a discourse, (2) 1st. June, 1845, on which occasion Babu Aukhoy Coomar Dutt read a paper and on (3) 1st. June, 1869, when Doctor Mohendralal Sircar read a paper. It is highly regrettable that these valuable Hare celebrations have ceased to be held which surely does not reflect credit on the educated Bengal of to-day.

From the *Calcutta Gazette* of 23rd. August, 1871, we understand that the book, *Memoir of Dwarka Nath Tagore*, after being printed at No. 1-1 Fancy Lane was published on the 10th. December, 1870, by St. Andrews Library, Government Place, Calcutta. The *Gazette* remarked as follows :—

“A very interesting memoir originally read at the 27th. Hare Anniversary Meeting at the Town Hall on the 1st. June, 1870.”

At a meeting of the Barabazar Family Literary Club held on the 23rd. April, 1869, he delivered a lecture on *Mutty Lall Seal*. From the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 14th. September, 1870, we learn that the book, *Life of Mutty Lall Seal*, after being printed by Thos. H. Smith at the City Press, No. 13, Bentinck Street, was published by the author on the 9th. December, 1869.

At a meeting of the Utterpara Hitakari Sabha held on the 27th. August, 1869, he delivered an address on *Agriculture in Bengal*.

At a meeting of the Dalhousie Institute held on the 15th. September, 1871, he delivered a lecture on *Hinduism and Hindoo Reformers*.

At a meeting of the Mahesh Literary Society held on the 13th. January, 1872, he delivered a lecture on *Chaitanya*.

At a meeting of the Amratola Literary Club held on the 21st. May, 1872, he delivered a lecture on *Chaitanya, viewed as a mystic and Hindoo mysticism*.

When Captain David Lester Richardson was about to start in 1857 for England, a meeting was held on the 3rd. April at the Asiatic Society's Rooms to record the Indian community's obligation to him. Kissory Chand moved a resolution and was a Member of the Committee formed. Subsequently when Captain Richardson retired in 1861, a meeting was held at the British Indian Association Hall on the 4th. January of that year with a view to present an address to him. A Committee, of which Kissory Chand was a Member, was appointed and the Committee presented him on the 9th. February, 1861, a purse of Rs. 4,000

being the amount raised among his students as a mark of appreciation of his qualities.

The Calcutta College was founded by Babu Keshab Chunder Sen in 1862 and Kissory Chand was one of its workers. At a meeting of the College held on the 4th. October, 1864, he delivered a speech.

A public meeting was held at the *Cossipore Ashram*, garden house of Babu Kali Prosonno Singh, on the 19th. May, 1866, to consider the desirability of opening a hospital at Cossipore (the North Suburban Hospital). Kissory Chand took part in the meeting and was a Member of the Provisional Committee. At a meeting held on the 31st. August, the Hospital was opened. Kissory Chand moved a resolution at the meeting. At a meeting held on the 27th. April, 1868, an Executive Committee was formed which included Kissory Chand's name as a Member. He took a lively interest in its management.

In 1869 Mr. John Cochrane, Barrister-at-law, went to England. A deputation from the British Indian Association waited on him on the 27th. March of that year with an address. Kissory Chand was a signatory to the address and a Member of the deputation. For his siding with the Indians to vote an address to Lord Canning, Mr. Cochrane was ridiculed in the *Englishman* as 'Babu Cochrane.'

The East India Association was formed in London, at about 1868 "to take an active part in the Indian amelioration." Kissory Chand was a member of the Association.

Kissory Chand was one of the promoters of the *Hindu Mela*. The first *Mela* was held in 1869 and the next one on the 12th. February, 1870. In the 1870 *Mela* a prize was awarded to Kissory Chand for his vegetable exhibits. Babu Nobo Gopal Mitter was the Secretary of the *Mela* and I have a recollection of attending the *Mela* of 1872. There was a *fracas* between the Police and the students attending the *Mela*. Captain J. N. Banerjea,—then the redoubtable Jiten Banerjea of Taltola,—won the honors of the day and stirring national

songs were sung, including Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore's *mile sabe bharat santan* (মিলে সবে ভারত সন্তান). I met both Babus Peary Chand and Kissory Chand on this occasion when they, with other heads of the community, afforded great protection to the students and did not allow the Police to interfere with them. I also have vivid recollection of meeting the Brothers Mittra at the *Baitakkhana* of our Wellington Street residence, then the *rendezvous* of all great talents and luminaries of Calcutta, who used to come to see my father and uncles.

The Indian Reform Association was formed on the 2nd. November, 1870, with Babu Keshab Chunder Sen as President and Babu Gobind Chander Dhur as Honorary Secretary. Kissory Chand was a Member of the Association. At a meeting held on the 28th. November, 1870, to celebrate the opening of the Industrial School and Working Men's Institution in connection with the Association Kissory Chand delivered a speech.

When the three Bengali Civilians, Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt, Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta and Mr. (afterwards a Knight) Surendra Nath Banerjea returned to Calcutta, a *soiree* was held on the 10th. October, 1871, in their honour. A Committee, of which Kissory Chand was a member, was formed to carry out the object. Previous to this when Mr. Satyendranath Tagore came back to Calcutta a party was organised on the 14th. November, 1864, and on the return of Babu Keshab Chunder Sen a similar party was given on the 24th. October, 1870. Kissory Chand was a promoter of both the functions.

The following articles, written by Kissory Chand, appeared in the *Calcutta Review* :—

- (1) Rammohun Roy (October, 1845).
- (2) India in the Great Exhibition (April, 1853).
- (3) Hindoo Women (July, 1864).
- (4) Phases of Hindooism (October, 1864).
- (5) Indian Agricultural Exhibition (April, 1865).
- (6) Hindoo Medicine and Medical Education (July, 1865).

- (7) Orissa, Past and Present (July, 1866).
- (8) Rammohun Roy (July, 1866).
- (9) Radhakant Deb (April, 1867).
- (10) Ram Gopaul Ghose (April, 1868).
- (11) Kulin Polygamy (July, 1868).
- (12) Burdwan Raj (April, 1872).
- (13) Nadia Raj (July, 1872).
- (14) Rajas of Rajshahi (January, 1873).
- (15) Kassimbazar Raj (July, 1873).
- (16) Modern Hindoo Drama (October, 1873).
- (17) Kandy Family (January, 1874).

In the *Selections from Calcutta Review*, being selections of articles which appeared in the *Review* from its start to 1885, edited by Mr. James R. Furrell, sometime editor of the *Englishman*, the following papers ¹ of Kissory Chand were included :—

- (1) Rammohun Roy (first article).
- (2) Phases of Hindooism.
- (3) Burdwan Raj.
- (4) Nadia Raj.
- (5) Rajas of Rajshahi.
- (6) Kassimbazar Raj.
- (7) Kandy Family.

The following papers, written by Kissory Chand, appeared in the *Bengal Magazine* :—

Chaitanya (September, 1872).

¹ Besides Kissory Chand's articles the papers written by the following Indian gentlemen were published in the *Selections*.

Babu Peary Chand Mittra's	4 articles
The Rev. Lal Behary De's	2 do.
Mr. R. C. Dutt's	1 article
Babu Boroda Charan Mitra's	1 do.
Huro Chandra Dutt's	1 do.
Giris Chandra Dutt's	1 do.
Rajendralala Mitra's	1 do.
Bepin Behary Shome's	1 do.
Saroda Prosad Ghosh's	1 do.

The Presidency College (October, 1873).

In an article, "The Late Babu Kissory Chand Mitra," the Reverend Lal Behary De, the editor, mentioned that "with his wonted generosity and love of literature he associated himself with us from the beginning in the conduct of the Magazine."

Mr. C. T. Buckland in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors* writes thus:—"Possessed of rich stores of knowledge of western literature and master of a good English style, he (Kissory Chand) was reckoned one of the best English writers among his countrymen. His addresses at various public meetings were noted for their ability and fearless independence of spirit."

In mentioning the writers of the *Calcutta Review* the Reverend Doctor Geo. Smith in his article,—*The First Twenty years of the Calcutta Review*,—wrote thus:—"Of the two Brothers Mittra, Kissory Chand, who was at one time a Police Magistrate of Calcutta, has passed away. Peary Chand has enriched Vernacular literature with novels which are valued by competent critics. A reformer of the old school and in some respects like the Brahmo, he has not formally identified himself with anybody, dissident from Hinduism." About this, one of the newspapers of those days remarked:—"While he (Doctor Smith) has devoted about six pages to the Native Christian contributors, he has not given more than six lines to the Brothers Mittra, Babus Peary Chand and Kissory Chand, the latter of whom was at one time a mainstay of the *Review*. Such is the Missionary spirit of the writer!"

We have already alluded to Kissory Chand's article on Raja Rammohun Roy. In reviewing a book, the editor, the Reverend Alexander Duff, in the same number of the *Review* remarked:—"Undoubtedly, a sound education, widely diffused throughout the Native community of all classes and grades, must be regarded as one of the primary instruments of its effectual amelioration. Of the partial good, which has already resulted, amid many

disappointments and drawbacks, from the educational measures hitherto adopted, our own pages furnished demonstrative testimony. And when, in the spirit of the remarks there made, we simply state that the article in the present number, on Ram Mohun Roy, is the *bonafide* production of an educated Hindu, we think we have furnished a fresh argument to the friends of sound education to persevere more earnestly than ever in their philanthropic labours."

In the *Bengal Magazine* the Reverend Lal Behary De, the editor, wrote thus :—" Babu Kissory Chand Mittra belonged to a class of educated Bengalis whose number is daily diminishing,—pre-University men, who were, somehow, men of wider culture than the Graduates of the Calcutta University, of a more refined taste, more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of English literature, and more addicted to literary pursuits. Strange that our Colleges, which are now supplied with honour-men from Oxford and Cambridge, should turn out inferior articles! The result is perhaps owing to the system of education in vogue, a system the chief object of which seems to be to cram young lads with grammatical niceties or puerilities, with sapless etymological roots, with *notes* which are current only in the University market, with *abstracts* from which the spirit of the author has evaporated ; and we know not what *paraphrases* and *modernised versions*. The pre-University men enjoyed English literature; the young men of the present day endure it. Nothing is studied except what pays in the examination hall. No marvel that learning is not loved for its own sake. Kissory Chand wrote correct and manly English,—a style which one insensibly acquires by a constant study of the works of Addison, Johnson, Macaulay and other masters of English composition. His earlier compositions, like those of most young writers, were somewhat wordy; but age sobered his taste and made his style simple; and the last article he wrote on the " Territorial aristocracy of Bengal," published in the current number of the *Calcutta Review* is simple even to baldness. Amongst the hundreds of educated

Bengalis who write in English for the press, there are only a few who manage that difficult language with correctness and elegance. Of these few Kissory Chand was one of the best."

In his book, *English Rule and Native Opinion in India*, Mr. James Routledge writes as follows :—This notice (of Dwarka Nath Tagore) seems to lead naturally to the name of Kissory Chand Mittra who died in 1873. I believe he was a thoroughly brave man. I am sure he was very able. He had climbed his way from a lowly station to one of distinction in public service, when he had the misfortune to quarrel with an Englishman above him in position; and the Hindu, of course, went to the wall. He lost all the works of his earlier years. As a writer, however, he still had an open field which no man can close; and a powerful writer he was. He edited the *Indian Field*, afterwards incorporated with the *Hindu Patriot*. He contributed papers to the *Calcutta Review*,—the first paper on Raja Ram Mohun Roy and a series of brilliant sketches on the Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal. As a Hindu he was one of the most fearless I ever met, and I could see, although I met him twice, one of the most scornful of all unworthy cringing to Europeans. He belonged to a brave little band of native men, whom no Government can well afford to neglect and whom no wise Government wish to neglect.

In a footnote to the article, *Modern Hindoo Drama*, in the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. (afterward Sir) Roper Lethbridge, the editor, remarked as follows :—" We deeply regret to have to announce that while the foregoing article was in the process of being set up in type, its amiable and talented author departed his life on Wednesday, August 6th, 1873. For nearly thirty years Babu Kissory Chand Mittra has been an occasional contributor to this *Review* and his articles, rendered singularly valuable both by the special knowledge which he owed to his varied experience and by the freedom and candour with which he expressed his opinions, always met with a favourable reception from the press and the public. The first paper put forth by him in the *Calcutta Review*

was one of the life and times of Raja Ram Mohun Roy published in October, 1843. During the last two years his contributions have been numerous; and the present editor is largely indebted to him for most valuable assistance in compiling the series of historical and topographical memoirs now in course of publication in these pages under the general heading of *The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal*. Without the aid of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra it would have been impossible to continue that series; and the portion that has already appeared owes much of its interest to his extensive knowledge of the country and its history. By his death the *Review* has lost one of its most constant and most valuable supporters."

His great exertions began to tell seriously on his health and he was laid up with dropsy. Although suffering much from pains of disease for the last few months of his life his pen was not idle; he used to dictate papers for the *Calcutta Review*. During the last stage of his illness such was his repugnance to medicine that he would take them out of no body's hands, except those of his talented brother Peary Chand's who used to guide his tastes and studies. The love which the brothers bore to each other was exemplary. The great soul passed away on the 6th. August, 1873, at 11-30 p.m (23rd. *Sravan*, 1280 B.E.). It is a strange coincidence that fifty-two years afterwards Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, who at first served under the Government, but was, like Kissory Chand, dismissed and consecrated the remaining portion of his life 'to the service of the country, died on the 6th. August, 1925.

Kissory Chand was not a registered Brahmo, but he promulgated the teachings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy as his ideal. When the Brahmo Samaj was split up, he shared with Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore his religious views. In a public meeting he once humorously declared—"We are all for the *Adis*, none for the *Keshabites*. He had an idea that the goodness of Providence can be felt in all the deeds, words, thoughts and "even in the arteries of wise men."

In the *General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*, 1855, we find the following :—"Babu Kissory Chand Mittra requested permission to offer a gold medal to the native student of the English Class of the Medical College for the best essay on *the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in the circulation of blood*. The Council acknowledged the liberality of Babu Kissory Chand, but could not recommend that the prize be offered to any but passed students." Readers will, in this connection, remember the thrilling story of the marvellous conversion of the agnostic who discovered the circulation of blood in human body,—Mr. William Harvey.

In his younger days Kissory Chand was a really handsome man and a good face, as the reader knows, is a good recommendation. In conversation he was a capital hand at *reparte* and was so full of pleasing anecdotes and flowing wit, like his brother, Peary Chand, that it was a pleasure to hear him at the table and at the *Baitakkhana*. He was an expert ventriloquist and had a wonderful faculty for imitation and would imitate the mannerisms of people so well that no one would make out that the speaker was an imitator. He was an agreeable companion, amiable, cheerful and communicative ; he spread sunshine wherever he was present.

Kissory Chand was married to Srimati Kailas Bashini, daughter of Babu Gora Chand Ghose of Rajpore by whom he had a daughter, Kumodini, who was married to Babu Nilmony De. Two sons of Babu Nilmony De, Mr. K. C. De, C.I.E., and Mr. P. C. De—were in the Indian Civil Service. Another son of Babu Nilmony De, Babu Hem Chunder De, is a Solicitor and Honorary Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Doctor Sushil K. De of the Dacca University, the distinguished author of the *History of the Bengali Literature* and the son of his distinguished father Doctor Satish Ch. De, Rai Bahadur, is a grandson of Babu Nilmony De. Babu Monmotho Nath Ghose, the famous English and Bengali writer, is a grandson of Kissory.

Chand's daughter. Here is indeed a hereditary flow of talents.

The Committee of the British Indian Association, after his death, recorded the following Resolution—

“That the Committee of the British Indian Association desire to record their unfeigned and profound sorrow at the death of their colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. This mournful event has deprived the British Indian Association of a most able, energetic and devoted Member and the country of an accomplished public writer and speaker, a zealous champion of the people and an enlightened and earnest advocate of all matters connected with their intellectual and political movement.”

This Resolution was included both in the Half-yearly and Annual Reports of the Association. At the Half-yearly Meeting in proposing to adopt the Report, Babu (afterwards Raja), Degumber Mitter, the President, remarked as follows :—“It is my painful duty to announce to you the untimely death of our lamented friend and colleague, Babu Kissory Chand Mittra. He was associated with us as a Member of this Association for many years, took an active part in its proceedings and had rendered valuable aid in its deliberations. You will, I dare say, approve of the Resolution, which your Committee have recorded on this melancholy event.”

The two talented Mittra Brothers played a great part in the making of modern Bengal.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

I

The years were the eighteen nineties, the vogue was Aubrey Beardsley, and Oscar Wilde went about with a green carnation in his button-hole. Swinburne, an old deaf man, no longer a poet, was stowed away in a house at Putney in the company of another old, deaf man, Watts Dunton. In the immediate past were the lilies and languors of Swinburne's youth. So the poets of the nineties thought that it was a good thing to be lily-languid even if one were just lily-languid. They missed the poetic passion of Swinburne, missed his emotional intensity, and retained, or at any rate *thought* they retained, only the musical languor of his style. But it is possible to make out a bad case of a good cause, and, any way, one can have too much of a good thing. So behold the public annoyed with these dainty dandy poets, these 'pretty boys, witty boys, too, too, too lazy to avoid stagnation'—laughing at them, labelling them 'decadents,' finding *fin-de-siecle*-ism in the very manner of their dress and speech—eagerly awaiting a revival in the art of poetry with the dawn of the new century. Which came—and inevitably. While the nineties were still running, came the terrible counter-blast to the pretty attitudinizings of the 'decadents,' came with the vigour of a bugle's call that drowned the tiny voices of the tin-flutes; the name of this counter-blast was Rudyard Kipling. There was another man, too, writing in the early years of the twentieth century, who formed part of this counteraction (one shouldn't call it *re-action*): James Elroy Flecker. The new poetry was gorgeous, powerful and masculine; the English public hailed it widely, giving it more praise at that moment than it really deserves. And that naturally; for the public was relieved to find the 'pale, lost lilies' and the 'roses, roses flung riotously in the

throng' swept away; and glad to find themselves in an atmosphere of splendour and wonder and full-blooded fleshliness. Like the voice of thunder boomed Kipling's words on English ears—oh, so joyously!—

O the blazing tropic night, when the wake's a welt of light
 That holds the hot sky tame,
 And the steady fore-foot snores through the planet-powder'd floors
 Where the scared whale flukes in flames!
 Her plates are scarr'd by the sun, dear lass,
 And her ropes are taut with dew,
 For we're booming down on the old trail, our own trail, the
out trail,
 We're sagging South on the Long Trail—the trail that is always
new.

And hardly less the appeal of Flecker :

And one the Bedouin shall slay, and one, sand-stricken on the way,
 Go dark and blind; and one shall say—"How lonely is the Caravan!"
 Pass out beneath, O Caravan, Doom's Caravan, Death's Caravan!
 I had not told ye, fools, so much, save that I heard your Singing man.

These lines of Flecker's are remarkably Kiplingesque: there are the same demoniacal gusts, the swinging rhythm of the long line and even the very effective trick of repetition. In fact there is much in common between these two poets. Both of them wrote about 'the Gorgeous East'—a most welcome theme to the imperialistic British mind; and Kipling's immense popularity with his countrymen may very well be accounted for simply by his subject-matter. For, what he wrote about was India, and not the semi-mythical India of spices and jewels, but the *real* India—real, at any rate, to the modern Britisher—the India of barrack-rooms, of sport and shikar, of wild beasts and wilder natives. Kipling's verses were, in a sort of a way, realistic. But not so Flecker's. The East *he* introduced to the English-speaking public was romantic and alluring and enigmatic: *his* was not merely a passage to India, but the golden journey to

Samarcand. In manner however he was very much like Kipling and these two poets, one feels entitled to say, represent between themselves an aspect of modern English poetry—not a very important aspect, perhaps, but, at any rate, distinctive and cognizable.

II

In the background of modern English poetry, as it has developed in some of the most notable poets, is the poetry of Swinburne. For as we shall presently see, the two themes that these poets mostly deal with are the evanescence of all things earthly, and the inevitability of death. Old as the hills these ideas are; but wherein may we find them more passionately and poignantly expressed than in the poetry of Swinburne, who wrote

Not for their love shall Fate retire,
Nor they relent for our desire,
Nor the graves open for their call,
The end is more than joy and anguish,
Than lives that laugh and lives that languish,
The popped sleep, the end of all.

It is this pagan pessimism of Swinburne that we find in many of the modern poets, expressed in different styles. In the year 1896 a very small book of verses, called *A Shropshire Lad* first came out. The poet was A. E. Housman whose only other poetical work is *Lust Poems*, also a very small volume, published in 1922. With the publication of *A Shropshire Lad* was the really modern English poetry born—for it is a book that has influenced, in some way or other, almost all the later poets. It is a book about death; the poet is haunted by the thought that after all the love and laughter of life there is death—inevitable and remorseless. The text of his poetry may be the famous lines of Shakespeare's song :

Golden lads and lasses must,
As chimney-sweepers come to dust.

Housman's mouthpiece is an uneducated, unsophisticated lad of Shropshire who tells us, as best he may, about his hopes and joys and fears. He makes no fuss about things—and so the poems are all very short, some having only a few lines. The language of the poems is that of a country-boy—unutterably simple. This simplicity, almost bareness of style, is something essentially modern, developed later on by that very great poet—Walter de la Mare. The language of modern poetry, by the way, may by itself form the thesis of an essay ; for, what with Masfield-and-his-damns and the frank, impassioned prose of D. H. Lawrence's *Pansies*, there is a lot to be said about it. We shall content ourselves here by remarking that all the barriers between the language of prose and that of poetry have been broken down ; the poets have earned for themselves the liberty of using whatever word or expression that may serve their purpose—irrespective of its 'caste.' And this has happened because of a great widening in the range of the subject-matter of poetry.

To return, however, to *A Shropshire Lad*. The poet, as we have said, uses a mouthpiece. But not always. There are poems where he speaks in his own person ; and even when his personality is veiled, the veil is but transparent, and clearly we see the poet's own mind through the veil. Housman constantly broods over death ; officially, he is a pessimist. But he is much more in love with life than an official optimist—Shelley, for instance, Shelley, who was so romantically in love with death. It is only natural that the 'pessimists' should love life the most—consider Swinburne, Housman, Hardy. *They* know that life is fleeting, that death may overtake us any moment—and that is why they want to make the most of life so long it lasts. It is the one single holiday of Pippa ; and shame, shame unto him who wastes as much as a moment of this brief and beautiful life. And though death is 'an end, an end, an end of all,' Housman has this supreme consolation :

I shall have lived a little while
Before I die for ever.

And, filled full of the joy of life he cries out :

I pace the earth, and drink the air, and feel the sun,
Be still, be still, my soul ; it is but for a season :
Let us endure an hour and see injustice done.

— ‘ See *injustice* done ! ’ The poet knows full well that he is not in the best of worlds ; but his sojourn is but for an hour, and for this hour he means to enjoy all that life can yield him, So also Thomas Hardy :

Let me enjoy the earth no less
Because the all-enacting Might
That fashioned forth its loveliness
Had other aims than my delight.

Rupert Brooke and de la Mare, too, are fully conscious of the transience of all things and the inexorable finality of death. Now, Rupert Brooke was, in a way of saying, the Keats of homely life ; but, unlike Keats, he could not ‘ fade far away, dissolve and quite forget,’ the great shadow of death lurking behind all beautiful things. So, this ‘ great lover,’ as Rupert Brooke rightly called himself, after having paid splendid tributes to all lovely things of life, cried out in agonized tones :

...But the best I’ve known
Stage here, and changes, breaks, grows old, is blown
About the winds of the world, and fades from brains
Of living men, and dies. Nothing remains.

‘ Nothing remains’ ! Like an echo of Swinburne’s pagan voice it sounds, like the knell of an irrevocable doom. But death, for Rupert Brooke, is not the utter finality it is for Housman. ‘ Oh, never a doubt but, somewhere, I shall wake’—Rupert Brooke assures himself. And yet it is *this* life he is enamoured of :

Oh ! Heaven’s Heaven !—but we’ll be missing
The palms, and sunlight, and the south,
And there’s an end, I think, of kissing
When our mouths are one with Mouth.

Walter de la Mare looks at the shadow of a rose and is reminded of death :

The loveliest thing earth hath, a shadow hath,
A dark and livelong hint of death.

And it is just because he cannot forget death that he enjoys life jealously, intensely :

Look thy last on all things lovely,
Every hour. Let no night
Seal thy sense in deathly slumber
Till to delight
Thou hast paid thy utmost blessing.

The following lines, taken from one of the sonnets of John Masefield, would suffice to show how alike the poets of to-day think—on the subject of death :

Roses are beauty, but I never see
Those blood-drops from the burning heart of June
Glowing like thought upon the living tree
Without a pity that they die so soon.

Masefield, in his lyric poems, is sad—sad that there should be so much beauty in this world—beauty that is destined to perish. And yet he knows that beauty is the only thing that endures ; for, in a poem included in *Lollington Downs* where the main body of his sonnets appears, he dismisses 'the kings [who] go by jewelled crowns,' 'the merchants [who] reckon up their gold' and 'the priests...singing in their stalls' as 'a tale, a dream,' and then directly addresses the only thing he knows to be real :

O Beauty, let me know again
The green earth cold, the April rain, the quiet waters,
The one star risen. figuring sky.

It is a sort of sacrament to him, this personal realization of beauty, which, he believes, would put him in harmony with the universe—this, and nothing else. Beauty is his religion;

nothing is more important to him. As he feels himself growing old he implores beauty to be with him so that even the darkness of age may 'blossom as the rose.'

We may just as well consider Masfield, now the Poet-Laureate, in some detail. The aspect of Masfield's poetry we have just discussed, though it most assuredly adds to his glory, is not that, however, for which he is famous. For one thing, he is a poet of the sea and sailor life, and his *Salt Water Ballads* is a perfect rival to Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads*. Besides, he has given us some beautiful lyrics, such as *Cargoes*, *Sea Fever*, and *The West Wind*. But it is his narrative poems that have really made his position unique. He is confessedly a Chaucerian—perhaps the best narrative poet of England after Chaucer, when we except William Morris. He is as thoroughly English as Chaucer was—and as democratic. *The Everlasting Mercy* and *Reynard the Fox* are, perhaps, the most powerful of his narrative poems. In the first part of the latter poem he has excellent characters—sketches done in the manner of the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. *Reynard the Fox* and *Right Royal* are poems about fox-hunting and horse-racing respectively—the two national sports of the Anglo-Saxon race. *Dauber* is a vivid and touching picture of nautical life—a poem that can easily challenge the finest sea-story of Conrad. Now, all of Masfield's narrative poems (*King Cole* not excepted, a delightful fantasy though it is) are rich in realism; the stamp of truth is on them; they are not only realistic, they are real. The persons are real, the incidents are, with some exceptions, convincing (for occasional lapses into sentimentality is Masfield's favourite vice), and the language is that of commonplace, everyday life. The characters are mostly taken from the lower strata of life, unadulterated men and women of flesh and blood with their characteristic vices—drinking, swearing and all. And he has been deliberate in his choice, as he declares in the poem called *A Consecration*. In powers of characterization and narration he is often as good as Chaucer; but it is a pity he has little or no humour.

III

'We are the dreamer of dreams'—so, once upon a time, wrote a poet about poets in general. It seems but natural, in consideration of the time O'Shaughnessy lived in, that he should have conceived the calling of the poet as dreaming of dreams. But ideas have changed; and in modern times one is called a dreamer in a sense quite different from that in which O'Shaughnessy used the word. For, alas, the word 'dream' is, to the modern mind, associated with Dr. Freud rather than with, shall we say Shelley. True; but this also is true that most of the modern poets are carrying on this dream business just as the Romantic poets had done. De la Mare, for instance; and Yeats—of course. But with a difference, and that an important one. The Romantic sort of dreaming was to ignore the world of dust and squalor altogether and soar in an ethereal region where everything is just as the poet's heart may wish it to be. Not so the modern sort. The modern poets would not deceive themselves. They take full cognizance of the world as it is, and yet reserve for themselves the right of dreaming about their heart's desire. Not for anything would they be 'world-losers and world-forsakers'; their poetry is not an 'escape from life' at all; they do not *want* to escape from life. They have accepted—gracefully, if not gladly—the life given unto them in the England of the twentieth century, they do not complain nor protest. They have seen and taken life as it is—the life of gold and of dross, and do not *want* a better one because there *can't* be a better one. All the same, there can possibly be no harm in dreaming. And so Walter de la Mare dreams on :

I stood a dreamer in a dream
In the unstirring night.

Housman, too, calls his skull a 'humming hive of dreams,' and the name he gave to his body was 'house of dust.' De la Mare, improving on the phrase, calls his body a 'haunt of brooding

dust.' He broods, he dreams. But not of an unattainable millennium like Shelley; he simply plays hide-and-seek with reality.

Hide and seek, say I
To myself, and step
Out of the dream of Wake
Into the dream of sleep.

And his dream of Wake is a world inhabited by fairies and elves and spirits, by children and beasts and birds—the world of his poetry. The extreme sensitiveness of his mind has something almost uncanny about it and the elusive, elfin delicacy of his style brings back to mind the word-wizardry of Blake. With the subtle charm of his caressing words, de la Mare has matched even the magic of W. B. Yeats. Sure it is that of all the modern English poets there is none like Yeats, for who else could have brought before us glimpses of a land ?

Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise,
Where nobody gets old and godly and grave,
Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue.

Ah, how different it is from Shelley's idea of millennium, how *human*, how simple and non-metaphysical. The besetting vice of Shelley was that he mingled his sociology and politics into his poetry and made a mess of everything. What Prometheus plans for the future of the world is so extravagantly absurd that we can only smile at it, and yet there is in it the semblance of a newly formed cabinet laying down its programme. That Shelley actually believed in all this moonshine is bad enough, but what is worse—worst of it all—is that he should have wanted *us* to believe in it. But Yeats's land of heart's desire is so purely poetic, so completely and frankly a dreamland that the question of belief or disbelief does not arise at all ; we are too glad to surrender to the poet's vision, too glad to let the atmosphere suck us in. It may not be real in the sense that it does not actually *exist*, but it is real in a much deeper sense ; we *feel*

Reviews

The Pickwick Papers: Charles Dickens.—Abridged and edited by Christina F. Knox. Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Limited. St. Martin's Street, London, 1931. 2s. net.

This is No. 131 of the *English Literature Series*, started by the publishers and edited by Mr. J. H. Fowler. The book contains an introduction and indicates that in the abridged edition an attempt has been made to keep up the continuity of the plot; many will regret, however, the need of presenting Bob Sawyer shorn of much of his glory. The book begins with an account of the author, but it is very brief, and we miss any reference to the other great works of the novelist beside the one under review and with which the young learner (for whom, doubtless, the series is intended) should make himself acquainted. The 'composition exercises' and 'helps to further study' at the end of the volume will come very handy and are an appreciable feature of the book. The excellence of the get-up of the series, with a design on the side and gilt lettering and ornamentation on the book, is thoroughly maintained in the present instance, and we recommend this abridged edition of the *Pickwick Papers* to those who propose to enjoy the immortal work of Dickens within as short a compass as possible.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Economics of Hand-loom.—By Prof. N. G. Ranga, B.Litt. (Oxon.), M.L.A. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 2, pp. 302.

This was a thesis written by the author and presented to the University of Oxford. It surveys the socio-economic conditions of the weavers in the Madras Presidency. Working as the Secretary of the Re-settlement Economic Enquiry Committee and as an assistant of the special officer who surveyed the cottage industries of Madras he had an exceptional opportunity to observe the economic conditions prevailing in the hand-loom weaving industry.

Prof. Ranga points out clearly the uneconomic and inefficient organisation of the hand-loom weaving industry which provides work for roughly

a million people. Different kinds of industrial organisation from the skilled worker-capitalist and the independent artisan down to capitalist-employer organising workers in factory-like establishments exist. A true picture of the economic organisation of the industry, the relations between the employers and the employees, the wages or earnings of the weavers or their standard of living, can be secured by a perusal of this book.

Barring Amalsad's survey of the Madras Hand-loom Weaving Industry and a few writers' attempts on the description of "Khaddar" industry no successful survey covering the entire province is to be had. We congratulate Prof. Ranga on this timely survey and his chief aim in rousing the public apathy to the wretched, miserable conditions of economic slavery and despicably low standard of living of the weavers has been achieved.

But some of his recommendations are of such character as cannot be easily accomplished at the present stage of education of the weavers. The improving of the industrial and commercial organisation and the securing of cheap finance are indeed the twin remedies needed to improve their lot. Education in the three R's can hope to do some spade work in this direction. Co-operation to succeed must be attempted simultaneously in several directions than one. Mere co-operative financing without co-operative sale and purchase societies would accomplish nothing. A simultaneous and systematic drive is needed. As the mere cotton mill industry alone cannot cope to cover all the clothing wants of the people, every effort is needed to improve hand-loom weaving without fail. In the final chapter he makes a list of recommendations, many of which can and should be immediately carried out. The starting of Weaving High Schools at suitable centres, the creation of a Weaving Information Bureau, the starting of weaving industry magazines, the opening of textile colleges, the formation of a weaving bank with branches all over the district, the starting of a weaving commercial bureau, the opening of an emporium here and there displaying weaving products, the appointing of trade commissioners abroad to push the indigenous weaving products, the specialising of the weavers' womenfolk in suitable weaving occupations alone, the undertaking of sericulture and linen darning alone, the formation of a Weaver's Trade Board and the raising of the standard of living, are his main recommendations to improve the moral and material lot of the weavers. It would have been more convincing if the author had discussed the feasibility of some of his measures, e.g., the successful working of a "Weaving Bank" and the Trade Board.

We hope that proper attention is paid to the other minor details and that accuracy of information is not sacrificed by hurried writing. More details are needed before it can be said that family budgets of few select families are really representative of the average weaving families. The author's information on the industry pertaining to the Northern Circars area appears to be gathered from first-hand contact and the dependence on Government Gazetteer for the state of Southern Madras Presidency is too apparent to be disputed by anybody.

The picture of the hand-loom weaving industry on the whole is a materially useful and stimulating one.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

A History of India, Part II—Muhammadan India. By C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, M.A. 4, Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

This book forms the second part of the authors' *History of India*, and deals with the period commencing with the early Muslim invasions and ending with the Third Battle of Panipat. It is, on the whole, a very useful compilation. An important feature of the work is the stress laid on social, economic, administrative and religious history. The history of Delhi, South India and the Upper Deccan has been dealt with satisfactorily, and the authors base their narrative largely on contemporaneous sources. But the treatment of the history of Bengal and Rajputana is hardly adequate or satisfactory. And it is to be regretted that old errors about Samarsi of Chitor falling at the battle of Tarain (p. 26), Muhammad "Bhaktiyar" (p. 93) conquering Bengal, and the exploded story of Bhimsi and Padmini (p. 46) are repeated in this otherwise excellent volume. Minor errors have crept even into the account of the history of Delhi. The correct name of the third Sultan of the Slave Dynasty is Iltutmish and not Altamish (p. 31), and the name of the last king of the line of Tughluq Shah is Mahmud and not Muhammad (p. 81).

The Commercial Policy of the Moguls.* By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. Published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. conferred on the author by Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Pant deals with the period of the four Great Moguls: Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, He has

collected a vast amount of material bearing on his subject. But it is to be regretted that much of it is second-hand as a glance at the footnotes will show. We have no doubt references to some original authorities, *e.g.*, the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, the *Baburnama*, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Akbarnama*, the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, etc. But little use is made of the *Arthasastra* in the chapter entitled "An Economic Survey of India up to 1556 A.D.". and it is surprising that although the author is not unaware of the excellent translation of the *Memoirs of Jahangir* by Rogers (p. 123), he quotes freely from the garbled *Memoirs of Price* (p. 119). The weakest part of the work is Book I where we have such astonishing assertions (p. 3) as "the Pauranic age (1400—700 B.C.)," "Lord Buddha saw the Light in 632 B.C." (p. 6), "neither early Hinduism nor Buddhism in India played any important part in developing the Science of Wealth, etc, etc."

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI

Ourselves

OUTRAGE AT THE UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

At a special emergency meeting of the Syndicate held at 5 P.M. on the 6th February, 1932, after the Convocation of the Senate, the following resolutions, moved from the Chair, were carried unanimously :—

I. That this meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate and of Fellows present expresses its profound thankfulness to Providence for the miraculous escape of His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, Chancellor of the University, from the dastardly attempt made on his life at to-day's Convocation, while His Excellency was delivering his address, and conveys to His Excellency its warm and respectful congratulations and an expression of its deep admiration for the wonderful courage and coolness shown by His Excellency on the occasion, particularly in continuing the proceedings to a close.

II. That this meeting desires also to offer its congratulations to the Hon'ble Lady Jackson upon His Excellency's escape and expresses its sincere admiration of the serene fortitude with which she stood by and supported His Excellency.

III. That this meeting expresses its deepest horror and abhorrence at the dastardly outrage and records its special sense of grief and humiliation at the fact that the precincts of the University should have been desecrated by the perpetration of such an abominable crime, particularly by one of its girl students.

IV. That this meeting reiterates its conviction that such acts of terrorism are opposed to the best traditions of India, and constitute a serious menace to the cause of the country's advancement and culture.

Moved by Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, seconded by Sir Nilratan Sircar and carried unanimously :—

V. That this meeting places on record its profound sense of admiration and appreciation of the great courage and presence of mind displayed by the Vice-Chancellor at great personal risk in an exceptionally trying situation and desires also to record its sincere satisfaction at the spontaneous outburst of joy and cheering with which His Excellency was greeted by the entire assembly including the students as soon as it became known that His Excellency's life was saved and as His Excellency proceeded to resume his Convocation address.

We cordially endorse all the sentiments expressed and embodied in these resolutions.

KNIGHTHOOD FOR OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer Knighthood on our Vice-Chancellor, in recognition of the great gallantry which he displayed upon the occasion of the attempt on the life of our Chancellor, His Excellency Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal, at Calcutta University on Saturday, February 6, 1932, while he was addressing the Annual Convocation at the Senate Hall.

We highly appreciate this prompt recognition of the signal services thus rendered with such cool courage and presence of mind and at great personal risk by our Vice-Chancellor whom we heartily congratulate. We also record our profound thankfulness to God for the providential escape of our Chancellor to whom we offer our sincere and respectful congratulations.

THE MOUAT MEDAL

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Dr. Dhirendramohan Datta, M.A., Ph.D., on his successful completion of work during

the third year's term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1926. .

* * *

A NEW Ph.D.

Mr. Tamonaschandra Dasgupta, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on "Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature.

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RESULT OF THE M.L. EXAMINATION FOR 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the M.L. Examination held in December, 1931, was 3, of whom 1 passed in the second division and 2 failed.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1932



CONVOCATION ADDRESS¹

MR. CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I esteem it a privilege to be present here to-day and to participate in the proceedings of this the Fifth Convocation of the Andhra University. I must confess that my knowledge of this part of the country is, for the most part, limited to through-journeys by rail and I also labour under the disadvantage that, in spite of close affinity of language, my acquaintance with the educational activities of this Province has not been very close. But I have watched, with special interest, for many years past, and particularly since the War, the struggles of the Andhra public to have a University of their own to raise their cultural stature, and to obtain independent political recognition for their part of the country in order to promote its economic well-being.

Perhaps the most significant development of recent times in Southern India has been the establishment of three new Universities as offshoots of the older federal University of Madras. The first area to set up such an institution of its own was, as you

Address delivered by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., LL.D., D.Sc., M.I.C.E., at the Fifth Convocation of the Andhra University, held at Waltair, on 1st December, 1931.

know, the State of Mysore, where, through the liberality of His Highness the Maharaja, the University is fostered with special solicitude and is maintained in a high state of efficiency. Incidentally it may be of interest to mention that the two distinguished educationists who have held, in succession, the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, at one time occupied prominent positions in the new Mysore University. Next after Mysore came the Annamalai University, which owes its origin to the munificence of a distinguished citizen of the Tamil community and which is also shaping creditably under its present management.

To those of us who watched the beginnings of the Mysore University and who remember the violent dislike which the mother University at one time showed to the idea of any daughter of hers setting up a house of her own, it is gratifying to learn that the two latter Universities actually parted with parental benediction and that they have received liberal help and encouragement from every quarter, and particularly from the Government of Madras. I gather from the reports that, although the Andhra University was started in 1926, it took three years to choose its headquarters and that, having started as an affiliating body, it is still struggling to build up a teaching side to its activities. But now that Waltair has been selected, it may be presumed that the energies of the authorities concerned as well as of the public interested in education will, in future, be concentrated on raising rapidly the structure of the new University of which they have laid the foundation. It is also a happy augury that the Andhra leaders are themselves keen on abandoning some of the outworn policies of the older Universities and on concentrating on the more modern or utilitarian side of higher education. I have long felt that it is necessary to adequately stress the utilitarian side, which has been unfortunately neglected in the past to the detriment of the permanent interests of the country. It should be possible to do this without being misunderstood or seeming to disparage the cultural aspects of University education.

The selection of the head quarters, though tardily done, seems also particularly happy, because Waltair itself is a famous health resort, with scenery round about it reminiscent of the Riviera, and Vizagapatam, its suburb, with its potential magnificent new harbour and railway connections, promises to become, at no distant date, the Karachi of the East. It is also fit and proper that Universities of the newer type should be located in, or close to, large cities and emporiums.

Advice to Graduates.

Before I proceed to the special topics I have in view, let me in accordance with recognized custom on such occasions say a few words, in the nature of advice, to the graduates on whom His Excellency the Chancellor* has just conferred degrees, with due ceremony, in the presence of this large and distinguished audience.

Your first duty, my young friends, after you leave the portals of this University, is to enter some profession, occupation or service to earn your living and cease to be dependent members of your family and community. Your next is to endeavour, to the fullest extent of our opportunities, to persuade all adult persons within your influence to keep themselves usefully employed, according to their capacity and circumstances, so that the great majority of them may constitute self-supporting members of the community. I lay special emphasis on this because, while for many years past the rate of increase of production and wealth in this country has been inappreciable, the population, whose welfare depends on such increase, has been growing at an alarming rate.

Success in life depends on action, that is, on what you do, and not on what you feel or think, and the price of success is hard work, preferably in an occupation congenial to your tastes. To work, to initiate, to get results, and get results quickly, is the key-note of the modern age. Industry, concentration,

self-reliance, a resolute will, added to integrity of character, are the chief passports to success, and these are within the reach of every active brain.

In these days of mass movements, mergers and co-operative enterprises, important results are achieved when large numbers of people work in unison for common advantage. Every nation that has prospered in recent years has done so by organized team work in the various departments of its public life. So, for the sake of your own and your country's welfare, you will find it an advantage if you form the habit of working harmoniously with all people with whom you come into relation in your daily life.

To the extent to which your opportunities permit, every one of you should give a portion of your time and energy to the service of the community, in one of the many ways for which there is always a great demand. Public service, the attempt to make the Province or State in which you live a better and happier place, is a high vocation. It should be your proud privilege to participate in such work, in however small a degree, according to your capacity and opportunities ; and you will experience no greater satisfaction in later life than what you may derive by the service rendered to your neighbours, society or the community.

We are living in a rapidly changing world, and if we are able to assimilate the latest habits and practices of progressive nations in our business life, our moral and material advance will be speedy and certain.

A wise use of time is of great value to success. In the last resort, health, happiness and success all depend on the work you put in ; and on your own honesty of purpose, determination and pluck, you should stake your future.

With these few words of counsel, I offer you all my warmest congratulations on the degrees and distinctions you have won, and I wish you and the University which has helped you to win them, continued prosperity and godspeed.

The Country's Deficiencies and Wants.

On the present occasion, I wish to draw attention to the importance of adjusting future educational policies and curricula to the needs of business and demands of economic advance. From the public standpoint, this is an urgent matter and I wish it to be considered not as an abstract proposition but as a live issue to the present generation. There has admittedly been such an appalling waste of talent and money in education of every grade in this country, especially of the University grade, that it is time that the whole system of education in it is rationalised without delay. The country's paramount needs render such a step not only necessary but imperative. The cultural side has had more attention paid to it in the past than perhaps, it rightly required, in view of the growing population from decade to decade. There is, however, no need to decry the value to be attached to it, if to-day we are to emphasize the urgent importance of the utilitarian aspect to meet the stress and storm of life with which the country is faced. University reform, if it is really to bear fruit, should, I think, from now, especially in view of the impending constitutional advance, take note of the defects of the past and provide remedies which will prove not mere palliatives but sure cures. Some degree of realism is, I think, really called for if Universities are to subserve genuine national ends in this country. The Andhra University is yet young and it is in a position to start well and strike out a new path in consonance with the needs of the time.

We will now go over a few of the most glaring deficiencies and wants with which we are confronted. One of the greatest disabilities under which the population of this country is labouring is illiteracy. According to the figures available, not more than 8 per cent. of the entire population of India is able to read and write. The corresponding proportion of literate population in British India is 7·5 per cent. and that in the

Madras Presidency 8·6 per cent. In most countries claiming to be progressive, the proportion is at least ten times what is represented by these figures. The next biggest disability, if next at all, is short employment and unemployment. Agricultural operations in this country depend on rainfall which lasts for about four months ; the cultivator has, in consequence, regular employment for approximately six months in the year and there is no policy, organization or agency to find him suitable work for the remaining period. He is left to his own unaided devices to keep himself employed. A third deficiency is the pursuit of agriculture by archaic practices, that is to say, by unscientific and unbusinesslike methods and without machinery, adequate capital or manure. A fourth defect is the neglect of industries. For one reason or another, organized industries, which in many countries produce staple products in large quantities and help to build up wealth, have not made any appreciable headway here. The number of persons employed in such industries is barely $1\frac{3}{4}$ million out of a total of about 353 million. In a progressive country of this size, there should be at least 25 million so employed. Such a development will, in addition, lead to perhaps twice this number obtaining employment in trade, transport, finance and other subsidiary occupations. A fifth defect is the small share taken by the people in higher commerce and foreign trade. India has no investments abroad and is herself a debtor nation. Such gold and silver as she has, constitute for practical purposes frozen wealth, and the country's economic organization is not calculated to encourage investments in industries and business. A sixth defect is the absence of any organization on modern lines to supply these deficiencies in a direct manner and to make available capital, technical skill, advice, and other aids, to help the people to build up business.

The future educational policies of the country should be specifically shaped to provide remedies for these various deficiencies and wants. A determined attempt should be made to equip

every young person in the country with a knowledge of the 3 R's and, also, when possible, with some degree of knowledge of skill in a vocation or profession suited to his capacity and opportunities. The educational system should arrange to train a sufficiency of natural leaders, such as administrators, entrepreneurs and technical experts taken from young persons qualified by their natural ability and aptitudes. It is these two classes, namely, persons of directing ability on the one hand and the great masses of working population on the other, that count most in the country's economic life. The two working together create business. The intermediate class, *viz.*, foremen, middlemen and skilled workmen, will grow up automatically although they too will need, and will benefit by, education appropriate to their class.

Education of the University Grade.

As the leader class is usually trained in the Universities, it would be appropriate to consider first in what directions the system of University education needs revision and strengthening. The number of scholars attending Universities, and institutions of University grade, in British India, comes to about 100,000 and including the Indian States it may go up to 110,000. The corresponding figures in Great Britain and Japan appear to be about 49,660 and 52,186 respectively and in the United States of America about 919,381. The comparison shows that if Great Britain is to be our model, and assuming that we can afford the cost, there should be at least three times the number of scholars attending institutions of the University grade in this country than there are at the present time.

The instruction given in the Indian Universities in subjects which have relation to production and business is extremely meagre. The most remunerative occupations for a time in this country will be those connected with *Industries* which are needed for converting raw materials into the finished products

of commerce. The principal courses of studies needed for industries and allied professions are—Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy and Chemical Technology. With the increase of inventions, new machinery and new commodities, specialized branches of Engineering have developed to meet the needs of definite technique, such as, Fuel and Gas Engineering, Electro-Chemical Engineering, Automotive and Aeronautical Engineering, Marine Engineering, Naval Engineering and the like.

For the next great occupation, namely, Agriculture, a knowledge of Chemistry, of sound agricultural practices, the use of machinery and manure will be needed, and also a knowledge of hydraulic engineering to design and operate works connected with irrigation.

For the practice of trade and commerce in the highest levels, a sound knowledge of economics, commerce, domestic and international trade and banking is indispensable. And along with these short courses in Civil Administration, in Business Administration and the occupational structure of the leading industrial nations of the world will be extremely valuable. In all these respects, the Indian Universities should put forth their strength in future to bring the training into closer contact with the needs of everyday business.

Co-operation among Universities.

It is not intended that provision should be made for every important subject in every University. Where the number of students requiring training in a subject or science is small, it would be comparatively less costly for the University to encourage young persons to proceed to other Universities where specialized training is imparted or even to foreign countries, by providing scholarships and stipends for the purpose. I would plead in this connection for greater co-operation between the Universities, both in regard to providing courses of study and to specialization

with a view to ultimate research. Many foreign Universities are constantly modifying their curricula to suit the changing demands of public work and business in their respective countries. Some of them, like the McGill University of Montreal (Canada), keep track of even social questions and issue social service bulletins. That shows how modern Universities try to keep abreast of the times and endeavour to cater to public needs on efficient and scientific lines. Except perhaps in the Calcutta University, research is not carried on to the extent desired. There should be research by professors and research by students ; those who show special aptitude in this field should be deputed to Europe and America in the country's larger interests.

A Technological University for India.

Such a great importance is attached to Technology and Commerce in Japan that separate Universities are maintained for the purpose and students are encouraged to remain at a University on an average up to an age of over 26 years. Science and Technology should be cultivated in close association. It is gratifying to learn that the Andhra University is likely soon to establish a College of Science and Technology at Waltair. A few weeks ago in the course of a learned address at the Annamalai University, Mr. S. E. Ranganatham, the Vice-Chancellor of that University, deplored the lack of funds which prevented their starting a similar College at Chidambaram and suggested that instead of scattering their slender resources by multiplying ill-equipped colleges, all the Universities of South India might join forces and inaugurate an up-to-date College of Science and Technology with complete equipment of laboratories, workshops and machinery. In this connection it is worth while considering whether the Tata Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore may not be converted into a University as was at one time contemplated and placed under the control of a board of Members drawn from the Universities of India, the representatives of the Tata

family and the Provincial and State Governments concerned. If this was done and there was whole-hearted co-operation from all these bodies and authorities, it should be possible to obtain magnificent results in the technical line in less than a dozen years' time.

Other Grades and Forms of Education.

A general idea may be formed of the educational facilities available in British India from the number of scholars attending all classes of institutions which, in 1928-29, was 12·17 millions. This is equivalent to 4·5 per cent. of the total population of the country, the corresponding proportion at the same time being about 12·5 per cent. in Japan, 16 per cent. in Great Britain and 25 per cent. in the United States of America. The fact that the last-named country maintains one quarter of its population at school is doubtless the main reason why it is so prosperous to-day. The figures also show what an enormous leeway we have to make up in this country.

The numbers attending schools of the elementary grade in 1919 formed about 3·3 per cent. of the total population. To do justice to the needs of the country, this number should be trebled or quadrupled. There should be a wide diffusion of elementary education among the masses and the character of the education should be such as to give them a bias in favour of a vocation or calling.

The number of scholars attending schools of the secondary grade seems fairly satisfactory. Next in importance to mass elementary education comes vocational education. The number attending technical and special schools in the year 1929 is given as 327,673 or about 12 per 10,000. This number requires to be multiplied ten-fold if it is to be anywhere near the European standard. A very widespread system of vocational education is one of the greatest needs of the day in order to prepare the people for business life.

A young person who completes his primary education at the age of 10 or 12 should be able to enter an Arts and Crafts school in the nearest taluk or town. Students who pass the Middle School course and the High School course should be able to enter a Mid-Technical school and a Polytechnique (or a Technical Institute) respectively. For the highest qualifications in an occupation or profession, a young person should enter a University after passing the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science. There should be Institutions of corresponding grades on parallel lines in Commerce or Business and Agriculture for those who wish to take up those professions. In Agricultural Schools, instruction in elementary mechanical engineering and the use of machinery should form an obligatory course as in the United States of America. •

To give opportunities of improving their knowledge or skill to persons already in employment, a large variety of schools should be allowed to spring up, such as, continuation schools, part-time schools, night schools, and special trade schools.

For a rapid diffusion of both general and business education, a considerable expansion of adult education is a desideratum. Adults should be able to obtain training in any grade or variety of education, up to, say, the 32nd year of age by attending night schools or part-time classes, without material interference with their regular occupation and income. Private effort should come to the aid of Government to carry on a country-wide campaign to spread literacy, or knowledge of a vocation among the adult population.

In any scheme for a wide expansion of education, there should be a provision for local Committees or Boards of citizens competent to advise persons in the choice of a profession or calling at any stage of their educational career. •

Lessons from Foreign Countries.

For preparing a plan or programme for the rapid spread of education, note should be taken of recent developments in all

grades of education in foreign countries. A close study of the educational history and policies of three or four up-to-date countries for the past fifty years will provide adequate data for framing a reliable plan and programme for our own. Western countries and Japan closely watch each other's progress in every department of national growth but neither Government nor leaders in India are in the habit of profiting by the past experience of countries outside our own. They only compare the country's condition with its past and are easily satisfied if there is some small advance. What matters to us in these rapidly changing times is not that we are better than we were ten or twenty years ago but how we are advancing relatively to countries in the forefront of progress.

For the same purpose, the present world trends in industry and business should be also taken into account. The employment of machinery and mass production methods in the West and particularly in the United States of America, has helped to reduce production costs and the use of human labour. This has resulted not only in increasing production in the countries in which these devices are adopted but also in reducing the wages paid to human labour in backward countries like India. A striking instance of this tendency is the sale at Karachi of wheat, produced in Canada, and in Russia, at a price lower than that ruling for wheat grown by Indian labour on the banks of the Indus.

You have all heard of the famous Five-year Plan of Soviet-Russia, which is a programme to cover year by year and item by item the economic development of the Union commencing from the year 1928-29. Speaking of the nation-wide economic plan, the *Manchester Guardian* not long ago remarked: "The originality of organization, the variety of methods of teaching and the consciousness of aim, may well produce in a few years, a technical education system which will startle Europe." A similar organization for developing production and education may be most useful if India decides to forge ahead. We are not concerned with the Soviet methods creating a classless society or promoting

collective ownership, but their principle of conscious planning conveys a much-needed lesson to this country. It is reported that many broad-minded business leaders in the United States of America are already seriously thinking that some of the elements of a planned economy may be adopted in their own country.

A Provincial Plan and Programme.

Our aim should be to bring education closer to business. To illustrate how this should be done, let us take a province like the Andra-desha which has a population of about 20 million in round figures. We know that there is as yet no separate Andhra Province as such but the area indicated is as good as any for our purpose.

A Five-Year Plan of educational advance should give data showing the various forms of educational institutions required, the approximate number of young persons to be kept under training in each class of institution in order to provide future recruits to the various classes of industries, occupations and professions. These numbers should not be left to chance, as has been done hitherto, but determined by investigation in close consultation between Government, the representatives of industries and professions, the Universities and other classes of educational institutions. The best way to insure co-operation is by the establishment of boards or committees to advise the Government.

The total number of scholars of all grades attending educational institutions in the Andhra country, according to the latest figures available, is 991,931, or say, one million persons. For a future ideal the number should be 20 per cent. of the total population, or about four times the present number. The number of scholars maintained in elementary schools in the same area is 932,731. This should be increased to 15 per cent. of the total population, or say, 3 millions. In schools of secondary grade, the present attendance is about 55,409 persons and this may have to be increased to about 100,000. The number

attending vocational and special schools at present is probably about 13,000 persons. To do justice to the business needs of the province, this number should go up to, say, about 200,000. There should be at least one College of Science, Engineering and Technology, one well-equipped College of Commerce and one College of Agriculture, with a model farm attached. Of vocational or technical schools below the University grade, there should ordinarily be three grades, namely, elementary, middle and higher ; of commercial and business schools two grades and of schools of agriculture also two grades. With the growth of industry and business, a great variety of unrecognized trade and business schools is apt to spring up and such institutions also should be encouraged and supported.

There should be one or more factories or manufacturing establishments, either maintained or aided by Government for the manufacture of machines of every kind, and machinery such as locomotive engines and even aeroplanes and automobiles. Where the expense of the manufacture of full-size machinery is found to be prohibitive, resort should be had to the "Unit operation method" by using plant in miniature. Such an arrangement is indispensable to render industries popular in a country like India, where both business-men and students will benefit by ocular demonstration.

Another class of training on which emphasis may be laid is instruction in business habits, up-to-date business routine, methodical performance of duties, appreciation of the value of time and similar matters. Instruction should be given also in every grade and class of education, to the extent appropriate to each, in Civics, Public Administration and Business Administration.

There is practically no limit to the supply of student population in any province provided the necessary funds are forthcoming. If an appeal for funds is made by eminent sons of the Andhra country itself, like Sir C. V. Raman and your own Vice-Chancellor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, it is not likely to fall on deaf ears. I am sure there will be general agreement among

educationists that there should be a planned economy on the lines I have roughly outlined for every Indian province for the prosecution of its future educational programme.

Education and Economic Welfare.

I fear I have digressed somewhat from the usual style of Convocation Address by giving special prominence to one aspect of education only, namely, its business and practical side. I was led to choose this theme because education is the root of all progress and every educational problem is at bottom an economic one. My diagnosis is that education in this country having regard to its enormous population is pitifully meagre, that it is far below progressive standards, that it is ill-adapted for nation-building and wealth-producing activities and that the Universities which are at the apex have not set a good example in all these respects. The economic future of India is placed in grave peril by the slow progress which mass education is making and the scant attention that is being paid in University circles to the needs of industrial and commercial advance. There is no organization charged to deal with these problems, nor is there any visible move to create such an organisation.

If what I have stated is correct—and my diagnosis is based on information gathered during visits to the leading Universities of the world and to some of them more than once—I trust it will be conceded that a case for reform is made out and that the time has arrived when no province or State in India can rest content till it has suitably modified its educational policies and put its house in order. At a time when every rupee of money and every ounce of energy is needed to increase the volume of education, we can ill afford to waste either money or energy on the ornamental variety, whatever the class or form, that does not return its money's worth.

The present low production and income of the country cannot be due to lack of labour, because, as we have seen already,

there is redundant man power, and unemployment is rife. It cannot be due to lack of resources, because raw materials of enormous value are exported from the country, and manufactured products, which can be made here out of the same materials, are imported from abroad in equally enormous quantities. In the midst of a competitive world, we find our vast population, ignorant, unorganised and suffering from short employment. The problem before the country is how to grow more products of every kind needed to sustain its enormous population, how to convert most of the raw materials capable of being used in industries into manufactured products within the country itself by the labour of its own people, how to raise the productive value of that labour and the quality of constructive talent to supervise the labour; and also how to bring into existence an organization which will help to attract capital to business, and in which labour, raw materials, popular initiative and directing ability may all play an appropriate part to increase the country's production and wealth.

Some Concrete Examples.

That organization and enthusiasm can work wonders is evident from the example set by the Benares Hindu University, where a leading private citizen has, by sheer force of character and patriotism, been able to collect a crore and a half of money to build up a new University. I have had proofs in a small way in the Mysore State of what popular enthusiasm can do when it is really roused. An educational campaign undertaken in that State between the years 1912 and 1918, under the supervision of an able head of the Education Department, resulted in trebling the number of scholars attending primary schools in a short space of six years.

An Appeal to Andhras.

The people of the Andhra-desa are a patriotic and impressionable race and there can be no more legitimate aspiration for them than to bring, with the co-operation of their Government, their educational ideas and system into line with those of countries in the forefront of progress. It may take long to do this or it may be accomplished in fifteen or twenty years. But whatever the rate of progress, it may be taken as an axiom that the material prosperity of the province will follow at the same pace as the education of its citizens. If knowledge is power, practical education is the source of both power and wealth. Let those leaders, then, who take a pride in serving the public, use their powers of persuasion and leadership, with unflagging zeal, to build up an educational structure, worthy of the noble destiny to which they aspire to raise their province.

TO HOPE

I float and drift in the waters of life,
I hear thy voice sing to me :
“ Arise, my darling,
The night of Bliss is coming.”

I move and walk along the thorns of life,
I hear thy voice cry to me :
“ Move on, my darling,
The end of trouble is coming.”

I weep in the dullness of my own soul,
I hear thy voice pour to me :
“ Sing on, my darling,
Life’s music is coming.”

NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

MODERN ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

About twelve centuries ago the king of Kerala came to Sankaracharyya, the great savant-ascetic of South India, with heaps of gold and jewellery on elephants' back and two dramas composed by himself, and offered them as presents. Sankaracharyya is said to have kept the two books to himself and ordered the distribution of the rest amongst the poor in the neighbourhood. Doubtless the saint had thought that he had made the best use of the money placed at his disposal, and felt a degree of self-satisfaction for his meritorious deed. But perhaps he was not aware that the standards of merit might vary—and that to an extent which could approach contradiction itself. If he were living now near 'the well-known writer of philosophic books' who had "given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend," he would have surely turned with surprise if not with actual resentment, unable to appreciate why his neighbour's action should be condemned by Carnegie as "one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life." Such feelings of surprise and resentment indicate the great change in social environment and the mental outlook which the former helps to create.

The ancients had great distrust for wealth and little regard for its efficiency either in the development of the individual or in the promotion of social welfare. The Indians, one of the foremost races of the ancient world, had no doubt evolved economic thought of their own which gave recognition, nay sometimes exaggerated recognition, to wealth. Kautilya had noticed the close connection between wealth and welfare; Asoka realised that connection into actual life; while Sukra would take that connection deeper still by insisting: "wealth alone could lead

men to virtue, satisfaction and salvation." Then there were the Vedic sages, the Purvacharyas, Visalaksha, Parasara, Pisuna, Bahudanti-putra, and a host of other Artha-shastra writers. But with all this it should be remembered that the recognition of wealth was far from being general. The physical features which gave India abundant Nature's gifts made her material life comparatively easy, and this easiness took away much of the charms which material life had in other countries. Then there was the political condition which made India a conglomeration of innumerable warring states and thereby discouraged the accumulation of wealth by private individuals. To these must be added the vices and corruption amongst the rich, the jealousies and mutual feud amongst the princes, the frolicsome mirth, the shameless levity, the soul-agonising despair—which primitive conditions in all countries could not help and early created a feeling of bitter antipathy towards materialistic pursuits in the minds of India's intelligentsia whom Nature by her bounteous favour had already given the leisure to contemplate. Thus wealth in spite of her recognition by the Arthashastra-writers failed to gain that sanction of philosophy which alone could have preserved its message to an unbelieving posterity. "Wealth," said the great savant-ascetic to whom we have referred, "is the root of all evils. This thought—let it be permanent with you. Forsooth, wealth cannot give us the slightest tinge of happiness." Then there was the train of philosophers both before and after him, whose voice of condemnation was in no way less vehement. In fact, like the free-traders of modern England who entertain an almost superstitious hatred for protection, people in India led by their philosophers made materialism a by-word for all that is vile and immoral in this world. Wealth could bring to their mind no other image than rank selfishness, murderous debauchery, and all "the dreadful sins who in a body wait on Satan." India has many gospels of life, but hardly any gospel of wealth—and the cause is a historical and natural one.

The Greeks, another ancient race of marked celebrity, though more materialistic than their Indian brethren, at least in their mental outlook, could give us no better. They were indeed less favoured by Nature, and the rocky character of their native soil had early turned them into a maritime and commercial people, and as such they had the best chance of formulating the true philosophy of wealth. But they failed. And their failure in economics was largely due to their straining in politics. If in India men were essentially religious, the people of Greece were by virtue, by nature, and by necessity political. The religious creed of India took her to a philosophic retirement from wealth ; the political creed of Greece led her to a political misuse of wealth. In Sparta her sole legislator, Lycurgus, wanting a vigorous militia for defence against neighbouring foes, turned the whole citizen-body into forced abstainers, and this had a reaction upon her social morality with the exact precision of a Newtonian Law. For within a century or two following the legislation of Lycurgus, the Spartans outside Sparta had become the most rapacious, the most greedy and the meanest hunters after gold. In Athens her Pericles, her Chophon, to make Athens ' the Queen of Hellas ' through a finished democracy, trampled upon the hard-earned wealth of the rich, thus giving rise to a city rabble which ultimately tore away the very foundations on which the commonwealth was designed to stand. Political liberty which would cement the state into an organic whole became nothing but a political license. Man's natural political existence, to defend which Socrates had to lose his own life, became hopelessly distorted in the hands of the popular charlatans ; and it is only when we remember this that we can appreciate Diogenes, his cynicism of wealth, society and life :

No city, or country I profess,
But trust each day to bring its daily bread,
Vagrant and beggar.

Thus the Greeks too failed—and the failure again was, partly if not wholly, historical and natural. It is only too fair to

notice here that there were at least some Greeks with whom wealth had a more refined and quite up-to-date precision. Thus Plato had recognised the value of wealth in constructing his 'Republic'; and Aristotle, his great disciple and critic, goes still further when he declares that no ideal polity is possible without the material conditions of life. Virtue—the end of the state—he says disagreeing with the cynics, is not self-sufficient for happiness. Chronic poverty deprives men of leisure and liberal impulses: a man upon whom the task of earning life's "necessary" bread weighs heavily can have little time and less inclination for listening to 'Counsels of perfection.' But the outcome of the need for leisure and detachment which meets us prominently in Aristotle's pages, is slavery. However one may seek to be fair to Aristotle's conception of life, we cannot but admit that it is the conception entertained by an intellectual aristocracy (which would fain be also a political aristocracy) of itself, and of its possibilities and necessities. Its flower would have been a fine manhood fully open; but many a life must have gone before, like autumn leaves, to fertilise the ground.

A wider thinking was necessary which would propound an ideal that will need no instruments upon which all men may not count, and which above all made no man a mere instrument to the welfare of another. Such a wider thinking modern Economics claims for her subject-matter. It says that it is not the handmaiden of Mammon but of Ethics, waiting to serve her mistress when she embarks on her missionary voyage to reconstitute the world on a higher basis of law and morality, and help it to realise that vision of immortal Justice for which Plato had sighed. Should its mistress fail, it also fails, but for that it must not be blamed and set aside: it had not tarried; it was ever ready to serve and do its humble part.

The fundamental problem of modern economics, as it is also of modern politics and of society in general, is the problem of adjusting material conditions to the higher well-being of man. "Is it really impossible," asks the economist of to-day, "that all

should start in the world with a fair chance of leading a cultured life, free from the pains of poverty and the stagnating influences of excessive mechanical toil.....? ” To-day, a spinning machine turns yarn in one day which would require the toil of spinners for full ten years. Half a seer of coal in the furnace replaces the weary work of the tired muscles of a labourer for one long day. Is then the idea, the thought of creating a better world than this we have in our day, impracticable? Is it really the raving of a mad utopian philanthropist—a mirage in the desert of the human heart? The answer is a difficult one to make; but Economics offers us a ray of hope by declaring that poverty is not a necessary and indispensable ordinance of nature.

Poverty, as the socialist writers would have it, is a question of distribution. The wealth that is produced in the world to-day is sufficient to maintain all people at a decent standard of living, if it is shared more equitably which means more equally. Even Marshall, the great English economist, who was averse to any radical change in the social organism which he thought too delicate to bear the effect, said—“ Is it necessary that while there is so much wealth there should be so much want? ” Such anticipations of removing wants by better distribution need certain corrections, specially from the point of view of India where it is generally agreed that poverty is not so much a question of distribution as of production. These loopholes in the general expectance do not however vitiate the socialist attack upon the existing economic system of the world. Though the socialists lay great emphasis on distribution they do not for a moment lose sight of the productive machine. They point out that under the present system of competition and private property society is daily incurring a huge waste. Not only is society losing on the ethical side, since many of its members are compelled to live a life of unemployment, ignorance and disease, but also it is losing on the economic side itself, for production is being carried on without the necessary correlation

to the needs of the society. Not only under-production is leading to acute distress in society as a consumer, but also over-production is leading to an equal amount, if not more, of misery in society as a producer. The violent trade depressions, the great world crises which have a general effect of putting society out of all gear, are the results, nay inevitable adjuncts, of an uncontrolled law of supply and demand. Here arises the crucial problem and if Economics can offer a proper solution, the voyage of her mistress is won—the flags will be unfurled, bouquette and ribbon-wreaths shall celebrate humanity's triumphal march.

The problem can be reduced thus :—(i) Is the productive machine of to-day imperfect ? (ii) Is a better one impossible ?

As regards the first question the world's public opinion is unanimous. Perhaps there was no other avenue possible. The logic of circumstances have been too great to be otherwise explained : even the most bigoted capitalist is even now feeling the rough shaking of the "recent wave." But the solution of this question however does not help us much. To imitate the philosophic pessimism of Bertrand Russel, mankind here might stand on the feet of unyielding despair. Yes, the productive machine is not all right, but what can be done ? Man may fight and clamour, but no better machine is forthcoming. Let us see whether mankind may not have a more hopeful future. To do this we have to solve the second question. Is not a better productive machine possible ? May not a changed one dry up the oil that sets the wheels of business "a-roll ?" Economists are mostly disagreed on this point. Those of the remote past have given their blunt "yes ;" some who yet survive the progressive years still have their hesitations ; while others who are mostly of the young generation have stoutly expressed their denial. The question, as its very nature indicates, cannot possibly be answered by economists alone ; it involves a re-consideration of human psychology in particular.

That if private property is abolished and law of competition is turned into a law of cautious survey, certain benefits will accrue we can fairly accept. Land and capital, being in the hands of society, may be used in such a way that the greatest economies so far as they depend directly on the two factors will be secured ; there is no doubt about it. Even a similar improvement may come from the social control of labour and organisation. Labour may be better housed, work in more sanitary conditions and in general receive a greater share of the national dividend. Organisation may be more rationalised. There will be little need of advertisement and less need of expenditure ; the farms will be in exact ratio to customers' demand ; and losses of unnecessary establishments eliminated, excluding the stoppage of certain other expenditures in connection with transports, communications, etc. But the great point at issue is whether with all these improvements there will be the expected increase in the national dividend. With Marshall, for instance, the national dividend is all in all (and justly so for it is the source, and the only source, which supplies water to the tubes both near and far) and it is feared by him that economic socialism will not only fail to increase its volume but may, by diminishing it in many cases, threaten even the rough equilibrium which society has come to acquire. Says Carnegie : "The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilisation itself rests, for civilisation took its start from the day when the capable industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, ' If thou dost not sow, thou shalt not reap,' and thus ended primitive communism by separating the drones from the bees." One who studies the subject, may continue others, will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilisation itself depends—the right of the labourer to his hundred dollars in the savings bank and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. Every man must be allowed " to sit under his own vine and fig-tree,

with none to make him afraid," if human society is to advance, or even to remain so far advanced as it is. To those who propose socialism for this intense individualism, the answer is: the race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have had the ability and energy to produce it. But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundations, individualism,—that it is a nobler ideal that man should labour, not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood in common, realising Swedenborg's idea of heaven, where, as he says, the angels derive their happiness, not for labouring for self, but for each other,—even if we admit all this, a sufficient answer is, This is not evolution, but revolution. It necessitates the changing of human nature itself even if it were good to change it, which we cannot know.

What will Economics say to these? Are such apprehensions valid? Is human nature unchanging? Or, if that may be the case, is the explanations of human nature which the conservatives have offered, comprehensive? May there be not a fuller, a more illuminating one? Economics can only look to her sister, psychology. Hedonism or utilitarianism has hitherto formed the basis of economic generalisations. Utilitarianism which makes pleasure the chief good of man says that men are guided in their economic motives by considerations of gain and loss. But recently utilitarianism has lost much of its former hold: it has been found to be inadequate and in its place behaviouristic psychology has gained wider acceptance. Some writers (*e.g.*, Dickinson in his *Economic Motives*) however maintain that the gap between the old hedonistic psychology and the new behaviouristic psychology is much narrower than is often supposed and that for the practical purpose of the economist the old psychology still remains substantially valid. Others would dispute this view. In his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* Bertrand Russel has suggested, "All human activity springs from two sources:

impulse and desire. The part played by desire has always been sufficiently recognised. But desire governs no more than a part of the human activity, and that not the most important part but only the more conscious, explicit and civilised part. Impulse is, at the bottom, the basis of our activity, much more than desire.....what applies to artistic creation (*e.g.*, painting a picture or writing a book) applies equally to all that is most vital in our lives ; direct impulse is what moves us, and the desires which we think we have are a mere garment for the impulse." If this be true then certainly the mistress of Economics need not fear that her vessel will founder on the rock of human nature. The Russian vessel at least has passed unhurt the agrarian part of the rock, and, Colonel Robertson anticipates, it may reach the harbour at Bombay or at Hong-Kong.

In conclusion we may say that though the rock of human nature is a solid one and inexorable in its own place, it is also open to human modifications. Many a mossy stone one may have to come across in the uphill way but beside the mossy stones there are also the violets to be guarded and taken due care of, that the "hall of human progress" may one day "smile, shine soft and long abide, beautiful evermore." In this work of human glorification, need we add, the universities which hitherto have remained with a Platonic withdrawal, thinking that the Final good should some day be miraculously achieved, have an important contribution to make. That contribution should not only lie in preparing the Organon of Knowledge which will dispel all illusions, but also in spreading the message of that other Organon, that hope may return and those who are heavy-laden may at least find a resting-place near the "Roads to Freedom."

BHABADEVA BHATTACHARYYA

THE RECENT STERLING LOAN

An eminent economist once observed that civilisation and indebtedness go together. The remark, apparently made wittily, points to an unmistakable tendency—the tendency of debts of almost all governments to swell. While much of the indebtedness of civilised nations—an overwhelmingly large magnitude—is born of unproductive operations of the governments, quite a large volume of the debts is also due to expenditure on improvements which are of lasting benefit to the country. Evidently problems of widely different character are suggested by the different classes of debts. Not only the nature of the debt but the purposes for which, and also the manner in which, they are raised, have profound reactions on the economic life of a nation and give rise to complex problems of great moment.

It is a *sine quâ non* of public finance that every government should strive to meet its current expenditure out of its current revenues. It is now almost an economic platitude to say that a loan *per se* tends to become a direct real burden as it transfers wealth from one section of the community to another, usually from the active businessmen to the leisured class, and to increase the inequalities of incomes. A growing country, on the other hand, is constantly in need of large funds for a variety of capital expenditures the fruits of which are also enjoyed by the generations still unborn. Evidently there is a limit to the extent to which funds can be raised by means of taxation. The limit, elastic as it is and varying as it does with the methods by which, and the purposes for which, the taxes are levied, is set by the tendency of taxation to check production. Beyond a certain point taxes would prove a serious handicap to the producers; they would be tempted to cut down production and the national dividend will be *pro tanto* prejudicially affected. Obviously a rigid policy of taxation carried too far defeats its own ends. The very sources which are to be tapped become dried up. Before this

tendency operates the government must resort to borrowing. So varied are the expenses of the government to-day that public borrowing has become a vital part of modern public finance. Still it is true that capital expenditure, whether productive or unproductive, should as far as possible be financed by taxes. The reason is not far to seek. As Dr. Dalton puts it, "it prevents the breeding of needless unearned income and makes a far less unequal distribution." It is also possible that to tide over temporary current treasury requirement the government has often to "go into the market." But particular care should be taken that such debts do not accumulate and that they are paid out of the next incoming revenues. The government's aim should ever be to present a balanced budget and taking one year with another the surpluses and deficits ought to balance. It is also a cardinal principle of public finance that public debt should afford opportunities for investment to all classes of investors.

The evils of public borrowing are magnified manifold if the loan happens to be a foreign one. While the internal borrowing has the saving grace of retaining wealth within the country, the repayment of the external loan itself and the payment of the interest thereupon involve an exodus of wealth from the country. External borrowing may also be attended with other serious consequences. Apart from occasioning exchange difficulties and seriously prejudicing the international credit of the borrowing country, heavy foreign loans place it in a position of inferiority. Not the least among the dangers of foreign loans is that they breed vested interests of foreigners within the country. They may even serve to furnish a convenient plea to the foreigners for interference with the internal affairs of the country and may even lead to colonisation by external capitalists in the territory of the borrowing country. Britain's occupation of Egypt is an instance perilously near the point. Briefly, international indebtedness gives rise to delicate, dangerous and far-reaching international problems of supreme importance in the solution of which the creditor country generally gets the whip-hand.

These serious disadvantages notwithstanding, a comparatively new and developing country may be driven to borrow largely abroad, because its own capital resources are inadequate while its rich and abounding natural resources are still to be explored and worked up into finished products. Even well-developed and advanced countries are often faced with the uncomfortable situation of their capital resources, adequate as they are in normal times, being well-nigh exhausted while they stand in urgent need of funds and more funds to finance some extraordinary expenditures. Under such circumstances when the avenues of internal borrowing have been adequately explored an unchallengeable case for external loan is clearly made out. Exigencies of the situation—the imperious needs of the nation—demand such actions. These considerations do not exhaust the problems connected with foreign loans. The manner of borrowing is not less important than the fact of borrowing. It is of the essence of such loan operations that they should be as far as possible short-term loans. Long-term external debts should be kept to “irreducible minimum.” The merits of such loans can only be tested by these well-known canons of public finance and also by reference to other possible alternatives.

The authorities in charge of Indian finances seem to show an unflinching affection for the London money market. They have often been arraigned of being partial towards London regarding their loan operations. With a charming naïveté they have almost on every occasion virtually pleaded guilty to the charge and solemnly promised never more to betray such graceless partiality. The surprising regularity with which the assurances have been repeated and as surprising regularity with which they have been disregarded has ever been a matter of great amazement. Only recently India has been saddled with a sterling loan amounting to £10m. The tragedy of the whole thing is that India has no determining voice in the matter, but only to bear the burden as best as she can. Surely, hardly any objection can be taken to the Government of India finding short-term accommodation in

the London money-market. This could easily have been accomplished by seeking accommodation through sterling bills. But as the loan is a long-term one (1958-68), a *prima facie* case lies against the recent sterling loan. The onus of making out a sound case in favour of the loan lies heavily with those who are responsible for it.

An examination of the purposes for which the loan has been contracted reveals the ugly fact that the case against the loan is not merely a *prima facie* one but has solid foundations. On analysis it appears that a part of it is intended for capital expenditure and the rest to be utilized for paying off maturing treasury bills. True, to meet permanent requirements by long-term debts has the sanction of all sober economists, if they cannot reasonably be met out of current revenues and provided, however, regular arrangements are made for wiping off those debts as they fall due. Assuming, however, that the above provisos have been adhered to, there can be no reasonable objection to that portion of the loan which is to be utilized for capital expenditure. But the curious practice of contracting long-term loans for paying off short-term ones is one that is contrary to all canons of public finance. Still, the Government of India is persisting in the much-maligned practice of repaying maturing sterling treasury bills by long-term sterling loans. The part of the issue that goes to the repayment of maturing bills is clearly open to serious objection.

The advocates of a rupee loan have been told that the Indian money market is at present extremely 'tight' and that it can only be tapped by rates extremely unfavourable to the Government. The implication obviously is that the London market offered better facilities for the loan operation. Subsequent facts, however, tell a very different tale. The underwriters are reported to have been saddled with 23 per cent. of the issue, the market having subscribed only 77 per cent. The London money market refused to absorb the loan. This is a hard fact which the Government will be put to its wit's end to gainsay.

It has been further argued that the loan in London is intended to give respite to the Indian money market and, be it added, at the expense of the London market. Surely, such a happy consummation could have been easily achieved by the Government securing temporary accommodation in the shape of sterling bills. The ill-concealed uncomfortable fact is that the Government is desperately in love with London market, but London is evidently not enamoured of it. That is the pity of it.

The terms of the loan and the cold shoulder given to such a favourable offer go far to justify the dark forebodings that the Government's persistence in the external loan policy would seriously prejudice India's international financial standing. A comparison with the loan issue of January, 1928, brings this point into sharp relief. The recent loan issue is precisely of the same nature as that of the previous year. Both are on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis. Nor is the present issue very big, it being only £10 m. But—herein comes in the difference—while the issue price of the loan of 1928 was £91 $\frac{1}{2}$, the issue price on this occasion is £91. To this extent undeniably the credit of the Government of India has deteriorated. Add to this the fact that even such favourable terms could not successfully woo London into accepting the offer. The situation is surely far from encouraging.

Attempts have been made to explain away this attitude of London towards India by ascribing it to certain extraneous and temporary factors. A number of factors is alleged to have conspired to make London shy of India. Briefly, the causes that have made for this change in the attitude of London are alleged to be political rather than economic. This, by the way, entirely gives away the case that London at the time was a comparatively favourable market. Political reasons do not tell the whole story. The fact that London refused to absorb this loan while last year's issue was subscribed the very day it was launched is too much for political causes alone to explain away. Partly, no doubt, it was due to political turmoil; something must also be ascribed to the stringency that London money market

must be beginning to experience ; but partly it is certainly due to loss of credit abroad—a fact that is bound to ensue if external loan operations are persisted in. Deterioration of credit is the real reason for this unfortunate happening, and political factors have simply served to aggravate the situation.

A suggestion was made in certain quarters that a portion of the loan raised might be utilized in purchasing sterling securities so as to put the Government in possession of adequate resources for expanding currency in order to tide over the impending 'tightness' in the money-market in the coming busy season. The suggestion is fantastic, but coming as it does from supposedly responsible quarters it calls for consideration. Emergency issue, to facilitate which the suggestion has obviously been thrown out, calls for makeshift and temporary arrangements. The idea of securing emergency issue by contracting long-term credits has an air of novelty and originality but is not one likely to command much respect except as a *pis aller*.

We wish these were all that could possibly be said against the sterling loan. Unfortunately, however, these do not exhaust the tale of mischief wrought by it. Apart from the fact that if the Government persists in its reckless policy of external loan operations, the borrowing rate will have to be considerably raised and further liabilities will have to be undertaken with the result that they will produce reactions on the general budgetary position of India, the method by which the loan has been issued is itself open to objection. The unseemly haste with which the loan has been pushed without due publicity smacks too much of partiality and has successfully shut out Indian investors. If all classes of investors were welcomed to the subscription, it would have added at least one silver lining to the otherwise dark picture. But we forget India Government's affection for London would not brook any outside interference, least of all Indian.

SOME ORIENTALISM IN SHELLEY

Shelley is often called 'the poet's poet.' Kalidas might well be called that: Tagore might be styled the same. The Indian soul because of its peculiar heritage can understand a 'poet's poet' better than most others. Thus though the world be deaf to Shelley's message, for the India of the Renaissance, for the fast-changing rapidly-moving India of to-day, this message is particularly arresting, because his ideals are in unison with Indian thought.

Shelley was a prophet of Liberty. He has been called a 'revolutionary.' He was nobler. He was a *Satyagrahi*! Hear his own words,

" Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks that are
Weapons of an unvanquished war."

Here, as in *Prometheus Unbound*, that great and magnificent symbolical drama, he clearly shows that he believed in spiritual resistance which is non-violent, and which is anything but Occidental! It is this phase of his political poems which makes his appeal keener to the Indian of these stirring times. In his *Revolt of Islam* he says,

" If blood be shed, 'tis but a change and choice
Of bonds,...from slavery to cowardice
A wretched fall!.....Uplift thy charmed voice.
Pour on those evil men the love that lies
Hovering within those spirit-soothing eyes! "

Does this not seem like a melodious kindred voice from the dim distant regions of the Beyond coming to us on the waves of sunlight to hearten, to inspire, and to console? How near Shelley seems to us!

Here is another message he sends India,

“Recede not! pause not now! thou art grown old
But Hope will make thee young, for Hope and youth
Are children of one mother, even Love.”

Indeed, Shelley seems to have used Godwin's theory of liberty and universal equality only to build on it his own finer superstructure. We cannot deny Godwin's influence on his political thought, just as we cannot deny Calderon's influence on his poetic technique. But it is evident on a careful study of Godwin and Shelley that Shelley improved on his model, and this improvement seems to be due to Shelley's Oriental mind which could perceive finer distinctions and hear deeper melodies where the Western mind saw and heard only surface chaos and discord. Thus in *Revolt of Islam* he says,

“Eldest of things, divine Equality!
Wisdom and Love are but the slaves of thee,
The Angels of thy sway.”

Or again in *Prometheus Unbound*, Hercules the symbol of strength comes to Prometheus the symbol of endurance, and says,

“Most glorious amongst spirits, thus doth Strength
To Wisdom, Courage and long-suffering Love
And thee, who are the form they animate,
Minister like a slave.”

Thus does the fearless prophet of Liberty a century ago proclaim to the world in poetic form what Mahatma Gandhi is exhibiting in actual life to-day. Here Shelley anticipated Gandhi. Let us see how Shelley found a complement in the work of another Indian, Tagore.

It bears witness to the spiritual kinship of two poets separated by time and space, different in social environment, when one can unconsciously complete the unfinished dream of the other. Shelley says in *Revolt of Islam*,

" For with strong speech I tore the veil that hid
Nature and Truth, and Liberty, and Love,...
As one who from some mountain's pyramid
Points to the unrisen sun."

A century has brought the daybreak. Tagore sees it. Beginning where Shelley left, Tagore completes Shelley's vision,

" Rejoice!
For night's fetters are broken, the dreams have vanished:
The word has rent its veils, the buds of morning are opened;
Awake, O sleeper?
Light's greetings spread from the East to the West,
And at the ramparts of the ruined prison rise the paeans
of victory."

The Englishman's ' unrisen sun ' becomes the Indian's ' dawn of victory.' And Shelley anticipating this dawn cries,

" Victory, victory to the prostrate nations!
Thoughts have gone forth whose powers can sleep no more."

The pen trembles to attempt any kind of summary of Shelley's remarkable songs of liberty. These marvellous songs that are enthused with poetic fervour, winged with lyrical joy, challenge the most skilled fowler in the literary world to trap them in his net of words. Let those who have a relish for poetry lend their ears to these lyrical cries of the soul of one of the world's great prophets of liberty, his *Ode to Naples*, his *Ode to Liberty*, his *Song to the Men of England*, and soon they will find themselves in the small hours of the morning tingling in every nerve as they come to the conclusions of *Prometheus Unbound*, *Revolt of Islam*, *Queen Mab*. To read one of Shelley's poems on liberty is to be tempted to read another. For it is no wily politician bandying words: it is the sincere heart of a man panting after freedom. The words glow with the fire of the poet's soul. In his preface to *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley distinctly words his purpose in writing on these themes of

liberty. "My purpose," he says, "has hitherto been to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence; aware that until the mind can love and admire, and trust and hope and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness." Does this not sound familiar to those who have had ascetic discipline for many centuries to fit the mind to 'love and admire, and trust and hope and endure,' to those who belong to this land of ascetics—ascetic politicians, ascetic poets, ascetic reformers? Let us then hazard the hope that Shelley's prophecy comes true for the India of our day, and she becomes, in his words,

"A nation
Made free by love, a mighty brotherhood
Linked by a jealous interchange of good."

It is easier to estimate the worth of a prophet of liberty than it is to judge a poet. Is not the poet too erratic, too eccentric, too unique to be brought to the bar of a common standard of judgment? What is the poet's mission? The poet's mission is to endeavour to bring for his age a glimpse of Beauty-Love-Truth so that those who respond may be educated to find Reality in the midst of illusion, to feel Joy in the pulse of pain, to grasp Eternity in a moment of time. The office of poetry, like the function of a flute, is to express the subtle silence of the poet's soul in the aching, flowing music of joy. Beauty is incarnate joy: beauty inhales love and breathes out joy, incandescent joy. So poetry is an eternal passion for Beauty; and this Beauty includes in itself Love and Truth. Does Shelley endorse these? In his *Defence of Poetry*, he says, "Poetry turns all things to loveliness; it exalts the beauty of that which is most beautiful, and it adds beauty to that which is deformed."

So we find Shelley succeeding in his attempt to invest with a certain charm even the weird and fantastic. Take for example his

description of the Poet in *Alastor*, a figure which agrees in many respects with the Exile in Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*. Shelley says,

“ And now his limbs were lean ; his scattered hair
Seared by the autumn of strange suffering
Sang dirges in the wind ; his listless hand
Hung like dead bone within its withered skin ;
Life and all the lustre that consumed it, shone
As in a furnace burning secretly
From his dark eyes along.”

Then with a master stroke the artist endeavours to add in the next few lines a charm to this weird and ghostly description. He says,

“ The mountaineer
Encountering on some dizzy precipice
That spectral form, deemed that the spirit of the wind
With lightning eyes, and eager breath, and feet
Disturbing not the drifted snow, had paused
In its career :
But youthful maidens, taught
By nature, would interpret half the woe
That wasted him, would call him with false names
Brother and friend, would press his pallid hand
At parting, and watch, dim through tears, the path
Of his departure from their father's door.”

The magical infusion of the poet's feeling with his thought has turned the thought, which by itself is repulsive, into a touching picture of tragic beauty. A tear is the highest tribute that can be paid to Beauty. Do Shelley's lines not evoke such a tribute from many a heart that is yet not petrified? It may be noted in passing that the picture of the Yaksha in *Meghaduta* is similarly one that becomes beautiful because of the tragic element of his exile.

Let us hush the mind and shut out from it all conflicting assumptions to see how poetry exalts the beauty of the most beautiful. Who will deny the supreme loveliness of music which entrances the human heart and leaves it transformed, which catches it up in the midst of miseries to a vision of joy? And

yet in Shelley's description of it its essential loveliness is exalted because it is made more palpably felt. In *Prometheus Unbound* he says,

“ My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit
Beside the helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.
It seems to float ever, for ever,
Upon this many-winding river,
Between mountains, woods, abysses,
A paradise of wildernesses;
Till, like in slumber bound
Borne to the ocean I float around
Into a sea profound, of ever-spreading sound.”

Is it after all merely a description of music or is it music, music interpreted in words, in cadence, in rime? Does this not help to illustrate that 'poetry includes whatsoever of painting can be made visible to the mind's eye, and whatsoever of music can be conveyed by sound and proportion without singing or instrumentation'? Leigh Hunt says with subtle wit, "Music and painting are proud to be related to poetry, and poetry loves and is proud of them." Leigh Hunt had a deep truth in mind when he shaped this epigram. There is some inscrutable affinity between poetry, painting, and music so that the poet uses colour and sound and yet combines them, and combining them makes his appeal felt to the eye and the ear at one and the same instant. This characteristic is chiefly Oriental. The Oriental sings his poems, and he thus sings the picture that the poet may have painted in words. This is Shelley's first Oriental tendency.

It is not too much to say that the poet is a devotee, a *bhakta* of Beauty-Love-Truth. Faith is essential to devotion. The purer his devotion the greater the poet. Beauty, which includes Love, Love which includes Truth, Truth which is in itself beautiful, this Beauty-Love-Truth guides the poet's vessel henceforth.

Shelley's unrestrained devotion to this ideal of Beauty ; his impassioned yearning after Beauty ; his panting desire to capture Beauty in the caressing arms of his poetry,—entitle him to rank with the greatest poets. We find it true in Shelley's poetry that it turns to loveliness the commonest and most trivial fact, just as the sun turns into a diamond the obscure dew-drop on some hidden lotus-leaf. A critic has said that ' a great poet is a creator capable of growing from his soil of intuition flowers of art, creations living a life of their own and therefore reflecting in their variety the divine variety of nature.' Shelley expresses the same truth thus : " Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man."

Thus in his immortal *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* he cries,

" I vowed that I would dedicate my powers
To thee and thine..... have I not kept my vow?
With beating heart and streaming eyes, even now
I call the phantoms of a thousand hours
Each from his voiceless grave: they have in visioned bowers
Of studious zeal or love's delight
Outwatched with me the envious night——
They know that never joy illumed my brow
Unlinked with hope that thou wouldst free
This world from its dark slavery,
That thou—O awful LOVELINESS,
Wouldst give whate'er these words cannot express."

Shelley raises his whole heart as an offering to his goddess, Beauty. He lays his whole life at her feet. But Beauty for him is no logical proposition in the abstract only. For him Beauty is the one unchanging Reality in a world of deception. His is an emotional approach, and the object of his devotion is Beauty-Love-Truth. Thus we find that the difference between the poetry of Shelley, say, on the one hand, and Wordsworth and Tennyson on the other, is that the two latter fail to soften the glaring thought-object in evidence though they attempt to glorify this thought with a bright halo of feeling ; while the poetry of Shelley is deeply dyed in his emotional heart. Shelley's whole

personality is emotionally unified to the central idea of Beauty-Love-Truth. Shelley's poetry is panting emotion envisaged in terms of ideation. For Tennyson and Wordsworth and Bridges their poetry is merely the cement to fix the bricks of thought, and feeling for them is just an ingredient mixed with their cement. Now this type of poetry is not necessarily inferior to the Shelleyan type. Only it is essentially different. The former is more educative than pleasing, and appeals to a certain type of mind which, like the typical British and sometimes American mind, is scrupulously Utilitarian! While the other transports the soul into an ethereal realm where the very contact with joy and beauty refines and exalts.

I shall illustrate the Utilitarian mind in two quotations from Matthew Arnold, a true interpreter of the British mind. His last sentence in his essay on Wordsworth is that his poems "will co-operate with the benign tendencies in human nature and society, and will, in their degree be *efficacious* in making men wiser, better and happier." Mark, I pray you, the word "*efficacious*." Now note his sentence which concludes his essay on Shelley. "And in poetry, no less than in life, he is a beautiful and *ineffectual* angel, beating in the void his luminous wings." The word "*ineffectual*" stands out conspicuously. Matthew Arnold would have us believe that we must never sing for a song's sake; must never gaze at a rose for the rose's sake; must beware of doing anything "*ineffectual*," anything that has no set motive behind it. "*Efficacy*" must be our shibboleth... yes, if we desire to degenerate into Utilitarians! How different is our own Indian conception of *Nishkamya-karma* which teaches that nothing should be done with a motive! Is Shelley not nearer the Oriental mind? Shelley's cry to the Skylark is

"Teach me half the gladness
That thy soul must know,
Such harmonious madness
From my lips would flow,

The world would listen then as I am listening now."

Verily, Shelley's "harmonious madness" is more poetic than Wordsworth's "unmusical sanity" or Arnold's "prosaic utilitarianism." Shelley knew there were critics of Arnold's school, votaries of "efficacy." What else inspired the conclusions of Shelley's *Sensitive Plant* and of *The Woodman and the Nightingale*? The latter ends,

"The world is full of woodmen who expel
Love's gentle Dryads from the haunts of life,
And vex the nightingales in every dell."

Let us watch and pray lest we enter into temptation and become such 'woodmen who expel Love's gentle Dryads from the haunts of life and vex the nightingales in every dell.'

This typical British utilitarianism is characteristic of Wordsworth and Tennyson. For them the eye is a scientifically accurate lens of an optical apparatus adjusted and focussed for a purpose; and this fact is evinced by the photographic effect of much of their treatment of Nature. The descriptions are correct to the minutest detail. Nature has been observed—by the eye of a human camera. But a poem is not a photograph. A poem is a living, moving pageant. In Shelley the eye is the window of the soul, and this soul flies out and up with the lark, dances on the waves of light, floats on the cloud, trembles beside the sensitive plant, throbs with the bounding pulse of the sea, glows with the fire of the setting sun, and he pleads with the West Wind,

"Be thou, Spirit fierce,
My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!
Drive my dead thoughts over the universe
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!

.....

Be through my lips to unawakened earth
The trumpet of a prophecy! "'

And you hear the sound of the wind and feel the rush of its uncurbed motion.

This leads us to the *lyrical* quality of Shelley's poetry. His lyrics have been judged by eminent authorities to be of infinitely richer charm than his dramas. When the nectar of inspiration thrills Shelley, it creates a sense of exhilaration that sets his whole being vibrating: this exhilaration must find expression only in rhythm. And Shelley's inspiration does not flag before his expression is complete as does that of Wordsworth. There is in Wordsworth too much staid composure, too much respectability. He is like an officer of the Indian Civil Service, admitting of no gait but the grave magisterial walk. Take his *Skylark*. He opens on a forced note of pseudo-buoyancy:

"Up with me! Up with me into the clouds."

It is the false elation of a police officer trying to be playful with unarmed *satyagrahis*. He says in the second line:

"For thy song, lark, is strong."

He tries again. For thirteen lines Wordsworth tries to shout himself into the clouds. The frightened lark flies away. Wordsworth fails. And concludes pathetically:

"I, with my fate contented, will plod on,
And hope for higher raptures, when life's day is done."

This is prose, not poetry. It makes you feel your feet heavy with galling fetters. The soul of the poet brooks no defeat, betrays no submission. It challenges and accepts challenges everywhere. A poet never *plods on*. Poetry never should *plod on*. Like a young god the soul of the poet runs along the shining spaces of the stars, until it has glimpsed what lies beyond. It does not rest until it has tasted the "higher raptures" even in this world, be the struggle ever so keen. In the youthful spirit of the true poet Rupert Brooke says,

"I'll break and forge the stars anew,
Shatter the heavens with a song;

.

Then only in the empty spaces,
Death, walking very silently,
Shall fear the glory of our face,
Through all the dark infinity."

Let us leave Wordsworth plodding on and compare Shelley's *Skylark*.

" Hail to thee blithe spirit ! "

In the very rhythm of the first line Shelley succeeds in expressing the skyward yearning awakened in his restless soul by the song of the bird.

" Higher still and higher
From the earth thou springest
Like a cloud of fire ;
The deep blue thou wingest,
And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest."

Shelley's words float in the air. His rhythm is the rhythm of rising into space. Earth is left behind. The bird ascends. The poet ascends. You ascend with him,

" In the golden lightning
Of the sunken sun,
O'er which clouds are brightening,
Thou dost float and run,
Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun."

Shelley is like an Oriental singer who has caught the soul-stirring strain of some distant melody. His feelings beat time to that music : his thoughts dance to that cadence : he must sing,

" Like a poet hidden
In the light of thought,
Singing hymns unbidden."

Shelley sings. Wordsworth writes. 'Shelley, it is true, wrote his poems, but not as an aid to composition, as Tennyson or Bridges might do. He wrote only for record. He is essentially a singer—the supreme lyrist of the English tongue.

When the West Wind blows over him his own being longs to rise into its tempestuous dance : and he cries,

“ O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud ! ”

His mind was so highly sensitive that it could respond to the gentlest heart-beat of the slenderest plant, to the lightest touch of the wandering breeze. In his response he sang of those phases of Nature which drew his soul. Hence, he could interpret Nature with a fine, exquisite, because spontaneous, accuracy. When, for instance, he says of the Skylark,

“ Pourest thy full heart
In profuse strains of unpremeditated art.”

it is not a cold description of the bird singing; but the bird's song itself rhythmically intuited by a sensitive soul. Again, as Madariga points out, in the West Wind Shelley truly feels and renders in his succession of epithets the flight of leaf after leaf :

“ Yellow, and black, and pale, and hectic red,”

and as they are collected by the wind, so is the weight of the next line heaped up in its first syllable,

“ Pestilence-stricken multitudes...”

So also when the poet speaks of the glacier,

“ The glaciers creep
Like snakes that watch their prey,”

he brings the glaciers before the reader's eye, and the image is palpably clear. Or, speaking of the flight of a horse, he says,

“ And his hoofs ground the rocks to fire and dust,”

you can hear the swift clatter of hoofs—and it is gone. There is nothing static about these descriptions. They are graphic. They grip. There is a magic in Shelley's descriptions. You sit with bated breath admiring what he conjures up before your gaze, for he touches everything with quickening life.

John Stuart Mill says, " Wordsworth economizes an image, and detains it until he has distilled all the poetry out of it, and it will not yield a drop more : Shelley lavishes his with a profusion which is unconscious because it is inexhaustible." Herein lies another of Shelley's tendencies to Orientalism. To illustrate Mill's verdict we have only to turn to Shelley's well-known *Epipsychidion*, and better known *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. In the former there is a string of metaphors for the heroine, Emilia :

" Sweet Benediction in the eternal curse !
 Veiled Glory of this lampless universe !
 Thou Moon beyond the clouds ! Thou living Form
 Among the dead ! Thou Star above the storm !
 Thou Wonder, and thou Beauty, and thou Terror !
 Thou Harmony of Nature's art ! Thou Mirror
 In whom, as in the splendour of the sun
 All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on ! "

And only a page later Shelley breaks forth again,

" Art thou not void of guile,
 A lovely soul formed to be blest and bless ?
 A well of sealed and secret happiness,
 Whose waters like blithe light and music are
 Vanquishing dissonance and gloom ? A star
 Which moves not in the moving heavens, alone ?
 A smile amid dark frowns ? A gentle tone
 Amid rude voices ? A beloved light ?
 A Solitude, a Refuge, a Delight ?
 A lute, which those whom love has taught to play
 Make music on, to soothe the roughest day
 And lull fond grief asleep ? A buried treasure ?
 A cradle of young thoughts of wingless pleasure,
 A violet-shrouded grave of Woe ?—I measure
 The world of fancies, seeking one like thee
 And find—alas !—mine own infirmity."

Nowhere in the range of English literature does one meet such a

profusion of images. A similar attempt, one of many, is made by Kalidasa in *Meghaduta* :

“ Your slender limbs in the Priyangu creepers,
 Your glances in the eyes of the gazelle,
 The loveliness of your face in the moon,
 Your hair adorned with jewels in the peacock's plumage,
 And the sportive movements of your eyebrows in the ripples
 of the river,
 Fondly I sought :
 But oh misfortune ! nowhere could I find your likeness.”

Is it not symbolical of the struggle of the human mind to express in the language of its time and place some ineffable beauty like that which made a Keats burst forth impulsively,

“ Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought,
 As doth eternity.”

The second quotation from the *Hymn* is to show Shelley's profusion of similes.

“ The awful shadow of some unseen Power
 Floats though unseen amongst us,—visiting
 This narrow world with as inconstant wing
 As summer winds that creep from flower to flower,—
 Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain shower,
 It visits with inconstant glance
 Each human heart and countenance;
 Like hues and harmonies of evening,—
 Like clouds in starlight widely spread,—
 Like memory of music fled,—
 Like aught that for its sake may be
 Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery.”

It is the business of a poet to realise and reveal this mystery. Sometimes, indeed, the passion for images gets such a hold of Shelley that he throws up a simile to illustrate another simile. For instance,

“ I fitted, like a dizzy moth, whose flight
 Is as a dead leaf's in the owlet night.”

Stopford Brooke seems to consider it Shelley's weakness that he was "unable, through eagerness, to omit, to select, to co-ordinate his images." As if nature omits, selects, and co-ordinates her colours flashed upon sunset sky in autumn. Omission, selection, co-ordination have value in all creative art. Yet a certain reckless, uncalculating prodigality too is necessary for creative perfection. A man who owns but a tin-can might well make it serve many purposes in turn: it might be a pitcher, a waste-bin, a pannier, a utensil for cooking. But a man who owns different vessels for different purposes might be allowed to display his wealth. Nature ever changes. Moods are shifting. Even like nature did Shelley's imagination build, unbuild, rebuild, image after image to express the changing thoughts and shifting moods—that delicious throng, which crowded in upon him from all sides. Before he had thought of himself like a moth, he pictured the moth like a dead leaf. His soul moulded by Nature had learnt Nature's passion for the changing. His agile, lithe imagination could not be kept in leash. Not to change were to be dead according to Shelley. His life amply illustrates this.

Is this doctrine impeachable? Shelley is blamed for it. He is censured for his application of it in the domain of his affections. To do justice to Shelley let us leave his doctrine of change for a moment and try to understand first something of his ideal of Love. Let us open his *Epipsychidion*, "a little song of love." It is his apotheosis of love. It gives an insight of his Love-ideal. In a letter written to Robert Browning and sent with this poem, Shelley says, "As to real flesh and blood, you know that I do not deal in those articles." Love, Shelley idealized. Love he idolized:

" I loved, alas ! our life is love "

says he. "Shelley," says Medwin in his paper on Emilia Viviani (the heroine of *Epipsychidion*), "thought that to pass from one state of existence to another, was not death, but a new development of life; that we must love as we live, through all eternity;

and that they who have not this persuasion, know nothing of life, nothing of love; that they who do not make the universe a fountain whence they may literally draw new life and love, know nothing of one or the other, and are not fated to know anything of it." Indeed, Shelley pants forth,

" I know

That love makes all things equal : I have heard

By mine own heart this truth averred :

The spirit of the worm beneath the sod

In love and worship, blends itself with God."

And so did Shelley long eagerly in love and worship to blend mystically with Beauty-Love-Truth, which is God. If he had a wife like Tulsidasa's who could marshal courage enough to tell the sensitive and ideal lover, " If you spent on God half the worship that you waste on this perishable form of mine, O what might you not achieve," Shelley may have become one of the world's greatest mystics, greatest saints. He still remains one of the greatest lovers, greatest singers, greatest seers, who saw the Vision Beautiful and cried out,

" Lost, lost, for ever lost,

In the wide pathless desert of dim sleep

That beautiful shape! "

At least Shelley had the capacity to feel the loss. And Arnold wisely estimates this to be "ineffectual," a waste. But for those of the Orient it is very effectual, there is no other influence as refining as the pain of that cry of Shelley's at the loss of "that beautiful shape." Our own poets have felt the same aching desire and tasted the same vexing disappointment. Tagore says, " I try to grasp Beauty; it eludes me, leaving only the body in my hands." And Shelley would smile approval at Tagore's concluding line, " How can the body touch the flower which only the spirit may touch?" Let India interpret Shelley to the West!

It would sound cheap presumption to say " Let India interpret Shelley to the West " if Shelley himself did not ask for such an

interpretation, if he had not been what he was. He was the most un-English of Englishmen, the least patriotic of English poets. Byron in spite of his separation from the land of his birth remained English. In his heart of hearts he still felt himself an English aristocrat. But Shelley was at heart an Oriental ; and he himself could have lamented the accident of his birth on English soil ! His mind, his imagination, his emotions, passions, prejudices, his whole make-up was Oriental. James Cousins says, "What Shelley expressed of thought and attitude is the traditional possession of the East ; he expressed out of knowledge or intuition." (*Renaissance in India*, p. 291.) It is evident that Oriental influences had filtered down into Shelley's thought-world, though one may not be able to trace the process. Take for example his lines,

" New shapes they still may weave,
New gods, new laws, receive,
Bright or dim are they as the robes they last
On Death's bare ribs had cast."

Is it not plausible to suggest that Shelley was conscious of the Indian philosophical doctrine of *Karma* and rebirth?

Or again in *Revolt of Islam* he says,

" My brethren, we are free! the fruits are glowing
Beneath the stars, and the night winds are flowing
O'er the ripe corn, the birds and beasts are dreaming—
Never again may blood of bird or beast
Stain with its venomous stream a human feast,
To the pure skies in accusation steaming."

Is this sentiment not very un-English, sharing of the Indian idea of *Ahimsa*, non-injury to all living creatures ? The words might well have come from some Brahmin poet, some Buddhist monk. Freedom means respecting the freedom of others. To kill any living creatures for one's pleasure is to abuse one's freedom.

The Orient had a charm for Shelley. He thought Nature in the East was more lavish with her wealth of colour, richness

of fragrance, delight of melody, where the very breeze is laden with dreamy sighs of passionate lovers, and the twilight is illumined with the costly jewels of maidens complexioned like gold. In that fine though pathetic poem, *Alastor*, he takes his hero, who is but Shelley in disguise, far away from the West, far away from all Occidental haunts of chivalry and romance,

“ Till in the vale of *Cashmir* far within
 Its loveliest dell where odorous plants entwine
 Beneath the hollow rocks a natural bower
 Beside a sparkling rivulet he stretched
 His languid limbs.”

And here, in Cashmir, in the East, he beheld the Vision he had sought so restlessly all his life.

India, I feel, was especially dear to his poetic soul; being, as it notoriously is, a land of dreamers. In *Prometheus Unbound* he cannot write sixty lines without remembering India, and Prometheus says,

“ Ye icy springs, stagnant with winking frost,
 Which vibrated to hear me, and crept
 Shuddering through India! ”

And so the poet continues, and refers to India four times in that great poem. The very name, India, seems to conjure up for his lively imagination, vast stretches of romantic solitude, sun-kissed peaks covered with snow, wild forests peopled with gayly-coloured birds and handsome stags and lithe leopards. This is not all. In her Preface to the poet's *Complete Works*, Mrs. Shelley tells us that as early as 1817 he read Arrian's *Historica Indica*. Would he, who was so fastidious about his reading, have wasted time over this book without having a genuine interest in the country? It is worth observing that in a letter to Peacock, dated 11th January, 1822, Shelley says, “ I wish I had something better to do than furnish this jingling food for the hunger of oblivion called verse, but I have not ; and since you give me no encouragement about India, I cannot have.” It implies beyond dispute

that Shelley longed to go to India. Peacock's footnote throws more light on the matter. It runs thus, "He (Shelley) had expressed a desire to be employed politically at the court of a native prince, and I told him that such employment was restricted to the regular service of the East India Company." My claim, then, that India and the Orient had a peculiar fascination for Shelley will not seem groundless, though some may still think it daring.

See how Shelley loved an Indian flower, the Champa, famous in legends for its "lingering perfume." In a lyric entitled *The Indian Serenade*, the poet says,

" The wandering airs they faint
On the dark, the silent stream—
And the Champak's odours fail
Like sweet thoughts in a dream."

He not only knew the name of the flower but knew also when the sensuous perfume of the *champa* fills the air with a cloying sweetness. Do his lines not breathe the charming perfume of the flower which says in Rabindranath's words, "I, the Champa flower, carry the perfume of the sun in my heart?"

In Shelley's lines,

" Away, away from men and towns,
To the wild woods and the downs,"

ending

" Where the touch of Nature's art
Harmonizes heart to heart,"

he seems to share Kalidasa's Indian desire for the seclusion, beauty, and delight of the forest glades, where,

" While daylight held
The sky, the Poet kept mute conference
With his still soul "

and wandered forth under the soothing moonlight to commune with Nature. He feels with the Indian poet the sheer joy of

being alone in silence with the life instinct in Nature, to feel its pulsing heart, and grow one with it. Like the Indian poet he finds Beauty ruling over these lonely haunts.

Or, in one of his "Songs of Love" Shelley says,

" My faint spirit was sitting in the light
Of thy looks, my love ;
It panted for thee like the hind at noon
For the brooks, my love."

There is something undefinably Oriental in this, in metaphor as well as rhythm. It reminds one of the Persian poets. The very rhythm is not the effect of any tripping English metre, but an imitation of the Persian. Often Shelley's poems defy scansion, and for that very reason are beyond such analysis. His lyrical tendency is decidedly the most characteristic Oriental trait in Shelley. It is this lyrical quality of his verse that has drawn kindred souls of poets in India, until we find Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Toru Dutt, Henry Derozio, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, and others—all in turn have been attracted by Shelley who for the first time gave a lilt to English poetry. We have dealt with this lyrical quality in detail elsewhere.

In passing let us compare, for example, Shelley's song on the *Nightingale* with Tagore's lines describing the effect of the song of the *Kokil*. Shelley says,

"And every form
That worshipped in the temple of the night,
Was awed into delight, and by the charm
Girt as with an interminable zone,
Whilst the sweet bird, whose music was a storm
Of sound, shook forth the dull oblivion
Out of dreams ; harmony became love."

And Tagore says the *Kokil*'s

" Fresh liquid notes drop upon the tuneless toil of the human crowd, adding music to lovers' whispers, to mothers' kisses, to children's laughter. They flow over our thoughts like a stream

over pebbles, rounding them in beauty every unconscious moment." It is not merely an accidental similarity of thoughts, but an essential kinship of nature. Both the English and the Indian feel the lilt of a bird's song until their own speech is caught up in that lilt.

Again, compare the effect that Beauty on Music has on Shelley and on Kalidasa. In *Mont Blanc* Shelley says,

"And when I gaze on thee
I seem as in a trance sublime and strange
To muse on my own separate phantasy,
My own, my human mind, which passively
Now renders and receives fast influencings
Holding an unremitting interchange
With the clear universe of things around."

•

Kalidasa in a surer accent says, in *Sakuntala*,

"The sight of the Beautiful, the hearing of sweet sounds makes even a happy soul sad ; because vague recollections of things in another life arise in the mind."

The currents of their thoughts run parallel and almost merge into one when Shelley speaks of the 'interchange with the clear universe of things around' and Kalidasa speaks of 'vague recollections of things in another life.'

It hardly seems too much to say that there is a subtle Oriental charm in much of Shelley's poetry which cannot be analysed or categorized, but must be felt. Is that not after all the chief virtue of all great poetry that it cannot be reduced to formula and category but must be felt, realised, enjoyed by a living human mind ? Why does a simile thrill one's whole being sometimes ? Because it suits the object ? Yes, partly because of that, but more because it sets the lute-strings of one's imagination vibrating and this vibration thrills one. Many of the truly Shelleyan metaphors and similes are essentially Eastern, in delicate detail, in rich copiousness, in ornate grandeur sometimes, in naive homeliness often, and even in atmosphere and settings.

This may be one reason that accounts for the unfortunate lack of adequate appreciation accorded to Shelley's poems by the average English reader of poetry. Let us see a favourite image of Shelley's, which appears in *Alastor* and again in *A Summer Evening Churchyard*. He says,

" The pallid evening twines its beaming hair
In duskier braids around the languid eyes of day."

Who knows that the poet was not thinking of the Indian legend of Uma's sport with Shiva when she blindfolded him with her hair and all the world grew dim and dark ?

The less frequent habit of finding the essential harmony between concrete objects and abstract thoughts or feelings, and of comparing one with the other, is also an Oriental trait. It is rarely found in the whole range of English poetry. For example, Tagore's line, " The spring flowers break out like the passionate pain of unspoken love." Compare with this Shelley's lines,

" Until an envious wind crept by,
Like an unwelcome thought
Which from the mind's too faithful eye
Blots one dear image out."

For the brooding seers of the East, for these unpractical dreamers of dreams, for these men who spend half the day in introspection, it is natural and easier to understand the abstract and to illustrate the concrete by some beautiful image taken from the dream-realm of the abstract. Shelley is strangely at home in this type of comparisons.

It was Keats who for the first time expressed in English what the East believed ages before to be an important constituent of true poetry. Keats employed the expression 'fine excess' to define this constituent. He said, "Poetry should surprise by a fine excess." Excess, you would complain, is evil. Temperance is the slogan of the day. Temperance may be praiseworthy; 'a fine excess' is admirable. Are brows being knitted at an apparently absurd statement ? Temperance makes prose. 'A

fine excess ' alone makes poetry. Call a lily a white flower and give its genus : this is temperate : this is prose. But call a lily ' the fairy of the garden : ' this is ' a fine excess : ' this is poetry. Excess is not poetry, but a *fine excess* is poetic in quality. To take common facts and incidents from the confinement of their humdrum associations and to give them the wings of melody to soar in the sky, this is a fine excess. Every hyperbole is not a fine excess, however, but every time you lift yourself above and beyond the common level of thought, feeling and action, of mundane materialism, and look at things and people with the artist's eye, and see, like Traherne, everything irradiate with the light of Beauty-Love-Truth, you are being guilty of a fine excess. The East has revelled in it. The East has rejoiced in this search after the delicate pulse within the stem of a lotus. Indian poetry is full of it. In *Meghaduta* Kalidasa says,

“ Maidens plucking flowers with lotuses on their ears,
Lotuses faded by the injury of contact with humid cheeks.”

How beautiful ! What fine excess ! Shelley has this tendency to a remarkable degree. Let us see just one specimen. He says in the *Sensitive Plant*, that poem alive with delicate sensibility,

“ Her step seemed to pity the grass it prest.”

What a light step it must have been ! What a tender heart she must have had ! In Shelley one is seldom left with a sense of embarrassment when fine excess degenerates into coarse exaggeration. Even when it is exaggeration, extravagance of the most palpable kind, Shelley touches it with the magic wand of his fancy : and behold, it is lovely.

This Oriental trait in Shelley seems to be linked up with the Oriental ideal of Beauty which Shelley shared to an appreciable degree. In his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, he says,

“ Spirit of Beauty that dost consecrate
With thy own hues all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form—where art thou gone? ”

Compare with these, Tagore's lines,

" Spirit of Beauty, how could you, whose radiance over-brims the sky,
Stand hidden behind a candle's tiny flame?
How could a few vain words from a book rise like a mist and veil
Her whose voice has hushed the heart of earth into ineffable calm? "

The vision of immortality and of the omnipotence of the soul of man is suggested by the very elusiveness of beauty, and this stimulates in man the desire to capture that elusive beauty in some undying truth, ' to realise it in some idea of permanence.' All that can be said is that it is not easy to find parallels for Tagore's entrancing lines among the works of those poets of England, like Tennyson and Bridges, who are truly English. The very fact that Shelley can afford such parallels would help to show how much more Oriental Shelley is than his brother-poets.

Finally let us compare another passage from Tagore with a verse from Shelley, both of which illustrate an almost mystical intimacy with the Divine. Tagore says,

" Let thy love play upon my voice and rest on my silence;
Let it pass through my heart into all my movements.

Let me carry thy love in my life as a harp does its music and
Give it back to thee at last with my life."

Shelley in *Alastor* says,

• " As a long-forgotten lyre
Suspended in the solitary dome
Of some mysterious and deserted fane.
I wait thy breath, Great Parent, that my strain
May modulate with murmurs of the air,
And motions of the forest and the sea,
And voice of living beings, and woven hymns
Of night and day, and the deep heart of man."

It is not a surface similarity of metaphor that I wish to illustrate, though that is remarkable, but the spiritual harmony which penetrates the very heart of the theme. Substitute 'Great

Parent' for 'Love' and Tagore's may well pass for a Shelleyan composition. And yet, Shelley was expelled from Oxford, we are told, because he was thought an atheist. Shelley is often branded as an atheist. And yet his atheism cries out "Great Parent!" and longs to be an instrument of his divine will. Tagore rightly estimates it when he says (*Creative Unity*, p. 21), "Religion in Shelley grew with his life; it was not given to him in fixed and ready-made doctrines; he rebelled against them. He had the creative mind which could only approach Truth through its joy in creative effort." And a few pages earlier he says, speaking of our poet's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, "This hymn rang out of his heart when he came to the end of his pilgrimage and stood face to face with the Divinity, glimpse of which had already filled his soul with restlessness." Tagore's Indian mind has succeeded in interpreting what to the Western mind seemed stark atheism.

It is true, however, that Shelley's philosophy is shot through and through with the bright hues of Oriental pantheism. But this does not support the view that he was an atheist. Let India interpret Shelley to the West, Shelley who through the silver-voiced trumpet of his poetry could proclaim to the West a fine Indian ideal finely expressed in English,

" To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite
To forgive wrongs darker than death and night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent ;
To love and bear ; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates ;
.....To be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free ;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

If truth persists, as by its very nature it should through all change and decay ; if beauty haunts the shores of the timeless ; if the call of truth is the call of beauty, then, assuredly, these lines of Shelley are meant to live. The beautiful life moulded on the pattern of the Good that alone is the victorious life. Only in

true poetry could this poignant truth be told so poignantly. This philosophy of conduct, this attitude to life, this challenge to the powers of darkness are worthy of a great poet, worthy of finding an abode in the shrine of poetry. Were not poets called *Vates* by the Greeks because they thought them inspired from heaven? Shelley was a prophet of liberty. He had the rare gift of musical eloquence. It was Orpheus "who by the sweet gift of his heavenly poetry withdrew men from ranging uncertainly and wandering brutishly about." In fine it is poetry which refines and civilizes man. Such is Shelley's poetry.

".....To be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

•

CYRIL MODAK

MY FAMILIAR DREAM

(From the French of Paul Verlaine)

How often do I dream a strange sweet dream
Of a fresh young woman unknown to me ;—
Unknown—but this known that her face doth beam
With life and love drawn from eternity.

That unknown woman loves me through all hours,
And I in studious silence love her too ;
She is such—no mortal man has powers
To see and love her with such passion true.

Me alone she loves and me she understands,
And so my heart's translucent crystal pure ;
For me she is a problem to all lands,
—A mystery for ever to endure !

My love for her is so severe and so sweet :
Fresh, moist was my face,—now haggard and pale ;
'Tis she alone can cool my sick brow's heat,
And save me from my weeping tear-drop's vale.

I care not whether she is dark or fair,
Whether brown or white or blonde or rosy ;
Her name I know not, nor to know e'er care,
I know she's my Life—that Eternal She.

Ah, dear she is !—I know not what I mean :
I say,—dearer far than my dearest one ;
Dear as those removed from this fleshly screen,
Whom life has blotted out as dead and gone.

Her face is as pure and bright as a pearl,
Her look is calm like an image of delf ;
Her voice is the voice of a dream-tossed girl,
So soft, so sweet,—I long to kill myself.

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

WANTED—CITIZEN-MAKING SCHOOLS.¹

No matter what the ideals of a particular people have been, the school has always been looked upon as the maker of citizens. History shows that nations have made their education a training for the attainment of the things they valued most. Athens, prizing beauty, symmetry and harmony, both physical and intellectual, sought through her great teachers to cultivate a love of the true, the good and the beautiful. Rome, exalting law, authority and conquest, instructed her youth in oratory, so that they might advocate the claims of law, and trained them in war, so that they might introduce the Roman Eagle to the uttermost parts of the earth. The education of Monasticism was other-worldly, because the gaze of its adherents was fixed upon the hereafter. Training in arms, loyal and gallant service to the king and devotion to whatever was noble, brave and courteous, comprised the education of the Age of Chivalry, because these were the highest ideals of that period. And in our time the same thing holds true. England needed patriotic sons, valiant heroes, and dependable representatives to help her with her colonial expansion, commerce and administration, and so her outstanding schools set out to give an education which stressed courage, character and love of country. America, after her first struggle for liberty, shared with other countries of the nineteenth century an eager desire for material success, and therefore, the surest means of obtaining that treasure became the object of close study and effective practice.

¹ A fuller treatment of this subject, and of the ways and means of enabling the school to fulfil this all-important function, will be found in the author's book, "Education out of School—A Hand-book of Extra-Curricular Activities," shortly to be issued by the Oxford University Press.

INDIA'S NEED.

But in India, education has not consciously sought to meet the needs of the times, much less to respond to the ideals of the nation—and therefore her citizens are not found in possession of the many qualities which a progressive people should manifest. Our schools have yet to devise a system of training which will aim at correcting inherent and longstanding defects and drawbacks. If it is true, as we have been told *ad nauseam*, that Indians do not co-operate with each other, that they lack initiative and practical-mindedness, that their critical faculty is never exercised, that a sense of responsibility is conspicuous by its absence, that enterprise, originality and independence are unknown—if they do not possess or exhibit these desirable and essential traits, it is evident that in India, the citizen-making institution has not yet been made to function effectively.

THE FAILURE OF THE SCHOOL.

The Indian high school has yet to recognise its responsibility for this larger social control. Even when it gives comprehension, insight and perspective, and helps the student to become conscious of his ideals, it does little to relate them to the business of being good citizens unrelated to national thought, unresponsive to national needs. Uninterested in home and community, our educational system moves on from one decade to another blessing neither him that gives nor him that receives.

The "regular" work of the school centres around knowledge, and comparatively few opportunities are provided for the practice of desirable ideas and attitudes. Education is usually treated as something stored up in text-books, certified by tradition, guaranteed by teachers, meant to be taken by children willy-nilly in uniform fashion, in order that they may become good citizens!

Or else, it is regarded as a process which can go on only in class rooms, under the supervision of school masters. But if man is to be considered as a whole, his well-being means the well-being of his body, the well-being of his spirit, as well as the well-being of his mind. The curriculum in its almost exclusive attention to one aspect has neglected these others.

This comprehensive work therefore, at the present time, cannot be carried out in the class room, much less can it be left to chance. So long as the purpose of the school is supposed to be the teaching of "examinable" subjects prescribed by the ubiquitous syllabus, so long as the mastery of book information takes the place of the building up of the whole aesthetic, intellectual, moral and physical life, so long must most activities calculated to introduce pupils to, a world of broadly varied and significant education be regarded as "extra-curricular." It is this recognition that the school should seek not only to produce citizens who shall have acquired certain skills and certain abilities, but somehow to educate them so that they may take into life with them strong character, balanced judgment and robust physique, that has brought into existence what are usually called "extra-curricular activities."

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

From the point of view of the development of attitudes, the "life" of the school as distinguished from its courses of study has very large significance. This principle has long been recognised abroad. Indeed, the emphasis upon school life has probably been the chief factor in the unquestioned contribution of the great secondary schools of England: Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester. Such schools have an advantage over most of our high schools in that the entire life of their students is under institutional control during the years of schooling. Though this advantage cannot be duplicated in day schools, a great

deal can be done to overcome this handicap in some measure through the intelligent development of extra-class-room activities,—clubs, societies, games, sports, scouting, dramatic performances school magazines, excursions, student councils, social service leagues and the like. The most valuable lesson, perhaps, which we may learn from English and American schools is their recognition of the value of the more purely social activities as a means of training youth.

Nor can it be forgotten that the school is the best and most appropriate agency for the promotion and proper regulation of this side of the pupils' life. Thrown together intimately during a large part of their working hours, the pupils most naturally form themselves into groups and find in extra-class-room activities, wide possibilities for self-expression, self-realisation and therefore real education.* There is the added advantage of the presence of the teacher's authority which, if extended sympathetically to the social life of the pupils, assures a much better regulation of it than can possibly be secured in any other way. Besides, the social instincts of gregariousness, emulation, and altruism are especially strong during this period. These urges will cause students to form organisations, good or bad in their ultimate effect upon their life and character. And the school cannot escape the responsibility of determining whether the good or the bad effects of this social urge shall prevail.

THE NECESSARY DISCIPLINE.

Social efficiency.—The student needs to be able to understand and judge other people and get on with them. Social efficiency is therefore an invaluable aspect of the training for life. If education is not primarily a matter of lessons and examinations, but of becoming acquainted with, and adjusted to, the world of men and affairs, extra-curricular activities have a large part to play in achieving this very desirable educational objective. In

the place of the old-time maxims and sermons on good social behaviour, actual practice in right social action is afforded. Unselfish service, co-operation, toleration and true democracy are ideals which are encouraged by being forced to function in actual social situations. The pupil has to exercise them if he is not to lose his place and standing in the different organisations.

Citizenship training.—There is no better method of training pupils for their rights and responsibilities as citizens. It has been said that “the good citizen is one who has sense enough to judge of public affairs ; discernment enough to choose the right officers ; self-control enough to accept the decision of majority ; honesty enough to seek the general welfare, rather than his own at the expense of the community ; and public spirit enough to face trouble or even danger for the good of the community.” Not only do these activities develop the mechanics and devices of government, but they also give opportunities for the development of the true spirit of good citizenship. The pupil learns many civic virtues. He also learns many valuable lessons in the art of ruling and of being ruled. Preparing a student for membership in a democracy by training him in an autocracy or an oligarchy is an incongruity.

Moral training.—Experience has shown that there is no better way of teaching and applying lessons in ethics than through bringing about the participation of students in extra-curricular activities.

Qualities such as justice, honesty, fairplay are put to the test. “ Every ounce of moral experience is worth a pound of ethical teaching.” Besides, it is necessary that wholesome recreation within reach of all, should be offered to our pupils under the right kind of supervision and environmental conditions. The inner discipline developed through practice in directing his own affairs will abide with the pupil long after he has ceased to be a school boy.

Proper use of leisure.—Too long has the school ignored its responsibility for stimulating interest in avocations. The purpose of education should include the increasing, in the pupils, of the ability to utilize the common means of enjoyment—music, art, drama, literature and social intercourse, games, picnics, excursions, scouting and other out-of-door pursuits. The problem of adequate and wholesome recreation is solved to a large extent by these activities. Apart from their direct and practical value, they are invaluable for the enlargement and enrichment of personality. ‘Bookworms’ rarely acquire a broad culture.”

Development of leadership.—Another badly neglected duty is the development of leadership. The regular curriculum is incapable of encouraging the qualities which leaders should possess. Every student who gets the training that is to be obtained through leading his fellows in some school activity, is preparing himself for leading his fellowmen in the social, civic and vocational activities of later life. The least that the school can do to promote leadership is to furnish the necessary opportunities.

The school too stands to gain by the introduction of extra-curricular activities and the provision of citizenship-training. Participation in the management of the affairs of the school tends to enlist the interest and co-operation of the pupil. This “we-feeling” towards the members of the school—the head master, the teachers and the fellow pupils—has far-reaching effects. It makes possible and available a public opinion which can enforce conformity to certain accepted and acceptable standards. It makes co-operative effort easy and natural. Self-control and discipline readily become matters of common concern. Such an attitude is an invaluable asset to the school.

Conclusion.—Summarising, it may be said that through these activities, intelligently conducted, it is possible to secure the broader social, civic, moral and avocational improvement so essential for a successful well-rounded modern life. The regular work of the school offers comparatively few opportunities for the development of desirable ideals, habits and attitudes. It is

therefore necessary that attention be given to nation-building and citizen-making activities outside the curriculum. In countries and schools with well-established traditions, many desirable things can be trusted to happen naturally, but in others such things will largely have to be made to happen. Deliberate and detailed planning will have to take the place of happy blundering. Then and only then will the school have discharged its obligation to this and the succeeding generations, teaching people to practise fair play, to live co-operatively, to shoulder responsibility, to think clearly and critically, to exercise initiative and independence, to build strong bodies and active minds and to serve their God by serving their fellowmen.

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

A PEEP INTO THE MACARTNEY PAPERS IN THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, SATARA.

In the Historical Museum at Satara, Bombay Presidency, there is a collection of more than 3,000 English manuscripts which belonged to Lord Macartney, governor of Madras, from 1781 to 1785. They relate to the period of his Indian administration as well as his subsequent career. The papers which belong to the period of his stay in India deal with every important topic of his administration. Many of these documents may be found among the government records. There are however some private correspondence which, as such materials always do, possess very great value as supplementary to the official records, disclosing motives behind actions and in general giving a more vivid picture of the past. These papers are not arranged either chronologically or according to subjects. They have been so long kept unsorted and unclassified in twenty-two bundles. The Curator has now taken up the task of arranging them.

Besides these bundles there are some volumes of documents relating to Lord Macartney's administration of Madras bound in leather and in a good state of preservation. These are all official proceedings. There are also some letters from Sir John Macpherson to Lord Macartney which are kept separately under the location, English MSS. No. 22, and are of great value.

In the following pages I have attempted to convey some idea of the interesting materials that may be found in this very important collection of papers.

1. *William Dunkin on the Regulating Act of 1773.*

In Bundle I there is a document consisting of a few sheets of parchment having no heading or title on the top, but endorsed on the back of the last sheet, "Mr. Dunkin upon the Act of 1773." It is of great interest as being the opinion on a section

of the Regulating Act of a man trained in law who was in India while the Act was in operation. William Dunkin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, came out to India about July, 1782,¹ to try his luck in this country. That he possessed some backing from England appears from the fact that he brought a letter of introduction from Lord Shelburne to Hastings,² was also the bearer of a confidential letter from Laurence Sullivan to Lord Macartney³ and was a subject of Macartney's correspondence with the Earl of Hillsborough.⁴ His first task in Bengal seems to have been, as Macartney's agent, to attempt to convince Warren Hastings that he had misinterpreted the Madras governor's attitude towards him. Dunkin was not able to make in Hastings' mind any permanently improved impression of Lord Macartney,⁵ though he succeeded well in his profession⁶ and was in 1784 recommended by Hastings for the post of "examiner and reporter of all appealed cases from the mofussil to the Sudder Diwani Adalat."⁷ In 1786 his name appears in the public proceedings of the Bengal government as an unsuccessful applicant for the post of Advocate General during Sir John Day's absence on leave,⁸ and in 1788 as attorney for Mr. H. Richardson,⁹ president of the Court of Justice at Chinsura. He afterwards went to England returning to Calcutta on the 15th August, 1791, as a Knight and a Judge of the Supreme Court.¹⁰

¹ Cf. Hastings to Macpherson, 'July 1782,' ap. Dodwell, Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson, p. 146. Macartney writes to Earl of Hillsborough (3 September, 1782) that Dunkin arrived some weeks earlier—Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 8.

Dunkin to Staunton, 16th October, 1782. Idem, Bundle IV, No. 2.

Laurence Sullivan to Macartney, 19th October, 1781. Idem, Bundle IX, No. 130.

Macartney to Hillsborough, 3rd September, 1782. Idem, Bundle IV, No. 3.

The story of Dunkin's interviews with the governor general and his efforts on behalf of Macartney is revealed by Dunkin's letters to Macartney in the Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV.

⁵ Dunkin to Macartney, 11th June, 1783. Idem, Bundle IV. No. 122.

⁷ Same to same, 17th February, 1784, *loc. cit.*, No. 33.

⁸ Press lists of the public department records of the Government of India, Vol. XI, - 962.

⁹ *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 244.

¹⁰ Bengal Public Proceedings, 19th Aug., 1791, pp. 2845-6.

It appears that Sir William Dunkin sailed back to England early in 1799 by the "Berrington."¹¹

In this document, Dunkin confines himself to the ninth section of the Act which created for the first time a central authority in British India by depriving Madras and Bombay of the power to conclude treaties or commence hostilities without the sanction of the governor general and council of Bengal. The section reads :—

".....the said governor general and council.....shall have.....power of superintending and controlling the management of the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it shall not be lawful for any president and council of Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace or other treaty with any such Indian princes or powers, without the consent and approbation of the said governor general and council first had and obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties until the orders from the governor general and council might arrive ; and except in such cases where the said presidents and councils respectively shall have received special orders from the said United Company; and any president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen who shall offend in any of the cases aforesaid, shall be liable to be suspended from his or their office by the order of the said governor general and council ; and every president and council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen for the time being shall and they are hereby respectively directed and required to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premises from the said governor general and council for the time being; and constantly and diligently to transmit to the said governor general and council advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge relating to the government, revenues or interest of the said United Company." ¹²

Literally interpreted the Act gave Bengal powers of a merely negative character.¹³ Even this was further limited by the fact

¹¹ Imperial Record Department O.C., 8th February, 1799, No. 71.

¹² 13 Geo. III, Cap. LXIII, s. IX.

¹³ According to the Madras Government the controlling power vested in Bengal by the

that in case of imminent necessity or orders from the Directors, the other presidencies could act independently of Bengal. Besides a number of loopholes were left open. What would constitute commencement of hostilities? The subordinate presidencies, without undertaking military operations, could act in such a way as to provoke the hostility of an Indian state. The responsibility for carrying on a war in the event of its outbreak would lie on Bengal partially as the Directors had expressly made them responsible for the safety of the Company's possessions in India. Would not Bengal intervention at such a stage be open to question?¹⁴ Again Madras and Bombay might take all the preliminary steps to a treaty and then seek the consent of Bengal for its conclusion. In such a case the Bengal Government would have no option left but to approve of it. The conduct of foreign policy was thus shared by the governor general and council with imperfectly subordinated governments who could if they liked follow a different policy altogether to the great annoyance

Act was "only a negative restraining power." (Madras to Bengal, 15th January, 1780) ap. Dasgupta, *The Central Authority in British India*, p. 76.) They asserted, "...there is nothing of a positive nature in this right. It cannot direct us to make or alter any treaty, to declare any war or to pursue any interest that we deem incompatible with the welfare of our employers. In short it has no one power of compulsion. It has only the power of a simple assent or negative upon a question necessary to be proposed by us before we can begin any negotiation for a treaty or make any order for declaring war....." (Madras to Bengal, 13th March, 1780; ap. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.) Hastings also was of opinion that "This Act gives us a mere negative power, and no more. It carefully guards against every expression which can imply a power to dictate what the other presidencies shall do....." (Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, Vol. II, p. 41.)

¹⁴ Compare the case of Bengal intervention in Madras negotiations with the Nizam in 1779 for the remission of the tribute due for the Circars. On that occasion the Madras Government argued that there was no order given by them for declaring war or for negotiating or concluding a new treaty (Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 77). They declared, ".....there is nothing in the act of Parliament which restrains our endeavours to serve the Company by application to any of the country powers to do justice or to show favour to them in anything which comes under our immediate cognisance, nor are we prevented by that act from making any declarations (except that of war) which we may think necessary in support of the rights and honour of the Company, so far as they are committed to our charge. If such requests and declarations from the misconstruction of the persons to whom they may be addressed...should at any time bring on a war, there is no help for it that we know of..." (Madras to Bengal, 13 March 1780, A. P. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 86)

of the central authority. The vague wording of the Act embittered the relations of the presidencies during the ten years in which it was in operation, making it necessary to vest the governor general and council with larger powers by the Act of 1784.

It is not possible to know either the occasion on which Dunkin's opinion was sought, or the party that sought it. In the course of his arguments, Dunkin makes out the following points :—

(1) This Act being a remedial measure should not be literally interpreted.

(2) Though by a literal interpretation, the powers vested in the governor general and council are only of a negative character, yet the Act should be interpreted as giving them express powers to negotiate treaties and commence hostilities.

(3) The Act has vested powers in the governor general and council to commence hostilities and conclude treaties even with powers contiguous to the subordinate presidencies.¹⁵

(4) Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen had, though not expressly but by implication been made subordinate.¹⁶

(5) The authority of the governor general and council may be exercised at the commencement of negotiations.¹⁷

The following is the text of the document with marginal notes as on the manuscript :—

Where the perview of an act of Parliament shows the act is intended as remedial or in which the public good is to be provided for, such act,

¹⁵ The Madras Government regarded itself as the regular channel of the Company's negotiations with the Nawab of Arcot.

¹⁶ On one occasion the Madras Government had objected to its being styled a subordinate presidency.

¹⁷ This decision is of importance, as contemporaries were not precise on the point. For example, on the occasion of the Madras negotiations with Tipu, Sir John Macpherson remarked, "...the president and select committee of Fort St. George as the representatives of the Company upon the spot must be supposed to possess powers to open a negotiation, tho' they may not conclude it finally but in cases of imminent necessity." (Macpherson's minute, Bengal Secret Consultations of the 20th March 1783.)

tho' particular and express words may be wanting is always construed to give powers necessary for the attainments of the end in view such acts are always construed in the most liberal manner. Their construction is directly opposite to that given to penal statutes where a construction strictly adherent to the very letter is alone allowed.

Where regulating acts are made respecting powers formerly exercised and legally warranted tho' the new acts do not in express words annul every power formerly exercised yet they virtually annul every power inconsistent with the new regulations. Powers consistent are not annulled unless by express words.

These general principles may perhaps be found to apply in considering the powers given or taken away by the 13th Geo. 3d.

This act from its little preamble—recitals of former mischiefs, etc. etc., etc., must be considered as a regulating and remedial act.

It has however been doubted whether the act has given power to the governor general and council to make orders for commencing hostilities negotiating or concluding treaties against or with all country powers independent of the participation or approbation of the governor and Council of any other Presidency, even of that next—contiguous to such country powers or in which such power may actually reside. It should seem that the act has vested such power in the governor general and council, etc.

The preamble states the mischiefs experienced in the then subsisting mode of administering affairs in India.—It then provides, the remedy intended for the better management of the Company's affairs in India—

That there shall be a *Governor-General* and council at Fort William. The old names of the Governors and Council of the other Presidencies are preserved—This only is changed. Why? To mark even by name the superiority intended to be given in the following regulations :

To this Governor General etc. the other presidencies are not by express words made subordinate but in sense and necessary implication they undoubtedly are—

Before this act the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Bencool exercised severally the power of commencing hostilities and of negotiating and concluding treaties independent of and without communication with each other.

The mischief is too obvious to require being commented on—What is the remedy? That Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen shall not have the power to do so again without the approbation consent etc., except, etc. This remedy by express words takes from them the powers and being silent as to the powers in such cases exercised by Bengal, by every legal construction leaves Bengal in full possession of its former with the accessions of those granted by the act. If the act went no further this would be the legal construction but it goes much further—it expressly enjoins the several other Presidencies which whatever they were before, from the appointment of the Governor General, are certainly subordinate, to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premises from the Governor General.

The act then goes on in very precise as well as comprehensive words to point out and direct a line of conduct from several gradations of inferiority, dependent on the next [.....] of superiority. That Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen shall constantly and diligently transmit to the Governor-General (the next above them) intelligence and advice of all transactions and matters whatever that shall come to their knowledge relating to Governments revenues or interest of the company. For what purpose? That the Governor General, etc., may in their discretion on such information give consequent orders to which by the before mentioned injunction the subordinate is bound to pay obedience. The act proceeding directs in like manner the Governor General to transmit to the Court of Directors, (the next above them) all such intelligence etc., of all matters whatever etc., etc., that the directors may, in their turn and in their discretion on such information give their orders to the Governor General etc., etc., which they are directed and required to pay due obedience to and in the last stage of this progressive remedy, the Directors are in like manner required to convey, such advice, etc. etc. to their next immediate superiors, His Majesties' ministers etc., etc.

This view of the design of the act seems to prove that the act was intended as remedial, that the remedy designed was creating different but connected degrees of superintendence and control, that it has by express words taken the powers of concluding or even of commencing a treaty (for so the word negotiate should be understood) etc., etc., from the different presidencies enumerated.

That the powers of Bengal still remain, and that there are not any express words which say that the Governor General etc., etc., shall make treaties with the country powers in, or in the vicinity of the other presidencies, yet the act in express words commands the said presidencies to obey, the orders of the Governor General touching the premises which premises

are hostilities and treaties. These words must have a liberal construction such as all remedial acts ever receive, and they without the least force but by plain and necessary [illegible] must be construed to have such operations as to warrant the Governor-General etc. to negotiate and conclude all Treaties whatsoever and wheresoever in India responsible to their superiors in the progression before enumerated.

By any other construction the intention of the legislature could not be carried into execution—They take away the powers exercised by one set of men but do not intend that there should be no such power in India. Where then was it intended to lodge the power? Certainly with those to whom the persons deprived of their former power are enjoined to pay obedience in all things touching the premises that is the very powers so taken away.

That the Directors understood the act in the sense here contended for appears pretty evident from their last general orders. Doubts had been conceived and arguments relied on by the subordinate Presidencies against the extent of such power as the Governor-General etc, assumed under the act. The Directors in the most unambiguous terms command the obedience of all such presidencies to the orders of the Governor General etc.

Any arguments drawn from instructions or orders given to Madras or other presidencies previous to the passing this act, do not appear applicable to support the construction that the Governor General etc, has but a negative not an incipient or deliberating power—whatever were the intentions and consequent orders of the directors previous to the act, appeared to them to be inadequate to their great purposes of Government or the act never would have been made. They judged it necessary that power in India should change hands—They have by the act, had it placed in other hands still however to guard against inconveniences which might possibly arise from situations, they retained to the particular presidencies the former powers of acting on the two most important occasions—sudden emergency, and particular orders from themselves—when the first occurs, the presidency taking responsibility may act on the instant,—when the second occurs all responsibility is in the Directors. The presidency is only answerable for strict obedience.¹⁸

¹⁸ The following passage is a marginal note by the side of the last paragraph :

In the case I have in my eye, respecting the presidency of Madras, I am pretty clear that in consequence of the particular order of the Directors the presidency might with great propriety and in strict conformance to the expression of the act have commenced and concluded a treaty with the nabob touching the particulars mentioned in their orders without intervention of G. G. etc. and have informed G. G. They were not bound to obey the future order of G. G. touching the premises.

A stronger instance to prove the necessity of such an act, cannot be adduced than from the negotiations the Presidency of Madras had commenced at the Nizam's Court—on this occasion they insist they had a right to commence the negotiations a treaty withholding the money due etc. and that the Governor General should not with propriety or by right have had any interference until the matter was concluded upon—Then indeed they seem to admit that under act the approbation of the Governor General was necessary.

It may indeed be matter of such delicacy, as well as of prudent policy with the Governor-General etc to select the times and occasions of assuming the exercise of this great power in the very commencement of negotiation or treaty—But that is not the question here to be considered—the power is alone the question—the expediency is a very different consideration.

II. *The troubled eighteenth century.*

The eighteenth century was in more than one way a perilous time for the East India Company's settlements in India. Besides the need of maintaining themselves against Indian and European powers, the Company was hampered by internal troubles arising from defective regulations, for example the conflict of the civil and the military authorities, the claims of the king's forces and the dissensions between the presidencies. But the most dangerous and lamentable were the mutual jealousies and intrigues of the Company's officials in India arising from various conflicting personal interests and motives. Notorious instances are the dissensions in the Madras council in 1776 which led to the imprisonment of Lord Pigot, and the Hastings-Francis quarrels in the Bengal council. In such a vitiated atmosphere Britishers had to be cautious about the activities of even their fellow countrymen. Extremely interesting is the glimpse afforded by Macartney papers at Satara on the nature of the espionage maintained by Lord Macartney and Warren Hastings on the doings of fellow Europeans.

A number of people at Madras had allied their interests with the nawab of Arcot's. By lending money to the nawab they had

obtained assignments on his revenues for the repayment of their debts. During the Carnatic war it was necessary that the nawab of Arcot should pay his dues to the Company and contribute towards the expenses of a war in defense of his territories. In December, 1781 the nawab had assigned to Lord Macartney in person the Carnatic revenues for this purpose. But Macartney soon found himself thwarted in his endeavours by the nawab, no doubt assisted and encouraged by a number of Europeans, themselves interested in the revenues. The nawab deputed A'zam Khan and Richard Sullivan to carry his complaints to the Bengal government against certain alleged highhanded measures of Macartney. After October, 1782, the efforts of Macartney to render the assignment effective no longer received support from Bengal where his enemies got encouragement. The situation was full of danger for his lordship. The measures adopted by Lord Pigot in connection with the restoration of Tanjore (in the revenues of which certain Europeans were interested) to its Raja had led to that unfortunate governor's arrest and imprisonment by the majority of the Madras council. For Macartney and his employers the situation was rendered more dangerous by the fact that the war against Haidar Ali was going on and General Stuart claimed in his military command powers independent of the civil authority. Under the circumstances we need not wonder that Lord Macartney took the precaution of keeping himself informed about the movements of Europeans in the settlement. We are introduced into the right atmosphere at once by a whole bundle of papers¹ in the Satara collection. They give lists of persons daily present from the 5th March to the 7th December, 1782, at the nawab Wallajah's, at Ameer-ul-omrah's,² at Mr. Benfield's and at General Stuart's places. Messrs. Sullivan's [Richard?] and Oakeley's³ places are often included.

¹ Within Bundle, VIII.

² Second son of the nawab of Arcot.

Not perhaps Charles Oakeley who was friendly to Macartney.

The list for the 7th December, 1782 is as follows :—

“At the old Nabob—

Dr. Story, Mr. Binny, Mr. Benfield.

At the Amcer-ul-omrah—

Dr. Story, Dr. Bulman, Mr. Binny, Col. Buck, Capt. Scott, Mr. Benfield, Mr. Redhead, Capt. Sullivan, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Ellis.

At Gen. Stuart—

Col. Pearse, Col. Malcolm, Capt. Scott, Capt. Smart, Capt. Gommaund, Capt. Campbell, Capt. Mackenzie, Capt. Vigor, Col. Gordon, Gen. Burgoyen, Major Davis, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Roebuck, Major Mackay, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Jackson, Dr. Bulman.

At Mr. Benfield—

Messrs. Ellis, Jones, Harker, Snow, and Col. Ross.

With the list for 20th April, 1782, there is the following note :—

“Omerul Omrah went this morning to Mr. Benfield’s garden house and returned on hearing that some horse belonging to the enemy have come near St. Thomas Tank.

Mr. Benfield was with his highness this evening.”⁴

The same papers reveal how Warren Hastings also realised the utility of being watchful. Hastings’ hostile attitude towards Macartney had become clear by the beginning of 1783. If he could have the council with him he would have carried the suspension of the Madras governor. At this critical time Macartney had some correspondents in Bengal who kept him informed of the development of affairs at the seat of the central authority. One of these was a Captain Thomas Mercer, owner of the ship “Resolution.” A slip of paper among his letters to Lord Macartney contains the following note⁵ :—

“The enclosed letter and receipt was sent to the Post Office last night and upon the refusal of Mr. Belli (to whom the matter was referred by the

⁴ Bundle VIII, No. 62.

⁵ This is dated the 28th September. This was found folded with No. 56 of Bundle XXI.

clerk) the letter was withdrawn from the office—This very little transaction has been no doubt already reported to Mercer's good friend the governor general and will tend to increase that kind of esteem in which he is held by the said governor general."

At a subsequent date we read,

"I am not sure that all my letters by the post have reached your lordship's hands although I have used the precaution of putting them under the cover and sending them the post office, by the servants of a man who has frequent occasion to write to Madras on the king's business."⁶

III. *Relations of Warren Hastings and Lord Macartney and the part played by John Macpherson.*

The private correspondence among the Macartney papers in the Satara Museum throw a flood of light on the relations of Warren Hastings and Lord Macartney, giving us information of the part played by Sir John Macpherson and of the attempts of William Dunkin to convince the governor general of the friendly attitude of Macartney.

Sir John Macpherson was Macartney's old friend, and if official proceedings were the only source of information we would have to say that on the whole he stood well by Lord Macartney. On his way to Bengal from England in 1781 he halted at Madras. There he co-operated with Macartney in inviting Haidar Ali and the Marathas to come to terms. About the last week of September or the first week of October he reached Calcutta. Here however he joined Hastings in supporting Coote against Lord Macartney. He was also like Hastings inclined favourably towards the nawab of Arcot whose interests he had during past years served as an agent in England. But in 1783 when Hastings was restless for the suspension of Lord Macartney, he did not for once receive Macpherson's support. Macpherson indeed disapproved of the acts of the Madras government, but pointed

⁶ Mercer to Macartney, 21st December, 1783, Bundle XXI, No. 63.

out the difficulties of their situation and refused to concur in Hastings' resolutions for punishing Macartney and his select committee. This much may be gathered from the public records. He was not, however, acting from high motives and his unwillingness to oppose Macartney arose from the fact that Lord North's administration had fallen and Macartney was known to have many friends in the new administration.¹

In his letters to Macartney in the Satara Museum, Macpherson repeatedly professed friendship for the Madras governor. Not long after reaching Bengal, in view of the growing estrangement between Hastings and Macartney, he suggested to Macartney the expediency of sending "a private minister to Hastings," adding,

"Why not let Staunton take a trip upon Mr. H [astings]'s return in February next.....But if ever you send a public minister to us, let it be Oakeley."

He promised,

"I shall find out the quarter from which any ill or mistaken notions have originated. I must annihilate those bitternesses of belief or prejudice which men wasted and worried in party grow open to."²

In the next important letter we find Macpherson writing in the rebuking tone of a true friend :

"You are, my Lord, shall I venture to say so, too much occupied about inferior affairs or too neglectful of my ideas of co-operation between the presidencies in not communicating to us, or if you would to myself your wishes about our great united arrangements for the public good..... Except in your wishes for supplies.....where have you my lord suggested a general arrangement? Where have you communicated a system of future measures.....With your confidential approbation in a general quiet line of measures I wished to move—my colleague here is all I wish, and Mr. Hastings (absent) will I hope not only approve but—be bad. Upon your lordship then much depends.

¹ Dodwell, Warren Hastings' letters to Sir John Macpherson, p. xxxi.

² Macpherson to Macartney, 15th November, 1781, Satara Museum English MSS. No. 22.

"..... except one short letter I have not had a syllable from you even about the affairs of your own government since my arrival at Bengal.

"I assure you sincerely I am labouring here to the very best of my ability..... to extinguish all party ideas and expectations..... to draw the attention of the service to the public necessity and distress....." ³

In the dispute between Coote and the Madras government which arose out of Coote's desire of acting independently of the civil authority Macpherson seems to have been at first more on Macartney's side. In December, 1781, he wrote,

"We have reason to think that he [Coote] is enraged about our addressing our supplies to your lordship and your council, and not to him. We might as well assign a rice squadron to him as money uncoined—The supplies are for the government and not for his special command....." ⁴

Again,

"I well know what difficulties you have to manage the old warrior. He must be humoured and of all men of all governors you are the best to soothe and support him. His arrival here would only set us a little wild upon military matters. I have expressed home in full terms your difficulties." ⁵

All these while Hastings was away from Bengal.

Perhaps both on account of the need of supporting an act of Hastings who had returned to Bengal and of a genuine belief in the advisability of conciliating Coote, Macpherson agreed with Hastings in conferring extraordinary powers on the general. ⁶ Coote exercising his powers of independent military

³ Same to same, 12th December, 1781, *Idem*.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Same to same, 31st December, 1781, *Idem*.

⁶ Of interest in this connection is an incomplete letter addressed to Lord Macartney, dated Calcutta 26th May, 1782, in Bundle IX (No. 331). The last sheet is missing but indications in the letter leave no doubt that it is from John Macpherson.

"I find your lordship is not well pleased with the interference of this government on the subject of Sir Eyre Coote's remonstrances. I had a very different idea upon this subject before...I thought you would have considered it as a necessary public measure that could not affect your situation but by giving a better chance to the success of our operations by removing any further ground of dispute with the general.....He too is

command in the Carnatic War reduced the Madras government to a mere commissariat department. This led the Madras government to complain to Bengal that "the ancient constitutional powers of this government subsists no more." Thereupon the Bengal government wrote to Madras on the 4th July, 1782, requesting them to take their previous order in the light of advice.⁷ We have a letter from Macpherson on the situation written on the following day (5th July, claiming that he remained attached to Macartney's interests. He told Macartney

"Till now I never imagined you wished more than to talk about the superceding effects of our letters to you and Coote upon your differences and the powers given to him. But now I see matters in another light, and that you are really hurt at our interference and the use to which it has been turned.

"I foresee many and great evils from your remonstrance, nor in truth and candour can I think it warranted by facts or events.

"Has Sir Eyre Coote disobeyed your government. If he has the power was in yourselves and you should have exerted it. If he has not

displeased with his pointed and special accusations of interference in his department mentioned to his secretary and to be received from him were not taken upon our records.....

"Do not imagine, my friend, that we have taken any partial line in this business. The general left us but one alternative. We knew his temper and the devoted attachment of the army. We looked to his successors, and after all what did we do? We advised harmony, and to leave him those powers in the conduct of the war, which every officer commanding an expedition under this government has always possessed.

"Complaints of a supposed supercession of the powers of your government must oblige us to draw the attention of the Company clearly to all we have done. There are those who wish in consequence of those supposed complaints to request both sides to consider our conciliatory advice (not commands) as if it had not issued. If that is your wish, my good friend, give me but a hint. I have laboured to support your cause which is the public cause, with all my efforts and so as to disoblige many friends,—most assiduously, ever since I have been here. I know the principles upon which your lordship acts are those of worth and good intention. I have gone further, I have unreservedly told to yourself and your deputed friend my free opinion of all your measures, (what would make my confidence and esteem more considering how few can bear, or at all like to be told such things but in words of praise)...I shall be very unhappy if any act of this government while I am a member of it can be supposed unjust or harsh towards your lordship."

⁷ Dasgupta, *The Central Authority in British India*, pp. 193-218.

the caprice and disgusts of a worn out warrior are not sufficient to justify the spirit of your complaint.

"You are my lord I am certain aware of the danger of confessing that the constitutional powers of your government are annihilated while entrusted to your hands. The constitutional powers of your presidency no power but the Company and Parliament can annihilate if those to whom they are entrusted do their duty.....

"However my friend I wish you to believe that I remain firm and attached to your public and personal interests.....

"I am always writing your lordship harsh (?) opinions. You with your usual good humour forgive me—you touch not on points where you see me warm. Consider I am chiefly committed for your success publicly and privately." ⁸

The quarrel between Coote and the Madras government continued and Macpherson wrote :

"All this cannot end well if such is to be the immediate result of our letter upon the subject of your complaints."

"But I am tired of writing in this strain and you must be offended. If I did not at this time think my writing could be of use I would not write."

Then in the postscript :

"I have written to Sir Eyre finding fault with you but telling him from my knowledge that you love him and that he must not mind the *bitterness* of some of his people. I would do anything to keep you all well for I see more perhaps than all of you the storms that are gathering round us." ⁹

Regarding the obstructions received by Macartney in his efforts to realise the Carnatic revenues assigned to the Company and the consequent disputes with the nawab of Arcot, we find Macpherson offering to play the part of the mediator. On the 12th August, 1782, he wrote,

".....my labour at the present hour is to make peace between your lordship and them" ¹⁰ [the Arcot durbar].

⁸ Macpherson to Macartney, 5 July, 1782, Satara Museum English MSS., No. 22.

⁹ Same to same, 17 Sept., 1782, Idem.

Do. 12 Aug., ,, Idem.

Again, a few days later,

“As your real friend it gives me pain to see a man of your temper, management and abilities so much engrossed by the little intrigues of dubashes, ameens, etc. etc.¹¹.....I like not your present disputes with the durbar...I have never yet directly nor indirectly replied to the nabob's and the ameer's letter to me. I think I can through Assim Chawn prepair both for an accommodation or reconciliation with your lordship. Pray write to me then whether you will agree to my ideas upon this subject. In the meantime if you sent for the ameer and the father and told them that you had letters from me requesting as an act of friendship to myself to forget where they had given you pain, and told that an arrangement was on the eve of being recommended by this government which would settle old disputes—...The event of such a discussion may be very favourable.”¹²

But was Macpherson the real friend that he claimed to be? Doubts arise in our minds as we peruse the letters from William Dunkin to Lord Macartney in the Satara collection. Dunkin's letters tell us how he started with a strong reliance on Macpherson's friendship and how he gradually discovered that Macpherson had been false to Macartney and was, at the time of Dunkin's efforts with the governor general on behalf of the Madras governor, perhaps a factor which made it difficult to reconcile Hastings to Macartney. Dunkin describes his first interview with the governor general in October, 1782, in a letter to Staunton.

“The goveror general came to town on Sunday...this morning Mr. Macpherson called upon me and carried me to him—my reception proved to me strongly that Mr. Macpherson has been assiduous in his endeavours to efface the bad impressions of my enemies—I must also hope that the letter I deliver[ed] from Lord Shelburne is no small weight in my favour—I watched his countenance whilst he was engaged in the perusal and thought the appearance not inauspicious—he instantly desired Mr. Macpherson to read it—his countenance expressed equal pleasure—the governor said, the letter I delivered entitled me to the strongest claim upon his *civilities and attentions* (I observed he did not use the word *services*) and that he would be very happy to show them—after a quarter of an hour's conversation I left him and Mr. Macpherson together—they remained

¹¹ Same to same, 31 Aug., 1782, fo. 6, Idem.

¹² *Ibid*, fo. 8.

enclosed full two hours—on their coming into the room where I was, the governor, who seemed in great spirits, addressed me with assurances of his favourable dispositions towards me—that he hoped often to see me during his convalescent state, and more frequently when his health was re-established—that in the meantime he put me under the protection of Mr. Macpherson who he assured me, would have pleasure in the charge etc.”¹³

In November, 1782, Dunkin reported to Macartney,

“ I am looked at suspiciously by the governor...I have every reason to be pleased with Mr. Macpherson’s behaviour. I really believe he would serve me if it was in his power—I beg your lordship to mention to him my conviction of his favourable disposition to me.”¹⁴

The next letter in this collection brings us to April, 1783. Dunkin now suspected that Hastings’ prejudice against him was due to Macpherson, secured a private audience with the governor general and having impressed him was again asked to visit him frequently. He availed him of this permission, and on one occasion discovered that inspite of being expressly commissioned by the Madras governor, Macpherson had done nothing to remove from Hastings’ mind the suspicion that Macartney had intrigued to supplant him in Bengal. It is extremely interesting to hear Dunkin speak for himself.

“ The prejudices infused into Mr. Hastings against me, kept me as I concluded at an inaccessible distance from him—but contrary to every hope I have gained an approach—I gave over the scheme I had foolishly adopted of trusting to the friendly interposition of Mr. Macpherson ; and by the advice of Mr. Stephen Sullivan, who earnestly desired I might have an explanation with Mr. Hastings, which he suspected Mr. Macpherson prevented, I requested a private audience—I at length succeeded. I was much agitated and affected—I saw I affected him—I told him truths, with a warmth and firmness which truth only could support—and in half an hour gained a place in his confidence which I had long despaired of—He fully acknowledged his suspicions of me—that he had been taught

¹³ Dunkin to Staunton, 16 Oct., 1782 Satara Museum, Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 2.

¹⁴ Dunkin to Macartney, 9 Nov., 1782, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 163.

to consider me as your and Mr. Burke's devoted friend for purposes inimical to him (the aim of your declared enemies, and pretended friends, I have in many instances marked to be directed to have your interest and Mr. Burke's considered as united, for the purpose of detaching Mr. Sullivan's and Mr. Hastings' friends from you)—that accounts he had recd. agt. me had made an impression on his mind.—He did not directly say he had these accts. from Mr. Macpherson, but he gave me cause sufft. to conclude it was from him alone—and that he was the conduit made use of by the Ameer and Benfield—on his honor he assured me that neither Assim Cawn or Richd. Sullivan had ever mentioned my name to him—Good God 'the man on whom I relied to remove the effects of the malevolent insinuations of my enemies—who solemnly assured me he had used and was continuing to use his best endeavours to that end—and that he should be the very man who communicated those slanders'—I do not say that Mr. Hs. told me so—but he gave me full reason to believe so, and he positively assured me that Mr. Mac. never once attempted to deceive him—Before I quitted him he gave me the most unequivocal assurances that I had entirely undeceived him—that he felt satisfaction at the [illegible] and hoped that from that time I would come to him frequently and freely—Now my dear Lord, before you go farther I beg you to get from Mr. Staunton, if he thought it with his keeping, my letter to him describing my first conversation with Mr. Macpherson, and compare what there passed between us with what I have now written and shall write—this happened about three weeks ago—I availed myself of Mr. H.'s permission—I visited him frequently and soon perceived a familiarity growing from him—finding him one evening disengaged and in good humor, old Mr. Sullivan's relation was one subject—I recollected I had in my pocket the little paper of memorandums, you may remember I showed you of a conversation I had with Mr. James Macpherson shortly before I left London, with some marginal remarks of old Mr. Sullivan I had several motives for producing this paper in its original address it showed my confidence in Mr. Hastings (Mr. Sullivan's confidence in me)—Mr. Sullivan's observations on the attachment and friendships of the Macphersons—and, what I was most desirous of proving—Mr. Sullivan's very anxious solicitude for a confidence and mutuality of interest between your Lordship and Mr. Hastings—and I hoped this might lead to the subject of your differences which as I stood I dared not to introduce—I was not disappointed—he read the paper with avidity—and immediately began to interrogate me as to its

meaning "What did Mr. Sullivan mean by desiring you to tell Lord Mecartney and me that now we might be sure of the interest of the Macpherson"? Mr. S. believed they were sincere in their intentions in supporting your, Lord Ms., and Mr. S's joynt interests, but that they were sincere only from conviction that they could not carry their own points witht. you etc. etc.—"But [—] has joyn Lord Ms. interest with mine?—the man engaged with my enemies to procure my recal and get into my seat and who disclaimed all such views."—Has not Mr. Macpherson been able to satisfy you on this head? Has he not explained how the matter originated and has he not done justice to L. Ms. honor against the possible suspicion of concealment or duplicity on his part?—With strong marks of surprize he repeated—Mr. Macpherson—never—"I heard indeed from *him* and others of his Lordship's views."—My good Sir did he not communicate to you the subject of a letter he recd. from Ld. M. soon after my arrival at Madras?—never—I was really astonished—he appeared in anxious expectation and begd me to proceed—I took up the subject from the period when different men of consequence, I mentioned the Marquiss of Graham and Ld. Lewisham began to discover their views to succeed him—that Mr. Sullivan and others of his sincere friends concluded that the best way to disappoint such pretensions would be to secure the eventual succession, when either his own choice or the accidents of nature or fortune might occasion a vacancy, for a man who shoud owe his appointment to their joynt interests—from which an attachment to him and his friends might be fairly expected—that Mr. S. looked to Ld. M. not only as a man whose personal connexions must greatly contribute to the success of the scheme, what also as a man in whose honor and gratitude they all might safely confide—that he had tried the ground for and found it not impracticable—his great object there was to attach Lord M. and Mr. Hastings to each other—to embark them on one bottom—he dreaded lest jealousies of each might be infused into the other—that he had desired me to explain his wishes to L. M. and hoped L. M. woud by me inform to Mr. H. his entire attention to them—that his Mr. S's designs had their origin in his attachment to Mr. H.—that he never entertained—that L. M. never entertained the idea of supplanting him—that my information to L. M. was the first he had on the subject that he must recollect about that time the direct communication between him and L. M. was unhappily interrupted and that L. M. had some time before assured him he had no such views—that therefore and to prevent being subjected to the possible imputation of a disingenuous conduct—of concealed intentions, L. M.

instantly wrote to his friend Mr. Macpherson and requested him to take the very first occasion to represent truth to Mr. H.—that on my arrival Mr. M. assured me he *had* done this—but that his communication to you (Mr. H.) had not the effect he wished or L. M. had intended—I saw or thought I saw a great deal of what was passing in Mr. H's mind—I went on to insist, with a warmth well warranted on my conviction that you, L. M. were sincere in your wishes to co-operate with him and manifest your confidence and friendship—this however appeared to be beyond his then faith."¹⁵

After a few days Hastings sent for Dunkin and told him that he was ready to believe his assurances of Macartney's amicable disposition if they could be reconciled with Macartney's having sent to the Directors, long before any act of the Bengal Government which could give offence, his letters respecting his opinion of the conduct proper to be pursued towards Tanjore

¹⁵ Dunkin to Macartney, 12 April, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 235.

This letter is unfortunately incomplete. It is important as throwing light on the circumstances in which Macartney was put forward by his friends as a candidate for the post of governor general. A letter in bundle IX from Lawrence Sullivan to Macartney, dated 19th October, 1781, corroborates Dunkin. Sullivan wrote "When it [Parliament] meets the Secret Committee will resume their enquiry, and some new regulations may take place. That of nominating a successor to the governor general and to the commander-in-chief to fill any eventual vacancy will certainly be adopted. Though I have good reasons to believe there is no intention at present to remove Mr. Hastings, several persons of high connexions have been confidentially mentioned to me as candidates for this nomination and I have been pressed to consider of a proper man. Motives of public good as well as private attachment, prompted me to propose your lordship whenever my opinion has been asked. And as it appeared likely that great exertions would be made to obtain such an high and important situation, I took further steps to secure your lordship's success by imparting my wishes to Lady Macartney and apprizing her of what was in contemplation...Mr. Dunkin who carries this despatch will also inform your lordship of the state this business is in, and of the mode in which it was set on foot....

"I must always express my hopes that a perfect harmony will subsist between my friend Governor Hastings, and your lordship, because I am convinced that our affairs in India would derive great advantages from such an union."

Lord Macartney more than once declared that the governor generalship was not an object with him and that he had never solicited it himself. Cf. Macartney to Directors, undated, Idem, Bundle III. "Your Hon'ble court...well knows that I never have solicited or applied for it in any address to you...and I do solemnly assure you that I never solicited or applied for it thro' any other channel, whether private friends or public ministers." (p. 48).

and the Northern Circars.¹⁶ Hastings then wrote to Macartney for an explanation on this point.¹⁷ Macartney's reply dated 10th May was shown by the governor general to Dunkin in a long private audience on the 11th June, 1783.¹⁸ Regarding the effect produced by this letter on Hastings, Dunkin reported to Macartney,

"He assured me in the most explicit manner that independent of the proofs which you had been at the trouble of collecting and offering, which he declared to be fully satisfactory, the readiness and anxiety which you had manifested to give him satisfaction—had completely answered to his wishes and given him much gratification,—that he had so expressed himself in his answer to you...In your letter to Mr. Hastings you promise to impart whatever you had written to the Directors on the subject of Tanjore—there was nothing enclosed on that subject or imparted in your letter except your very conclusive reasonings agt. his suspicions—This was not unobserved by him but he desired me to take no notice to you of what he conceived to be owing to accidental omission,—that independent of that you had given him entire satisfaction, etc. etc."

At the same time we hear from Dunkin that

"the idea of proceeding to extremities is not entirely relinquished."

In the interview Dunkin showed to Hastings Macartney's letter to Macpherson of the 29th July, 1782,

"Your letter of the 29th July, contains three subjects—you begin with... the impropriety of the powers given to Sir Eyre—Mr. Hastings was sore on this subject—This part of your letter Mr. Hastings well remembers that Mr. M. read to him—This could but irritate the sore—The second head was your acct. of the communications I had conveyed to you and your request that he should explain it Mr. Hastings to preserve your honr. from the possible imputation of concealment or disguise—of this not one sentence was communicated to Mr. Hastings but he well remembered that M. then informed him he had it from you that your friends, not one word of his or any other friends had thoughts of your

¹⁶ Dunkin to Macartney, 15 April, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 28.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Dunkin to Macartney, 11 June, 1783, Idem, Bundle IV, No. 122.

being removed to Bengal—The 3rd part of your letter was respecting the [illegible] of Sir Edwd. Hughes—Mr. Hastings is not certain whether he read that part or not—I am certain he did and it is not a good natured motive that convinces me.—”

“ I'o that part of your letter to Macpherson which mentions in very strong terms your sense of Mr. H.'s not having answered your letter he gave this as an answer—That nothing wou'd have pleas'd him more than free communication with you by letters—but that your letters were all too well, that is too guardedly written—that had you written to him with that unreserved freedom you did to M. your correspondence would have been highly grateful to him, but that your letters expressed to be familiar ones, were to him only exceedingly forcible and well dressed arguments always against himself....”

Dunkin felt that he now knew enough to sum up Macpherson's aims and ambitions.

“ God forgive me if I injure the man—He had two great objects—The governing the Durbar one—in this Benfield was his instrument, tho' he thinks himself a principal and has his own by-game to play—the other the succession to Mr. Hastings—you like his evil genius cross him at every turn—he is therefore your secret enemy—but he must seem your friend—to engage the support of your friends when they can no longer with effect support you—and by making Mr. Hastings hostile to you, he secures the powerful aid of Mr. Hastings' friends to frustrate your views in the first instance and in the long run to support his own, as he suspects the time may come when Mr. Hastings cannot stand—I beg you now to turn your eye to that part of my letter to Mr. Staunton where I describe his pathetic disclaimer of this Government—compare that with his never once having attempted to do you justice with Mr. Hastgs. with his declaring to me he had laboured it witht. effect—with Mr. Hastings telling me he had heard from him of your views to succeed him but never one little of explanation—and lett me conclude, what I woud now have you take into your view, with an anecdote I had the day before yesterday from Sir Elijah Impey. I shoud premiss that there is the most confidential communications between the Govr. and him—he immediately made him acquainted with the, as he called them, astonishing discoveries he had made from me—I have been since frequently in private with Sir Elijah—He asked me if I woud nearly ascertain the time when your letter must have reached Mr. Macphersons hands in which you had explained to him the information I had given you of the

intentions of your friends to advance you to this Government—I could pretty nearly—about that time he [Macpherson] took occasion to mention to Sir Elijah a very curious letter he had just received from you—He tells me here, sayd he, pulling out, but not reading a letter,—*that our common friends had thoughts of his succeeding to this Government*,—Does the Baron think me a fool? pretty friends they must be of mine who wou'd try to put another in my place"—at this time he was labouring to impress the Chief Just. with the idea of his consequence, and to hold himself out as the eventual successor."

It is interesting to find in this letter Sir Elijah Impey's attitude in this matter. We hear :

"The Chief Just. repeatedly and passionately wished you had given him the honr. of your confidence—assured me that from what he now knows of you if he had known it in time there never could have arisen a disagreeemt.....lamented the consequences of the manner your confidence has been abused—and imputes everything to the duplicity of the man you trusted—He it was who has infused the jealousies he complained of existing—and he was the man you trusted to remove them."

At the next interview Hastings asked Dunkin to tell him the real reason for Macartney's hostility towards him, since he had started with the best disposition towards his lordship, and since a respect for his character which he had early formed had been increased by the handsome things conveyed to him of Macarteny by Mr. Pechell and Mr. Sullivan.

"I as solemnly assured him that I never discovered in you but the most sincere desire of creating and increasing confidence and friendship—and that to promote this end whenever any difference of opinion might arise on a public matter, which you thought it necessary to declare you generally,—I could assert frequently, I believed always,—accompanied your public letter with a private one to Mr. Macpherson to whose friendly dispositions and conciliating good qualities you trusted to preserve private friendship—and regard between you—He shook his head repeatedly—I added that I had seen one or two of such your letters—and that such was my recollections of the manner you expressed your sentiments, that I now verily believed if Mr. Mac. had only read your letter to him, even without a friendly comment, they would have fully answered your purpose and

prevent the fatal interruption which had taken place in your correspondence—" But I never saw those letters—why did he not write to me directly "—

" We had much of this sort of conversation—he did acknowledge that you might sometimes have had apparent causes of dissatisfaction—but insisted they must have arisen long subsequent to what he considered as the strongest mark of your early intended hostilities to him—I am almost certain that now there does not remain on his mind a resentment against you but from this single cause—it has made a deep impression."

In spite of these apparently successful interviews, Dunkin failed in his efforts to alter the situation by eradicating from Hastings' mind his suspicions of Macartney. Dunkin's consciousness of failure was clear when he wrote in July 1783.¹⁹

" However amicable the professions held out in the letter you received on the 27th June may be you may be assured that at the time of writing the letter, and ever since, the most hostile measures are by every mode of address attempted."

From the official records we find that April, May and June of 1783 corresponding to the period of Dunkin's comparative success was a time of lull in the conflict between the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. But on the 7th July 1783 the Bengal board had before it the Madras letter of the 25th May, 1783, refusing to obey their second order to restore the Carnatic revenues to the nawab of Arcot. Hastings was furious and became impatient to punish the Madras Government for disobedience. In the proceedings of the 21st July 1783 the governor general recorded a lengthy minute on the subject, covering no less than 33 pages of the consultations. He asserted that there was no use showing "tenderness and forbearance" to the Madras Government, but did not suggest the punishment that should be meted out to them.²⁰ It was of this situation that Dunkin wrote on the next day—the 22nd July 1783.²¹

¹⁹ Dunkin to Macartney, 22nd July 1783, *Idem*, Bundle IV, No. 111.

²⁰ Dasg. pta, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-4.

²¹ Satara Museum Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 111.

“ Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables remain inflexible, and will not be frightened or cajolled into the measure of Mr. Hastings...atlength a long minute has come forth written by Mr. Hastings...he has not proposed anything in particular as the punishment of your delinquency—but expects that the other members of Council will propose what he has pointed at as your proper punishment—This paper is to go in circulation.”

Dunkin fully utilised the interval to ensure the support of Wheler and Stables for Macartney. We let Dunkin speak.

“ I have had many conversations with Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables on the subject—they did me the honor to desire I would commit my thoughts to writing—I have had the good fortune to please them—It is possible they may think some things I have written may be introduced into their minutes in answer to Governor.—I could but guess at his—but I took as good random aim as I could at what I suspected it might be—Mr. Macpherson is not able to attend Council. He is ill upon the water somewhere about Garretty.....“ Mr. Hastings says that your last long public letter is a libel on the Government and contains, tho not in direct words, by the plainest implication, a charge against M. Wheler and him of being bribed by the nawab of Arcot I attempted to reason with him against the probability of your ever intending to insinuate such a thing—that if your words could bear another explanation I was certain you must have meant them in this other—no—he said—it was too plain—I concluded with saying that I could not presume to reason from the words of a letter I never had read—but that I thought it not at all like your lordship, if you really intention’d such an opinion that you would take such a mode of bringing forward the charge—I went immediately to Mr. Wheler, but Mr. H. should by infusing such an idea irritate him against you and thereby make him more easy from such resentment for the imputation of being bribed to join in measures hostile to you—I had very little trouble on this head—Mr. Wheler assured me that he did not understand your letter in the sense Mr. Hastings did and that he very well saw into Mr. H’s motive—I don’t know where you would think it right to address a letter to Mr. Wheler on this subject—if yes—say you had this account from me—I hope you will never again have occasion to write a private letter to Mr. Hastings—he is the most dangerous of men.

“ To get over Mr. Macpherson to him on some trying questions now before Council he affects to recollect that he believes Mr. Macpherson did speak to him on the subject of your Lordships letter of July 1782, and that he is sorry he forgot it—He is not yet to me ventured to acknowledge

his want of memory—my proof agt him are too damning—to be sure I have damned myself with him by having been too correct he affects however particular attention to me—& I go after to his house—His first accts. to Mr. E. Impey and Stephen Sulivan of the effects of the discovery I had made, he can never get over—but above all—his allowing me to write the full detail to old Mr. Sulivan.”

How the situation developed two days later is described in the first of some notes found in this collection whose writer and addressee we are left to conjecture.²²

“ The ferment is still as violent as when I wrote you last, and the—²³ is still determined on repeating the positive orders for renouncing the assignment if he can by any means get anybody to second him, wch. now seems doubtful he made a direct and violent attack on Mr. S.²⁴ to support him alledging that by his supporting the measure hitherto, he was now so far committed, he could not recede...Mr. S. swore by—he never would and that he was sincerely sorry he never had anything to do with it, but that since now his Mr. S. eyes were open to his actions, it would be unpardonable.

“ The above gave occasion to the public to expect a duel and even [illegible] a meeting was appointed, but what prevented it or further, is not said;

“ The Thane ²⁵ is nearly very ill and on the water this fortnight—but if it had not been really so; it is supposed he would [illegible] himself not fit for duty at this period, as he finds the—so determined on this matter that he would invoke heaven and earth to enforce Mr. S. support and afraid absolutely to act in direct contradiction, being too much at his mercy; his native prudence is his only refuge.”

“ The—accuses Thane with not communicating to him Ld. M.’s private letters entire and only those parts least likely to reconcile—report adds that he went over the water to reproach him personally for it.” ²⁶

²² These are not in the form of letters, but are notes. They are partly in cipher, accompanied however by the explanations. Most of them bear the endorsement “J. Staunton” with the date of receipt at Madras. They were in all probability written to Macartney.

²³ The ‘ — ’ stands for ‘governor general.’

²⁴ Stables.

²⁵ John Macpherson.

²⁶ No. 23, dated 24th July, 1783, Idem, Bundle IX, No. 273.

In a subsequent note we read,

“ Mr. S. in conversation with me, set him down as absolutely mad;—but on reflection agreed that ‘ the—being near his political death, wanted to commit some act of violence, to exceed all he has done before, and involve with him the other three—and to come on his defence in England, in good company and ensure the support of all their friends ’—He exclaimed ‘ By—he shall have no support from any of mine, I’ll take care of him.’ ” ²⁷

So Hastings failed to induce the council to suspend the president and Select Committee of Madras. On the 31st July, 1783, he again brought in a minute in which he urged the council to decide speedily, crying out that “ in a case of this nature any decision is preferable to suspense.” The Supreme Council therefore decided to repeat the order to restore the assignment.²⁸ Upon this Dunkin, not a little disappointed, wrote to Macartney :²⁹

“ Mr. Shore...is much mortified at the want of firmness in his friend Wheler on his agreeing to the late resolution to repeat the orders of your Presidency which he must be convinc’d you will to his [illegible] refuse your compliance with, and which he and most of the thinking men here are convinc’d you never should comply with—He has repeated to me the assurances which Mr. Wheler in person gave me that this is the last step he, W. will take in this business—But what can I be sure of when he so repeatedly assured me he would agree to no sort of censure—I consider the repetition of the order as a censure, he wishes it not to be so understood—Mr. Shore has strongly advised, and I know his advice has great weight, that on any future attempt at censure for your expected repeated disobedience he, W. shall deny his assent and propose referring the whole matter to the Court of Directors—This I believe is the principal part of Mr. Stables’ minute on the late decision—He told that was a part he would select from the reasons I gave him—I believe he is a firm honest but not a very clear or a very well informed man—his manners have not the most finished polish—The Govt. and he are at open war as to our friend Mr. Macpherson, I am nearly convinced there is no man the

²⁷ No. 25, 6th August, 1783, *Idem*, Bundle IX, No. 272.

²⁸ Beng. Sec. Cons. of 31st July, 1783, and 15th August, 1783.

²⁹ Dunkin to Macartney, 3rd September, 1783, Satara Museum, Macartney papers, Bundle IV, No. 39.

Government has a more extreme contempt for—But he has use for every sort of tool and he knows the use of most—at present the idea of Fingals (?) power with Mr. Robinson ³⁰—and so to Lord North—gives him a temporary consequence—tho' I believe few subjects of contest can arise in which he will act with the Governr unless they are in favour of the old Nabob, or against your Lordship."

However the Madras government for the second time refused to restore the Carnatic revenues to the nawab. Hastings again proposed the suspension of the Madras government, but again failed to carry the council with him.³¹ We learn from the Satara manuscripts that

"On Monday last Hastings came to the Board with a determined resolution to destroy the whole Madras board, not Lord Macartney alone—he called upon Macpherson to assist him, who did not positively say no, but harangued for an hour and concluded saying it would be better to delay a little longer untill they should hear from England—With no little vexation of spirit he then asked Stables who directly and bluntly said 'No—if they have done wrong let them answer to the Court of Directors... ' "³²

Though the danger was over it was a time of anxiety for Macartney's friends. As has been noticed in Dunkin's letter to Macartney they were a little nervous on the score of Wheler. The same nervousness appears in one of these anonymous notes :

"Moore and Dunkin think there is no danger of his [Wheler's] joining Hastings, but his conduct as you have seen by the minutes sent you in direct opposition to his promise to Dunkin, leave great room to fear." ³³

This anxiety was however set at rest by Wheler's assurances that

"Notwithstanding he joined in enforcing by order he pledged himself he would not in punishment." ³⁴

³⁰ John Robinson, the Secretary to the Treasury was entrusted by Lord North with the superintendence of Indian affairs.

³¹ Daagupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-6.

³² Cipher notes, No. 34, dated 16th October, 1783, *Idem*, Bundle IX.

³³ Same, No. 35, undated, *Idem*, Bundle IX, No. 274.

³⁴ Same, No. 38, 14th November, 1783, *Idem*, Bundle XXI, No. 144.

In December, 1783, the dispute over the question of the Carnatic revenues was set at rest by the Bengal Council informing Madras that they had determined to suspend the further consideration of the subject until the decision of the Directors arrived.⁸⁵

A. P. DASGUPTA

⁸⁵ Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

ALL THINGS NEW

I met a mystic in a wood :
It was not wood I saw, but God.

FREDERICKA BTANKNER

MIR QASIM'S ACCESSION TO THE MASNAD OF MURSHIDABAD

Mir Qasim ascended¹ the Masnad on October 20, 1760, the tenth of the Rabi-ul-Awal in the year of the Hijrah 1174, amidst great pomp and eclat, and took great pains to impress on the wondering populace of Murshidabad that the deposition of the old Nawab was right and just. His accession was proclaimed all over the city, and people eagerly flocked to the gates of the palace to have a view of the joyous festivities that were going on inside. No efforts were spared to make the day memorable in the chequered history of Murshidabad. Friends and admirers, nobles and merchants, officials and Zemindars, in fact, persons of any importance in the city crowded upon the new Nawab with their presents to offer their respects, and felicitations. Mr. Vansittart offered his congratulations on behalf of the Company, and retired to Moradbagh leaving Major Yorke and a detachment of troops for the security of the Nawab.² This precaution was needless, as there occurred not the slightest disturbance in the city,³ and the day passed in merry-making, and the illuminations at night were as brilliant as on the previous day which had been the last day of the greatest festival in Bengal, the Durga Puja.

All the oriental grandeur and brilliance could hardly have concealed from the intelligentsia in Bengal the glaring

¹ Vansittart, Narrative, I, p. 148.

The Seir, II, p. 385.

The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 735).

The Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 304).

The Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 349).

² Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Select Committee, Nov. 3, 1760.

³ Vansittart, I, p. 122.

treachery and cupidity of the new Nawab, and people were soon to have a bitter experience of the new regime, and its heartless oppression.¹ So far as Mir Qasim was concerned, he laboured under no delusions, and was hardly dazzled by the splendid ovations he had received. He knew very well the extremely arduous nature of the responsibilities and powers so long coveted, and now secured, by him.

The Nawab's chief care after his accession was to regulate² the finances. He found to his utter amazement the treasury practically exhausted by the late Nawab, and there was not even one lakh in ready cash,³ and not more than a few lakhs in gold and silver plate. Such a state of affairs would have benumbed the most optimistic of hearts, but Mir Qasim was not the man to be disheartened. He needed money to pay his forces, and those of the Company; and if he failed to secure it from the treasury, he could at any rate force those people to pay who could afford to do so. Cynical as it may appear, the Nawab had recourse to this policy systematically, and ruthlessly. There was no other way open to a man who had cheerfully undertaken to repay the arrears that had been accumulating since the commencement of the last regime, and to satisfy the demands of the Company.

The Nawab started with the convenient assumption that the old administration had been thoroughly corrupt. All responsible officers of the preceding government were ordered to submit accounts, so that they might be compelled to disgorge what they had embezzled with impunity. He appointed reliable men to audit the accounts. Among others, Ali Ibrahim Khan, his most intimate friend, was to look after the military accounts. He was to be assisted by Sita Ram⁴ whom Ghulam Hussain describes as a man of a bad character

¹ Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 304.

² Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal, p. 8.

³ The Seir, II, p. 390. Vansittart's Letter to the Select Committee, Oct. 24, 1760.

⁴ The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 771).

though a complete master of all the intricacies of revenue accounts.¹ The inevitable consequence of such a policy was that innumerable embezzlements were reported by the zealous auditors and supervisors. The persons reported against were doomed, and helpless against the Nawab's wrath. Every one was taken to task, and no consideration was shown to anybody. The punishment for alleged misappropriation was cruel. Wholesale confiscations of property were made, and many nobles and wealthy people became virtual paupers. A Zemindar had escaped to Calcutta with all his moveable property, and Mir Qasim wrote to the governor requesting him to send him back.² On the pretence of securing damages for the losses due to embezzlement of government funds, the Nawab ruined a number of families.³ The greed of the Nawab knew no bounds. He did not hesitate to punish the relatives and dependants of Ali Verdi Khan,⁴ nor did he spare even the ladies of the palace, and the women of the town.⁵ They had to restore to the government their hoarded wealth, and even ornaments, because the loyal spies had found fault with them. There was hardly a rich man left in the country who wholly escaped the notice of the informers appointed by the Nawab. Their wealth was regarded a sufficient proof of their guilt. Thus, in the course of a short time, the Nawab amassed, by organised cruelty and terror, in cash and jewellery a vast treasure which he utilised in paying his own troops, and those of the Company. Mr. Vansittart, it appears, was not told how exactly money was being procured from the alleged defaulters. He was given to understand⁶ that only the principal officers and Mutasaddis of the late administration were being compelled

¹ The Seir, II, p. 389.

² Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.

³ Muzaffer-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), pp. 305-6.

⁴ The Khulasat. J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 852.

⁵ The Seir, II, p. 392.

⁶ Vansittart, I, pp. 137-9.

to give up what they had misappropriated. The governor, unaware of the terrorism going on, wrote to the Select Committee, "the Nawab applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the affection of the people." ¹

The Nawab next turned his attention to other means of raising funds without which the ordinary work of government could not be carried on. He borrowed a large sum from the Seths with the help of Mr. Vansittart.² Having thus secured sufficient resources to meet at least partially the demands of the troops, and other creditors, Mir Qasim embarked on a policy of an all-round retrenchment. He banished all scruples from his mind, and cut down all expenditure in so drastic a manner that he extorted the admiration of the governor.³ He commenced with a severe retrenchment of his personal expenses, and this showed his earnestness in a way that could not be mistaken. It was a unique thing in that age indeed for a Nawab to curtail expenditure on the various ceremonials, and luxuries of the palace.⁴ Mir Qasim was, however, bent upon making his government solvent, and so he shrank from no economies howsoever undignified or petty they might be. For instance, the menagerie department of the palace was abolished,⁵ and the animals were actually sold to Zemindars. The Nawab did not hesitate even to appropriate to himself the gold and silver decorations of the royal⁶ Imambara amounting to several lakhs in value, and stopped⁷ all the expenses incurred in connection with 'Tazias' even though he was a Shiya. Not content with these savings, he had the meanness

¹ Vansittart's Letter to the Select Committee, Oct. 24, 1760.

² Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.

³ Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 11.

⁴ The Khulasat, J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 351.

⁵ The Seir, II, p. 391.

⁶ The Riyaz us Salatin, p. 385.

⁷ The Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 305.

to suggest a reduction in the allowances of Mir Jafar whose voluntary abdication alone had brought him on the *masnad*. Mr. Vansittart had requested him to grant Rs. 25,000 monthly¹ for the expenses of the ex-Nawab, but Mir Qasim wrote in reply that a sum of Rs. 2,000 per month would be sufficient!² Pressed by the governor, he agreed to raise the sum to Rs. 10,000,³ but absolutely refused to make it Rs. 15,000 in spite of all representation.⁴

Mir Qasim soon found himself in a position to send remittances for the payment of the troops.⁵ The arrears, however, could not be paid all at a time, but the Nawab sent instalments⁶ regularly as he did not like to commit the mistake of his predecessor. When Mr. Vansittart complained⁷ that the amount due to the Company was not being paid quickly, Mir Qasim decided to sell⁸ a quantity of precious jewels which he had lately confiscated from various people, and handed them over to Mr. Batson, chief of the Kasimbazar factory.⁹ They were sent to Calcutta, and sold¹⁰ at auction. Thus, before long, the Nawab paid up the arrears due to the Company, and paid a substantial donation of five lakhs to help the Company in their war with the French.¹¹ Above all, he did not forget his obligation to the members of the Select Committee, and subsequently

¹ Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 7.

² „ P. L. R., „ „ p. 3.

³ „ „ „ „ p. 11.

⁴ Trans. P. L. I., 1762, No. 9, p. 6.

⁵ The Seir, II, p. 391.

The Khulasat, pp. 351-2.

⁶ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 3.

„ „ „ „ p. 4.

Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 83, p. 1.

⁷ Vans., Narrative, I, p. 140.

Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 9.

⁸ „ P. L. R., „ „ p. 3.

The Seir, II, p. 39.

⁹ Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 11.

¹⁰ Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 168, p. 56.

¹¹ Vans., Narrative, I, p. 123.

paid them too the promised presents.¹ Besides paying the dues of the Company, the Nawab fulfilled his agreement with the Company.²

Thus—

(i) He gave the Company 'parwanahs' for the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong.³

(ii) The balance of ten lakhs payable to the Company's troops was paid.⁴

(iii) He granted a 'parwanah' for half⁵ of the Chunam production at Sylhet.

(iv) The shroffs and merchants were forbidden to charge any discount on the Calcutta 'siccas,' and the Nawab allowed the latter to bear the Murshidabad stamp.⁶ A notification was issued to the effect that any person who demanded 'batta' on the Calcutta 'siccas' was to be sent to the Nawab, and punishment would be meted out to him.⁷

Mir Qasim did not evince either caution, or wisdom, in the first appointments made by him. His choice fell mostly on unworthy favourites whose sole aim was to make the most of the opportunities that they now obtained for making money. The Nawab probably meant to gather round him a group of persons whose interests would be bound up with those of his regime. He favoured several of his relations with sonorous titles, and appointments, although they hardly deserved any.⁸ Some of his friends were appointed as comptrollers, and supervisors in the several offices, and the sole reason of their elevation was

¹ First Report, 1772, p. 164.

Third Report, 1773, p. 311.

The total sum paid as presents amounted to a little more than £200,000.

² Vansittart, I, p. 101, Narrative.

³ Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Select Committee, Nov. 3, 1760.

⁴ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 40.

⁵ Vans., Narrative, I, p. 122.

⁶ Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 4.

„ P. L. I., „ p. 9.

⁷ „ P. L. R., „ p. 3.

⁸ A detailed account is given by Ghulam Hussain, *The Seir*, II, pp. 387-90.

the Nawab's deep-rooted distrust of the former officials. He even went to the length of inviting old and retired Mutasaddis of Aliverdi Khan's time ¹ to accept office once again in the treasury so that they might be used as a check on the officers of Mir Jafar. One of the avowed objects of Mr. Vansittart in bringing about a reformation of the late Nawab's government had been to remove ² the principal evil counsellors of Mir Jafar such as Kanna Ram, Munni Lal, and Chunilal, but Mir Qasim did not like either to dismiss or punish them before utilising their services in detecting the late embezzlements. With his usual cunning and diplomacy, he conferred on them honours and appointments. Mr. Vansittart was not aware of the underlying motives of the Nawab, and so he naturally protested against this.³ The Nawab replied with characteristic tact that it would be imprudent to dismiss them immediately.⁴ It is needless to mention that, not long afterwards they were arrested, and their property was confiscated.⁵ They were subsequently executed.⁶

The following is a list of the principal officials appointed by the Nawab immediately after his accession : —

1. Ali Ibrahimkhan,⁷ Chief auditor of military accounts ;
2. Sita Ram,⁸ Chief auditor of civil accounts.
3. Gurgeen Khan,⁹ Darogha of artillery.

¹ The Khulasat, p. 359.

² Vans., Narrative, I, p. 119.

³ Abs. P. L. I., 1759-65, p. 10.

⁴ „ P. L. R., „ p. 4.

⁵ The Seir, II, p. 391.

⁶ The Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 304.

⁷ He was the most faithful friend of Mir Qasim. Ghulam Hossain has given a high opinion in regard to his ability and merit : "...who, to all his innate delicacy in matters of honour and fidelity, joins the incomparable talent of unravelling the most hidden mysteries of administration, and of discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts.....(The Seir, II, p. 388).

⁸ "...a man of a bad character, and who was universally known for a mischievous wicked minister...(The Seir, II, p. 389).

⁹ He was brother to Khwaja Petrusse who had acted as an intermediary between the Nawab and the Select Committee. The author of the Seir is extremely prejudiced against

4. Shah Masnad Ali,¹ Paymaster of the forces.
5. Mahammad Zahir Hussain Khan,² Paymaster of the forces.
6. Mahammad Naqi Khan Tabrezi,³ Faujdar of Birbhum.
7. Syed Turab Ali Khan,⁴ Naib of Murshidabad.
8. Mirza Shamsuddin,⁵ Confidential Agent of Patna.

Once secure on the *masnad*, Mir Qasim turned his attention to the task of bringing rebellious Zemindars under control. This was the most pressing problem after the re-organization of finances. Since the time of Mir Jafar, some of the Zemindars of Bihar and Bengal had been disaffected towards the Nawab, and had joined the Shahzadah.⁶ Their attitude became a source of alarm and danger, as revenues were withheld by them.⁷ All this had been due to the weakness of Mir Jafar's government, but Mir Qasim determined to control the dangerous power of such Zemindars, and establish his own authority over the whole province. Among the Zemindars, the Raja of Birbhum was the most dangerous. He was the most powerful landholder, and his estate was close to Murshidabad. The Raja had been a source of perpetual alarm to Mir Jafar,⁸ because he had threatened to attack the capital more than once. On the

him (II, p. 389). His hatred may have been due to racial and religious animosity. Gurgeen Khan had been a merchant at Hooghly, and subsequently became a favourite of the Nawab, and thus incurred the jealousy of others. (The *Khulasat*, p. 351.) Gentil who had served under him has left in his Memoirs an account of his fidelity and subsequent murder (pp. 217-235). *Vide* also an article on Gurgeen Khan by M. J. Seth (Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Vol. X, pp. 110-16).

¹ "... a man of the scum of the people, totally void of brains..." (The *Seir*, II, p. 390).

² The *Khulasat*, p. 351.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Trans. P. L. I., 1761, No. 117, p. 18.

⁵ His sole qualification was that he was a good humourist. He was given the Commission "of conciliating to his government the minds of the principal persons of Patna." (The *Seir*, II, p. 390, and the *Khulasat*, p. 351.) He subsequently became the Nawab's Wakil. (Trans. P. L. R., 1763, No. 87, p. 32.)

⁶ Fort William Consultations, Jan. 8, 1761.

⁷ "A Letter from Certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal," p. 9.

⁸ Fort William Consultations, July 28, 1760.

eve of Mir Jafar's deposition, the Raja was reported to have threatened Murshidabad.¹ After the revolution, Ashad Zaman Khan, the Raja, wrote to the governor protesting² against the deposition of the late Nawab, and made it an excuse of defying the new Nawab. Mir Qasim received information³ about the threatened hostility of the Raja, and decided to take necessary steps against him. Mr. Vansittart also instructed to punish the Raja.⁴ The principal reason of the latter's hostile attitude was the Nawab's demand of a special contribution in addition to the usual revenue.⁵ Ashad Zaman Khan was not going to obey the orders of the new Nawab who, he believed, had no moral right to the *masnad*. It was, however, no easy task to punish him. He had a small army of his own, and it was estimated that his combined forces and cavalry and infantry amounted to twelve or thirteen hundred.⁶ An armed expedition was therefore necessary to coerce the Raja, and the Nawab lost no time in organising one.⁷

The Nawab's own military resources were extremely limited and his troops had not been fully paid. It was dangerous to march discontented troops against a rebellious Zemindar.⁸ He had to seek the aid of a detachment of the Company's forces. Mr. Vansittart informed the Nawab that Major Yorke was at his disposal, and could be employed against the Rajas of Birbhum and Bishanpur.⁹ Early in January, 1761, the Nawab sent an expedition against the Raja of Birbhum.¹⁰ His troops were commanded by Muhammad Khan and Gurgeen Khan¹¹ who

¹ Fort William Consultations, Nov. 10, 1760.

² Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 1.

³ " " " p. 3.

⁴ Abs. P.L.I., 1759-65, p. 7.

⁵ The Seir, II, p. 394.

⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 19.

⁷ " " " p. 3.

⁸ Abs. P.L.R. " p. 19.

⁹ " P.L.I., " p. 8 and p. 10.

¹⁰ " P.L.R., " p. 4.

¹¹ The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 773.

were instructed to destroy the forces of the Raja before the arrival of Major Yorke.¹ Their campaign proved hardly glorious in the beginning, as the Nawab's troops were new recruits generally worthless and lacking in experience. Asad Zaman Khan took the field with his army and offered a stout resistance.² He had recourse to guerilla tactics, and harassed the Nawab's forces from different sides.³ It seemed that the Raja was going to gain a decisive victory over the rabble army of the Nawab. That was, however, not to be. Major Yorke was soon able to turn the scale against the Raja.⁴ The final blow⁵ was dealt by a small force stationed in Burdwan under Major White who attacked the Raja in his rear and created a panic in his army.⁶

Mir Qasim must have been deeply mortified to see the worthlessness of his own troops who were, by themselves, no match for the armed followers of even a Zemindar! The incapacity of his own officers and men left a deep impression in his mind. He realised that his whole military organisation needed a thorough overhauling without which his position was insecure. The revolt of the Raja of Birbhum was an object-lesson to him in the early days of his power. The helplessness of the Nawab was clearly demonstrated. However, the troubles in Birbhum and other places soon ceased. Asad Zaman Khan repented of his conduct, and submitted to the Nawab.⁷ His submission was accepted on payment⁸ of a huge indemnity from which the Nawab had to pay the Company's Sepoys handsomely for their courage against the Raja of Birbhum.⁹

¹ The Seir, II, p. 395.

² The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 773.

³ The Seir, II, p. 395.

⁴ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 4.

⁵ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 37.

⁶ Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 11.

⁷ Trans. P.L.R., 1761, No. 91, pp. 5-6.

⁸ The Khulasat, p. 352.

⁹ Abs. P.L.R., 1762-65, p. 11.

Mir Qasim soon managed to bring some order out of chaos in the affairs of the government, and securely established himself on the *masnad* of Murshidabad. It began to appear that he had closely followed the instructions given¹ by Mr. Vansittart at the time of the latter's departure from Murshidabad, and the opening of his administration seemed to justify the hopes of his supporters.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

¹ Fort William Consultations, Nov. 6, 1760.

Mr. Vansittart while departing from Murshidabad delivered an address to the Nawab, which contained the following instructions :—

- (i) The affairs of the Government should be very carefully and prudently handled.
- (ii) The Nawab should not entrust large powers to the subordinates, and must attend to the business of the state, in person.
- (iii) One of the reasons of Mir Jafar's overthrow was his jealousy towards the English so the Nawab must not be jealous of his friends, the English.
- (iv) If the 'Nawab' had any grievance against the English, he should not give vent to his indignation publicly, but ought to refer it to the Governor.
- (v) Economy should be practised in every branch of the Government.
- (vi) The Nawab must endeavour to punish the wrong-doers, and dispense right and free justice.

BEAUTY

Beauty is not for hands to touch ;
Leave roses on the bower,
Though we may love their petals much,
Our hands will soil the flower.

A woman's love is fair, so fair,
But do not heartaches gather?
For in life's urn there's tears of care
That make those blossoms wither.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

FREDERICK SMETANA

A Great Bohemian Composer.

To-day we hear but little of the once popular Frederick Smetana. He does not deserve the oblivion into which both his works and his name have fallen during the last few years. He was one of the greatest musical pioneers of the last century ; for, being a national composer above all other things, Smetana worked to broaden the whole aspect of Bohemian music. He is reckoned to be the finest Bohemian composer on national subjects ; his writings are Bohemian to the very core, on every page of his music we find the unmistakable marks of nationalism, really beautiful music written in various peculiar rhythms, which are the essentials of Bohemian music.

Smetana was born in an obscure little village at the corner of Bohemia on March 2, 1824. As is the case with most musical geniuses, the love of music was apparent in Smetana at a very early age. He studied first under Proksch, becoming eventually a pupil of the renowned Liszt. Rapidly advancing under the capable tuition of this great man, he became a clever pianist. Following upon his immense success as a pianist, Smetana opened an academy of his own at Prague, where, later, he married Katherine Kodar, another celebrated pianist.

Smetana was not a prolific composer ; he was apt to believe more in quality than quantity, but there is, of course, ample material from which to judge his musicianship. In common with many other composers, it was Smetana's ambition to write opera scores above all other forms of music, but there is no doubt that the standard of his symphonies and his chamber-music is very high indeed. We occasionally hear of the celebrated "Bartered Bride" to-day, chiefly by reason of the fact that the overture to this work is performed frequently by different orchestras and bands. It was, and still is, Smetana's most popular work. It was composed in 1866, the same year that he obtained the post of conductor at the National Theatre. It aroused much enthusiasm both in Germany and in Vienna,

where it was played for the first time six years after its composer's decease. It received two public performances in England, in 1893 and 1907, but failed to attract much success.

The music of the score of "The Bartered Bride" is coloured occasionally with the slightest addition of Beethoven, Cherubini and Mozart, but for the most it is typically Smetana and truly Bohemian. Whilst conducting at the National Theatre, Smetana, it is interesting to note, formed a friendship with Dvorák, who was at that time a young man in the orchestra. This friendship had a marked effect upon the composition of Dvorák, as will be seen in some of his composition, which are quite Bohemian in style.

Then came a bitter blow, and, like the immortal Beethoven, Smetana became gradually deaf. Tortured by the loss of his hearing, Smetana lost his reason and died in an asylum at Prague at the age of sixty years. But before he was overcome by this tragic affliction, and after composing the "Bartered Bride" he wrote six more operas; these later six, unfortunately, are little known outside the composer's own country, where I believe, they are frequently performed. Although of great melodic beauty and full of originality, neither of the six are of the high standard of "The Bartered Bride," the work by which Smetana will always be remembered and revered. His best comic opera is written in the national spirit also, and is entitled "Der Kuss;" whilst for originality his two historical operas, "Dalebor" and "Libusa" are to be highly commended.

Smetana wrote a very fine symphonic poem, "Mein Vaterland," which is cast into six sections, each of which contains some excellent musical writings and orchestration. It is probably the best of his four symphonies in this class. Of his two string quartets, in E minor and C major, the former appears to be the most popular composition of the two, partly because of its beautiful effect and melodic construction, and partly because it is a composition by which Smetana describes an important event in his career. I am sure that the earnest student of music would be well rewarded by a close study of Smetana's compositions.

LELAND J. BERRY

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE KAUṬĪLIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

On pages 389-410 of the Indian Historical Quarterly Dr. Narendranātha Law, the Editor, finds fault with my translation of some of the passages of the Arthaśāstra and presuming that his own interpretation is unquestionable jumps at the conclusion that my translation is unreliable. He says that after the publication of my translation a number of scholars like himself applied their minds to the correct interpretation of the text and that I did not take pains to avail myself of the results of their labour. It is true that I did not take the trouble of going through "Chāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra," which is an abridgement, if not a plagiarism, and "Inter-state Relations in Ancient India," which is more or less an Utopian work. In translating the work I strictly followed the rules of interpretation and Sanskrit grammar. Whether my interpretation is right or wrong, will be clear when the hollowness of his assertions are pointed out.

To begin with, he takes the passage—

"Maryādām sthāpayet āchāryānamātyān vā ya enamapāyasthānebhya vārayeyuḥ chhāyānālikāpratodena vā rahasi pramādyantamabhitudeyuḥ."

My translation is as follows :—

(1) "Those teachers and ministers who keep him from falling a prey to dangers, and who, by striking the hours of the day as determined by measuring shadows, warn him of his careless proceedings even in secret, shall invariably be respected."

Here the word 'Maryādā' means limit, goal, boundary. Accordingly the passage means literally—The king should fix some limit or boundary of his proceedings for his teachers to interfere with and prevent him from going further. In other words he should respect his teachers when they prevent him from his careless proceedings. It is this secondary meaning which this Sanskrit word has in the Dravidian languages.

Not satisfied with my interpretation the critic translates the passage—"The king should appoint as a barrier either Āchāryas or ministers, etc."

The critic is requested to explain what the "appointment of a barrier" means. Appointment of a barrier is never heard of.

(2) Bk. 7, 1.—On page 263 there occur the passages—

"Parasmāddhiyamānaḥ sandadhīta, Abhyuchohiyamānaḥ Vigrihñiyāt."

The translation is "whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him ; whoever is superior in power shall wage war."

The critic finds fault with this translation and says that it is made "in such a way as to mislead an unwary reader into thinking that each condition is the only determining factor in regard to the connected course of action." Does he expect the translator to discourse on the ethics of the action implied by the sentences translated? The translator's business is to state the meaning of the sentences. If a reader like the critic draws misconclusions from it, it is not the fault of the translator.

(3) Bk. 7, 2, p. 267.—"Chhidreshu praharet."

Trans.—"He may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself." The critic says, "The utilisation of the opportunity need not necessarily be murder."

Does it then mean beating so as not to cause death? Such a course may satisfy the moral critic, but not a warrior bent on conquest. The author never meant mere beating here.

(4) Bk. 7, 4, p. 268.—The passage is "Samahīnajyāyasām guṇābhiniveśaḥ." *Trans.*—"The character of equal, inferior, and superior kings. The critic takes the word guṇa to mean courses of action. Guṇa never means action. It means character or nature, or quality. If action were meant, 'karma' would have been the word.

(5) Bk. 7, 4, p. 272.—The critic wastes his words by uselessly discoursing on "Sthāna, Āsana, and Upekshaṇa"

without pointing out any defect in my translation. Is this to swell the number of pages of his apparent criticisms ?

(6) Bk. 7, 4, p. 273.—The critic says here “ The meaning conveyed by it may be put thus : “ when the enemy is, etc.”

It may be put in a hundred ways. Is it wrong to put it in the other way? Is this the way of pointing out errors?

(7) Bk. 7, 5, p. 278.—The passage is “ Kṛitārthājjyāyaso gūḍhassāpadeśamapasaret

aśucheśśuchivṛittāttu pratikshetāvisarjanāt
satrādapasaredyattaḥ kalatramapaniṇya vā.

Trans.—“ When the desired end is achieved, the inferior king will quietly retire after the satisfaction of the superior. Till his discharge the good character of an ally of usually bad character should be closely scrutinised (the ‘ vijigīṣhu ’ should closely scrutinise) either by suddenly coming out at a critical time from a covert position (satra) to examine his conduct or by having his wife as a pledge for his good conduct.”

Here ‘ pratiksheta ’ means ‘ pariksheta.’ But the critic taking it in the sense of “ should wait ” and omitting to consider the last passage where the superior king is stated to have taken the inferior king’s wife as a pledge for his conduct, translates the passage as—“ If the king, who has called him, be of superior strength and shows *symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage,*¹ the latter should come away from him secretly (gūḍhaḥ) on some pretext or other ; should the former be just in his dealings (śuchivṛittāttu), the latter may wait up to the last to *have his share of gains made over to him.*”²

It is not known how the critic got the meaning marked by italicised words here in his translation. The passage cannot apply to an inferior king, for on account of his inferiority he cannot be expected to demand the superior to keep the latter’s wife as a pledge for the latter’s good conduct.

(8) 7, 6, p. 280.—Here the critic finds fault with the translation of the words (1) ‘sandhi,’ (2) ‘akritachikīrshā,’ (3) ‘kṛitaśleṣhaṇa,’ (4) ‘kṛitavidūṣhaṇa’ and (5) ‘avaśīrṇakriyā.’ These words are explained in the text itself so as to give no room for misinterpretation.

1 “paṇabandhassandhiḥ”—“agreement with pledges is peace.”

2 “akritachikīrshā” means as defined in the text (p. 280) a new agreement of peace (Trans., p. 309, 3rd Ed.).

3. “Kṛitaśleṣhaṇa” is defined as “kṛitasya—paripālanam” meaning “peace with binding terms.”

4 “vyatikramaḥ kṛitavidūṣhaṇam,” that is, the breaking of agreement is the breaking of peace,

5. Likewise “avaśīrṇakriyā” means restoration of peace.

In all these cases ‘sandhi,’ as opposed to ‘vighraha,’ must mean peace as opposed to war. If peace is not an appropriate equivalent word to the Sanskrit word “sandhi,” it is the business of the critic to suggest a suitable word. But without any such suggestion, persistence in asserting “No, no” is no criticism.

(9) 7, 10, p. 293. —Here ‘bhūmisandhi’ is translated as “agreement of peace for the acquisition of land.” The critic says that the words ‘of peace’ may be omitted for the reason that peace implies war. Does not agreement imply disagreement?

(10) Likewise he says that the word “vijigīṣhu” should not be translated as “conqueror,” but as “central sovereign or state.” The critic ought to know that “vijigīṣhu” is a technical term and as such is defined in the text itself as “rājā ātma-dravyaprakritisampanno nayasyādhishṭhānam,” p. 260, “the king who, being possessed of good character and best fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror.” The word literally means one who desires to conquer. I think it is not proper to translate a word setting aside its literal sense. The words suggested by the critic have no connection with the literal sense of the word. Accordingly his reference to his “Inter-state Relations in Ancient India” which he considers a perfect model work is of no use.

(11) 7, 7, Trans., p. 312.—Again the critic reverts to the question of the propriety of translating the word “sandhi” as peace, “samāsandhi” as “even peace” and “vishamasandhi” as “uneven peace.” In Ch. 17 of Book 7, the word ‘sandhi’ is said to be equivalent to ‘sama and samādhi. Samāsandhis-samādhireko’rthaḥ. The words “sama, sandhi, samādhi” mean peace, calmness.

(12) 7, 7, Trans. p. 314.—Here the critic takes objection to the translation of the word “bhūyaḥ” as again and again. He takes it in the sense of “large.” The passage runs as follows—“bhūyo labhamānaḥ vā jyāyāmsam hīnam samam vā bhūyo yācheta. Bhūyo vā yāchitaḥ... ..bhūyo dadyāt.” Translated into English it means—“Though frequently getting (subsidy or something demanded), one may demand from a superior, inferior or equal (king) again (bhūyaḥ). Thus requested again (bhūyaḥ), the other may pay again (bhūyaḥ).” If “again” be replaced by the word “large,” as suggested by the critic, it would run thus—“Though getting large (subsidy or something), one may demand from a superior, inferior, or equal (king) a large (subsidy or something). Thus requested for a large (subsidy or consideration), the other may pay or give a large (subsidy or consideration). A good Sanskrit scholar can very well know whether the word ‘bhūyaḥ’ here means “again” or “large.”

(13) 7, 7, p. 285.—The paragraph begins with “jyāyāmsam vā hīnam vā...” Here the critic proposes to change the reading from “jyāyāmsam” to jyāyān. In that case the word ‘vā’ also has to be omitted. It is not the business of a translator to make such changes. Accordingly the critic’s proposed translation of the passage is unacceptable and unjustifiable.

(14) 7, 8, p. 286.—The critic says that “in the first paragraph of the trans. ‘paropakara’ has been translated by the word ‘misery’....” It is ‘śarīra-bādha’ that has been translated by the word ‘misery.’ The equivalent of the word ‘paropakāra, helping the enemy, has somehow or other dropped out of th

translation. The critic's main aim is to shut his own eyes and blame others for his own inability to see the things as they are. The variant reading referred to by the critic in the next paragraph is not supported by manuscripts so far discovered. As it is, the translation of the passage is alright.

(15) P. 316 of the Trans.—The omission of the word 'sambandhāveکشī' in the translation is an oversight here. With regard to the translation of the third paragraph on p. 287, with the words "kṛitasandhiratikramitukāmaḥ, etc.," the critic says that the translation is obscure and explains the meaning of the paragraph. In doing this the critic dissects the sentence in such a way that in the explanation given by him the object of the predicate becomes a condition, and a condition an object aimed at.

(16) In the next paragraph "śakyārambhī" is translated as "whoever undertakes a tolerable work is the beginner of a possible work." The critic says that it is faulty without pointing out the fault and suggests his own translation as "one who is engaged in an operation the completion of which is within the limits of his ability." This is explanation, but not translation, for there are no words, "limits, ability," in the text.

(17) In the same paragraph "alpenāpyanugraheṇa kāryam sādhayati" is translated "brings to a successful termination any work without losing anything in the form of favour." The critic calls this not faithful to the text and suggests "accomplishes his work even with small help." 'Anugraha' does not mean help, but favour.

(18) In the next passage he suggests his own translation for which there are no words in the text. The text and translations are as follows :—

Text.	S.'s trans.	Suggested trans.
tayorekapurushānu- grāhe yo mitram nītrātaram vā anu- rūpāti so'tisandhatte.	Of the two, conquer- or and his enemy, both of whom may happen to have a friend in the same person, he who	Of the two, kings, each helping another king, <i>one</i> <i>an enemy</i> (but now an <i>ally</i>) and the other a friend, the king who hap-

helps a true or truer friend overreaches the other. pens to render assistance to the friend becomes a gainer; and *of the two kings, each helping another king, one friendly and the other friendly in a special degree, the king who assists the king friendly to him in a special degree (mitratara) becomes a greater gainer.*¹

There are no words in the text corresponding to the words italicised here in the proposed translation.

(19) Text, p. 288.—Here the critic objects to the translation of the words “Madhyama, and Udāsīna,” as “mediatory and neutral.” He must know that these words are put here and there along with the original and sometimes without the original words for the sake of brevity, but not as correct equivalents. They are technical words defined by the author himself in 6, 2, p. 261, of the text. They are susceptible of no translation. Hence the objection is groundless. The translation of “vigūṇa” as “devoid of good qualities” is correct and exact. His translation of the same as “unfavourable, or turning false” cannot be acceptable to Sanskritists.

(20) 7, 9, Trans., p. 320.—Here the text runs as follows:—

sarvachitramahābhogaṃ trividham vaśyamuchyate
ekatobhogyubhayataḥ sarvatobhogi chāparam.

Trans.—“That friend whose munificence is enjoyable in various ways is a submissive friend and is said to be of three forms : one who is enjoyable only by one, one who is enjoyable by two (the enemy and the conqueror), and one who is enjoyable by all, is the third.”

This meaning is what the words here convey. The author of the Arthaśāstra, however, explains the word ‘sarvachitramahā-

¹ The italics are mine.

bhoga' later on in Ch. 16 as a sarvabhoga friend, a chitrabhoga friend, and a mahābhoga friend. Here only three forms of these friends are explained. 'Sarvabhoga' and the two other terms are technical terms and are minutely explained there, by the author. Accordingly what the words literally convey here is brought out in the translation by using the phrase "in various ways." Nor can the meaning assigned to these terms by the author be shown in the translation. Footnote is the only means to point out such details. As these terms are not referred to elsewhere in the text, no attempt to explain them in the author's own words is made here. This the critic calls 'gross misinterpretation.' Where is misinterpretation? Nor is the whole expression treated here as referring to a single person.

(21) 7, Ch. 11, p. 295.—Here the question is regarding the meaning of the word "anavasitasandhi" which forms the heading of the chapter. In order to give his own fanciful meaning to the word, the learned critic displays his own stupendous ignorance of Sanskrit grammar. He says—"anavasitasandhi means alliance for colonizing waste lands instead of interminable agreement as interpreted by Dr. S. The derivation may be put thus : vas *plus* kta=ushita or vasita (?) (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 932, col. 3); na *plus* vasita=avasita (uninhabited); na *plus* avasita=anavasita, that is, uninhabited lands converted into a colony."

Here the grammatical feat displayed by the critic cannot be supported. From the root 'vas' to dwell 'vasita' cannot be formed with the suffix 'kta.' It is 'ushita,' but not 'vasita.' The dictionary may refer to a Vedic word, but not to a Classical Sanskrit word. Besides 'anavasitasandhi' is a compound word. The vighrahavākya may be as "anavasitaśchāsau sandhiścha or anavasitasya sandhiḥ." In the former case it means an inhabited agreement, which is absurd. In the second case, the first word is an adjective and can not be compounded with a noun in *Shashthītatpurusha*.

In fact the root is "Sho antakarmani. 'Sita' is a perfect participle derived from it. 'Ava' is a particle (upasarga). Compounded with 'na' it becomes 'anavasita'—unending or unended. The compound word means an unending agreement for colonization. It is not known why the critic has gone so headlong with the word?

(22) The words "pratyupasthitārtha" and "yathoktaguṇā" are references to the previous chapter. They are translated there. Here the first word is a part-quotation; the whole word is "pratyupasthitārthasampannam" rich or fertile land with standing crops. Also it is here used as an adjective to the subject (king). Accordingly it means the king who has taken possession of the ready crops, that is, "has harvested earlier." 'Yathoktaguṇā' means the land of described quality. Accordingly it means fertile land, since a fertile tract is referred to in the previous chapter. These are a dull student's queries and such objections are not worthy of a learned critic.

(23) 7, 12, Trans., p. 327.—Here the figures are wrong. They ought to be 11, Trans., 324 (3rd Ed.). It is not known where the critic has got the word "prabhūtavāpasthāna" from. The manuscripts collated by me give the reading "Prabhūta-pūrvāparasasyam," but not 'prabhūtavāpasthāna.' As regards the word "vāpa," it occurs in the compound "dhānyavāpamadhānyavāpāchchhreyah," that which is conducive to the growth of grains is better than another productive of crops other than grains. It is rather surprising that the critic is very careless in his references and citations.

(24) In the fifth paragraph, p. 299 (text), there is nothing to indicate that the paragraph refers only to elephants and not to men. The word "tatrāpi" may mean "in this connection." The whole paragraph may be taken to apply to elephants or persons or to both.

(25) 7, 13, p. 301 (text), Trans., p. 329.—Here the critic objects to the use of "has to put down," and proposes the use of "may put down," as better. My object in using "has to"

is to show that the enemy attacking his enemy, that is the conqueror's friend, will be obliged to return to attack the vijigīshu after finishing work with his frontal enemy; otherwise, the frontal enemy and the vijigīshu who are friends will combine to make an end of the vijigīshu's frontal enemy, whereas in the case of the other (vijigīshu's side enemy now in alliance with the vijigīshu) the frontal enemy will fall back for want of resources to accomplish his end ; and the situation will be unchanged as before.

(26) The critic says that 'chakra' means army. It may mean so in his imaginary dictionary. Similarly "chalamitra and sthitamitra" may mean in his dictionary enemies with or without forts. Such meanings may be secondary, implied from the context. But the translator's business is to render the words as literally as possible and leave the reader to understand the secondary meaning from the context.

(27) The same explanation holds good with the rendering of the words 'mūlahara,' 'tādatvika' and 'kadarya' in Bk. 2, ch. 9, p. 69. There is no special technical meaning assigned to these words.

(28) With regard to the translation of the next paragraph, the critic remarks by saying that it creates the impression that a king used to attack his friend's territory. How can it be avoided, when the word "mitrābhiyoginōḥ," those two kings who attack their own friends, gives that meaning? Besides such practices were not uncommon in ancient India. Still more clearly is conveyed the same idea in the next paragraph: "mitramamitram chābhiyujānayoḥ," "of those two, who attack a friend and an enemy, etc." If this revolts against the high moral sense of the critic, he may turn away his eyes from such books.

(29) In the next passage "amitroddhārīṇaḥ" is the reading adopted and translated as "one engaged in attacking a friend and another an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the latter gains more advantages." The critic is so blinded with

prejudice as not to see this and imagines wrong things where there are only right things. The akāra-sign is omitted in the printed text. In the translation it is correctly read.

(30) In the second paragraph of the translation, p. 331, 3rd Ed., the word of the text “ alabdhalābhāvagamane ” has been translated as “ to enforce the payment of what is not gained by them, that is, what is not due to them.” To the critic this is wide of the mark. His own rendering which he imagines to be within the mark is “ in the case of returning unsuccessful.” Here in the compound word, there are three words : (1) ‘alabdha,’ (2) ‘lābha,’ (3) ‘avagamana.’ Which of these words signifies the idea of returning and which the idea of unsuccessful? Let the critic carefully examine this and give his reply.

(31) With regard to the meaning of the text (p. 303), the critic enters upon a long discourse and wastes words without arriving at any result. He thinks that the sentence “ yasya vā yātavyaḥ.....syāt ” goes with the previous paragraph. There are two “ vās ” and one “ api ” in the paragraph. If there are no two sentences signifying two kinds of circumstances, that is if there is only one sentence referring to an entrenched rear enemy capable of augmenting his army and other resources on the flank, then what is the use of “ vā ” after “ sthāyi ”? “ yasya vā,” and “ yo vā ” mean two kinds of situations. Besides what does the critic gain by taking the first sentence with the preceding paragraph? The alternative implied by ‘vā’ cannot refer to Mūlabādhaka, for that comes later in the paragraph. Sāmantāḥ (plural) is a wrong reading, for it has no connection in the sentence. Samantāt (ablative) is correct reading, for it can be taken with the word “ prishṭhataḥ.” Sāmanta has been translated as an assailant king. Sāmantāt prishṭhataḥ means behind the assailant king. There are three rear-enemies clearly stated here in the text : “ pārshṇigrāhāstrayo jñeyāḥ,” one behind the Sāmanta and two on the two sides of the Sāmanta. In the face

of such verbal citation of the author, the critic blindly says that they constitute only one class.

(32) His objection to the rendering of the word “udāsīna” as neutral has already been disposed of. It is a technical word with such meaning as the author has given to it.

(33) At the end of the page 303, is found the sentence “pārshṇigrāhābhiyānayostu mantrayuddhādabhyuchchayaḥ.” The meaning is “excellence of (any one of) the two is on account of the facility it gives for mantrayuddha.” The critic proposes to take this sentence with the next as forming part of the teacher’s opinion (ityāchāryaḥ). He assigns no reason for it. Reason or no reason, he must find fault with the translation. There is however a strong reason for not taking it as a part of the teacher’s opinion. The teacher says—“In an open war both sides suffer by sustaining a heavy loss of men and money.” Kautilya’s refutation of this opinion is thus stated—“No. Even at considerable loss of men and money the destruction of an enemy is desirable.” The teacher was against open war. But Kautilya was for it. Then where is the reason for taking the previous sentence about the excellence of rear and frontal attacks as forming part of the teacher’s opinion, when it is not refuted ?

(34) With regard to the translations of the second paragraph on p. 304 of the text, the critic interprets it differently and calls my translations incorrect. The sentences are however susceptible of two interpretations both being syntactically and grammatically right. The words “purastāt” and “paśchāt” are used in the text in the sense of “front” and “rear” (see p. 260 of the text). Accordingly “purastāt dūshyabalam hatvā” is interpreted by me as “having destroyed the frontal enemy.” But the critic, taking the words “purastāt” and “paśchat” in the sense of “first” and “subsequently” propose to interpret the passages as “having destroyed the recalcitrant portion of the army first, he who uses the submissive portion of his army (vaśyabala) next... ..”

Are we to suppose then that wars were a means of getting rid of treacherous persons in the army ? How could the kings rely upon their army ? If a vast part of such army is destroyed, as stated in the second sentence, in the view of the critic, would the remaining submissive part be of help to the king ? Again would the disaffected army submit itself for slaughter so easily ? Would they not run away or yield themselves to the enemy. For these reasons I have translated the sentences differently. No rules of grammar or syntax are violated. Accordingly the critic cannot call my interpretation wrong.

(35) In order to easily understand the verses which follow and my interpretation of which is now questioned, a correct understanding of the technical terms with the aid of the diagram given below is quite necessary.

1. Enemy' friend's friend.
2. Friend's friend (of the Vijigīshu).
3. Enemy's friend.
4. Friend (of the Vijigīshu).
5. Enemy.
6. Vijigīshu.
7. Pārshṇigrāha or rear-enemy of the Vijigīshu.
8. Ākranda (Vijigīshu's friend in the rear).
9. The ally of the rear-enemy (Pārshṇigrāhābhisāra).
10. Friend's friend of the Vijigīshu in the rear (Ākranda-bhisāra).

Thus five states are supposed to be situated in front of the Vijigīshu, and four states are supposed to be situated likewise in the rear.

7,13, p. 304.—The verse runs as follows :—

pārshṇigrāho'bhīyoktā vā yātavyo vā yadā bhavet
vijigīshustadā tatra netrametat samācharet.

As against my translation of this verse, the critic offers his own translation as follows—" when the vijigīshu happens to be

in the position of either of the rear-invader (pārshṇigrāha), or the invader (abhiyokṭṛ), or the king invaded (yātavya), he should thus conduct the operations. "But the critic ought to know that if the word "vijigīshu" is taken as the subject of "bhavet," there is no second word, "vijigīshu" or "he" in the verse to be taken as the subject of the verb, "samācharet." Accordingly he cannot take that word as the subject of "bhavet," and "pārshṇigrāha" and other two words as the complements of the verb "bhavet." Hence his translation falls to the ground. My construction is the only reasonable and correct construction of the sentence.

In the second verse there is 'pārshṇigrāha' in the nominative case and in the 3rd verse another 'pārshṇigrāha' in the accusative case. Evidently both words must signify the same person, and must refer to the 7th in the diagram; he is a rear-enemy of the vijigīshu and a friend of the enemy (5). Accordingly he becomes the leader in the operation in which the enemy attacks the vijigīshu's friend. In this situation the vijigīshu sets his rear-friend, ākranda (8), against the ally of the rear-enemy, pārshṇigrāhābhisārī (9), and also against the rear-enemy, pārshṇigrāha (7), and prevents the pārshṇigrāha from coming against himself. This is the reasonable meaning. But the critic offers his own translation as "The netṛ (here the vijigīshu) should attack the rear of the enemy who invades the friend (of the vijigīshu)." If this be the meaning, then the pārshṇigrāha to be checked by the vijigīshu would be another. It is against the accepted rule of interpretation to take the word, pārshṇigrāhaḥ and pārshṇigrām in the same context to refer to two different persons. Hence the critic ought to know that his interpretation is utterly wrong. It is unnecessary now to point out other absurdities committed by the prejudiced critic. Regarding the translation of "ātmārtham" as "under his sway," it is enough to say that in politics no king can utilise the services of other kings, unless they are under his influence or sway.

(36) 7, 13, p. 305.—“mitrabhūtassapatnānām hatvā hatvā cha saṃvṛitaḥ.”—Here mitrabhūtaḥ does not mean “under the guise of their friend.” “Saṃvṛitaḥ” is an adjective to vijigīṣhu, but not an adverb modifying “hatvā,” killing. When after all the purport is the same here, what is the use of this wild goose chase?

(37) 7, 14, p. 305.—The word “ubhayavetanāḥ” means recipients of salaries from two (states). ‘Ubhaya’ means two. But the critic says “spies drawing salaries from the attacked king, but ostensibly in the pay of the minor allies of the enemy.” Does that word convey so much meaning? The critic is very generous with the words.

(38) Atisaṃhitāḥ means both cheated and well-combined.

(39) 7, 14, p. 306.—Here the critic says that “dusṭa” should not be translated as “wicked.” He does not however say how it should be translated. As regards a different reading in the text referred to by the critic, he may rest assured that none of the manuscripts so far consulted by me contains that reading.

(40) 7, 15.—“Uparodha” in the heading of the chapter does not mean shutting oneself in a fort. Nor does “daṇḍopanata” mean “self-submitter.” Where is the idea of self in the word? What about the word “daṇḍa?” “Daṇḍena kāraṇena upanataḥ, meaning “bent with force,” Accordingly it means a conquered enemy. The critic plays with Sanskrit words.

(41) P. 336 of the translation.—In the passage ‘tulyadurgāṇām the critic translates “viśeṣa” as superiority. It means difference, differentiation (for the purpose of selection), but not superiority. ‘Nichaya’ means collection of things, not necessarily necessities of life, as translated by the critic.

(42) 7, 16, p. 311.—The word “daṇḍopanāyi-vṛittam,” means the attitude of a conquering king. Conquered king in the translation is a mistake for conquering king. “Daṇḍena balena upanayati jayati anyān iti daṇḍopanāyī,” a king conquering others with his force. “Tasya vṛittam,” his attitude. The

critic translates the word as "dominator," setting aside the idea implied by the words, 'daṇḍa,' 'upanāyi,' and 'vṛitta.' Regarding the interpretation of the chapter, the critic presumes that I misunderstood the whole chapter and that my translation is wrong. The clue to interpret the chapter is contained in the opening line, "anuññātaḥ taddhiranyodvegakaram balavān vijigīṣhamāṇaḥ." Anuññātaḥ means one who is permitted to do something, one who has received orders from one's master (implied by the word "bhartāram" at the end of the second paragraph on page 312 of the text), to go on with some work. 'Balavān,' powerful, and 'vijigīṣhamāṇaḥ,' conquering, are two adjectives to "anuññātaḥ," used here as a noun. "Taddhiranyodvegakaram, tasya, bhartuḥ, daṇḍopanāyino vā hiranyaviśhyakam udvegam khedam karoti itī.....karam (rajānam)" is the object of the gerund "vijigīṣhamāṇaḥ." The passage means—"A commander or an ally going under his master's permission to conquer a king who is the cause of his master's anxiety about finance. Such a man, the text goes on to say, should march onand do this and that, dethrone some, reinstate others and so on."

But the critic offers his own translation of the opening line as follows—"when a powerful king (that is, the dominator) intends to subdue one who, after making a promise (to pay), causes anxiety in regard to the payment of money, he should march....." Where is the word implying 'promise' here? One who is 'anuññāta' goes with the work, but not the dominator. What is the meaning of the pronoun "tat" in the compound, "taddhiranyodvegakaram." It cannot refer to 'anuññāta,' the subject of "yāyāt." In that case "sva" ought to have been used. I assure the critic that I do not hesitate to accept real errors, if I have committed any, and if they are pointed out to me. But with regard to interpretation of this chapter, I am convinced that I am right and that he is wrong.

The critic failed to understand the meaning of the words "anuññāta" and "Balavān," which, if they mean anything at

all, must mean "a powerful vassal king, or a commander under 'anujñā,' permission, from his superior. Accordingly my translation of them as a powerful vassal (king), is not absurd, but the critic's rendering of those words as "dominator" is entirely unjustifiable. No Sanskritist will interpret 'anujñāta' as "dominator." Except that word there is no other word which can be taken as the subject of the verbs signifying various activities in the whole chapter.

The sentence beginning with 'evamutsāhavato' is taken to end with "bhūmyupakāriṇaḥ." Accordingly the trans. "He may reinstate," ends with "as well as those who are wise and who can therefore provide him with lands." Yet the critic is so blinded with prejudice that he cannot see things as they are, but only those which prejudice presents to him.

(43) Text, p. 312.—The reading is "yadamitramāsāram chopakaroti tadubhayatobhogi." *Trans.* "Whoever helps also his enemy and his enemy's allies (implying by 'also,' in addition to the help given to the vijigīshu), is a friend affording enjoyment to both sides (friend and enemy). But the critic adopts the reading "chāpakaroti," and translates as "who harms the enemy as well as the enemy's ally is one who helps in two ways." What the two ways are, is not clear. If harming the enemy means an indirect help to the friend, it is helping only in one way. If in addition to helping the friend he harms the enemy, then it is clear that he helps in two ways. But the text is silent about the help given to the friend. Is not then the critic blinded with prejudice?

(44) P. 312.—"pareṇādhivāsyayā svayameva bhartāramupagrāhayet."—*Trans.* "with a piece of land uninhabitable by an enemy, he (the 'anujñāta') should present his 'bhartāram,' master or protector, 'svayameva,' himself in person. The omission of 'pareṇa,' 'by an enemy' in the translation is a mistake. 'Bhartā,' master or protector, in this sentence is the 'bhartā' of the 'anujñātā' who is the subject to the predicate. This is an accepted rule of syntax. 'Bhartā' cannot be taken to mean the

former holder of the land, for “land” implied by ‘adhivāsyayā’ goes with the predicate, but not with ‘bhartā,’ with which the subject is correlated, according to the rules of syntax.

Will the critic open his eyes and see things in their proper light?

(45) 7, 18, p. 317.—The passage runs as—“madhyama-syātmatṛitīyā pañcamī cha prakṛitī prakṛitayaḥ.” *Trans.* “The third and the fifth states from a Madhyama king are states friendly to him.” The critic adopts a different reading as “madhyamasyātmā tṛitīyā pañcamī cha prakṛitī prakṛitayaḥ.” It means : “the Madhyama himself, the third and the fifth states from him are states friendly to him.” It means that Madhyama is friendly to himself. What is the use of such self-evident statement? As to the use of “prakṛitayaḥ” in plural, it is only to balance with ‘vikṛitayaḥ’ in the next sentence. In the translation of the last sentence of this paragraph, “friendly with those states,” is to be corrected as “friendly with those prakṛiti states.” The omission of ‘prakṛiti’ is an oversight.

46. 7, 18, p. 317, *Trans.*, p. 344.—The passage is “madhyamaḥ.....mitram mitrabhāvi lipseta,.....mitrastrāyeta.” *Trans.* “If the Madhyama king is desirous of securing the friendship of the conqueror’s would-be friend,.....the conqueror should preserve his own friend.” But the critic offers his own translation as, “If the Madhyama king wants to bring under sway a really friendly king,.....the latter (Central state) should save him.” What did the critic gain by such change of words? His objection to the use of “conqueror” for ‘vijigīṣu,’ “mediatory” for ‘madhyama,’ and “neutral” for ‘udāsīna’ is groundless. As word-meanings they are expected to convey the technical sense assigned to them by the author in *Artha*. 6, 2, pp. 260-261. Without that explanation, even the Sanskrit words would be misleading. The critic’s explanatory note on the word, ‘udāsīna’ as ‘ut—ūrdhvam āsīnaḥ,’ that is, “seated on a height,” is unauthorised and unacceptable to Sanskritists.

47. 7, 18, p. 320.—The passage runs as—“nopakuryāda-

mitram vā gachchhedyadatīkarśitam.” *Trans.* “The conqueror should never help his friend, when the latter is more and more deteriorating.” Here “and joins an enemy (amitram gachchhet),” is omitted.

“Chalam mitram,” means a moving or wandering friend like an āṭavika. “Chalam lakshyam” means a moving object aimed at, but not an unstable object. ‘Chañchala’ means unstable. Hence the critic’s translation of “chalam mitram” as an unstable friend cannot be accepted.

48. “Niveśya pūrvam tatrānyaddaṇḍānugrabahetunā” is a passage on the same page. *Trans.* “Having made some previous arrangement to punish or favour the friend.” Here ‘daṇḍa’ and ‘anugraha’ are two opposite things and mean punishment and favour respectively. With the previous passage, the sentence means, “the conqueror should keep him (the fickle-minded friend) in another tract of land, having made there some previous arrangement (niveśya tatra anyat pūrvam) for punishment or favour. But the critic reads “anyam” for “anyat,” and translates as “having previously stationed there another person for rendering military help.” In this rendering no distinction is made between “daṇḍa and anugraha.” ‘Daṇḍa’ cannot be ‘anugraha.’ Nor can ‘daṇḍānugraha’ mean military help; the appropriate word for it is ‘daṇḍasāhāyā.’ Again if military help is rendered to a friend who sides both with the enemy and the vijigīshu at his own will and pleasure, what good will it do to the vijigīshu? Will such a friend go and settle in the country in which a man with a strong military force is stationed by the conqueror? Not at all. Hence the reading of “anyat” is better than “anyam.”

49. The next verse runs as follows :—

“ apakuryāt samartham vā nopakuryādyadāpadi
ūchchhindyādeva tanmitram.....”

Trans. “or the conqueror may harm him when he has grown powerful or destroy him when he does not help the conqueror in danger.....”

But the critic offers his own translation as (him) *who does harm (to the central state) when powerful* and who does not help the central state in danger, the vijigīshu should destroy.”¹

Here if “apakuryāt samartham vā” is taken as an adjectival sentence to ‘mitra,’ then what is the use of the second adjectival sentence “nopakuryāt.....dāpadi ?” For he who does harm to the central state will never help it in danger. Hence the second adjectival sentence will be of no use. For this reason the subject of the predicate “apakuryāt” is not “mitra,” but the vijigīshu as in the case of the other principal predicates found in all other verses.

50. The next and the last verse in question is as follows :

“amaitravasyasanānmitramutthitam sad virajyati
arivasyanasiddhyā tachchhatruṇaiva prasidhyati.”

Trans. “When a friend keeps quite after rising against an enemy under troubles that friend will be subdued by the enemy himself after getting rid of his troubles.”

The critic’s translation is as follows :—

If a ‘mitra’ after growing in power (utthita) owing to the ‘vyasanas’ (calamities) of his enemy becomes disaffected (towards the vijigīshu), then by the removal of the ‘vyasanas’ of the enemy (of the ‘mitra’), he (the ‘mitra’) is brought under control through the enemy (of the ‘mitra’).

Here, “utthitam” does not mean growing in power. Being a perfect participle of the verb, “sthā,” to stand, it always means “one who has risen or that which has risen.” The word “virajyati,” “vairāgyam gachchhati,” or “virakto bhavati,” does not mean disaffected, or indisposed to favour or support, turn out unfriendly or hostile. Again “śatruṇā” does not mean through the enemy. The proper word to convey that meaning is “śatrudvārā” or “śatrumukhena,” but never “śatruṇā.” Again “śatruṇā prasidhyati” does not at all mean “is brought under

¹ Only the italicised portion is given by the critic; the rest is added by me.

control through the enemy." Again the critic says, "by the removal of the 'vyasanas' of the enemy." Who removes the 'vyasanas'? Considering the construction of the sentence, it must be admitted that he who brings the 'mitra' under control is the person who removes the 'vyasanas' of the enemy. Evidently he must be the vijigīshu. Are we to understand then that in order to bring his friend under control the vijigīshu removes the 'vyasanas' of his own enemy? The vijigīshu's friend's enemy is also the vijigīshu's enemy (see Artha. 6, 2). By his translation, the critic has taught us here a new political lesson. It is that in order to bring under control a hostile friend an enemy may be helped to get rid of his troubles!

Calling my translation unreliable, the critic seems to think that his own translation, ungrammatical and illogical as it clearly is, is more reliable. Let the reader judge it for himself.

R. SHAMASASTRY

Reviews

"The Case for Financial Justice to Bengal."—By J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.). Calcutta University Press, 1931. Pp. 102.

"Stands Bengal where it did" is the pertinent issue raised by the author in this brief monograph. Once styled the 'paradise' of India the Bengal province has now become the hunting ground of malaria, kala-azar, hook-worm and other fell tropical diseases (see pp. 67, 68, 98). No longer are such stalwart children like Raja Vikramadit and his devoted band of followers to be seen anywhere in the province. The main cause for this deplorable and unfortunate situation is not the mere passing of the time and the work of unkind cut of fate but the financial starvation of the nation-building departments has been the chief cause of this unfortunate and dreary situation.

During the past eight years the subject of 'financial injustice' arising out of the Meston Settlement has been discussed threadbare in all the industrial provinces, *viz.*, Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Bihar and Orissa. Without traversing in detail the early history of the financial decentralisation that proceeded since 1870 the author has wisely selected a few typical instances of the sad neglect of Bengal's claims by the Government of India in the allocation of revenues. Following the lines of thought of the veteran economist, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, he has pointed out the salient features of the early financial administration. Attention has been drawn to the overspending of the Military Department, the excessive Home Charges and the ruinous outlay in the Civil Administration Departments. The nation-building and social service departments have always been the Cinderella in the unfortunate picture. Even "now one-fourth of the Provincial revenues and one-fifth of the revenues of India are employed on purely national objects."

After outlining the broad present-day features of Indian financial economy on pp. 19 and 20 the author examines the reasons for the failure of the Montagu-Chelmsford financial scheme and the Meston Settlement as it is popularly referred to. "Power without purse" has been the nature of the shift of new political responsibility or 'dyarchy' introduced into the country. Starting with the initial handicaps of heavy financial deficits, inelastic revenues and growing uncontrollable expenditure no province could make any considerable leeway under the new administrative arrangements.

The present financial position of the province can be briefly stated as one steadily making the largest financial contribution to the central government and retaining the smallest percentage for her own administrative necessities. Even the extinction of provincial contributions and the help derived by Devolution Rule 15 have not bettered the financial position in any important way.

While pleading passionately for a prompt revision of the financial changes he cites positive historical proofs when other provinces depended on Bengal. Bengal was even then, in the earlier Company days, the milch cow and the financing of the military expeditions was done out of the Bengal surplus. This plea has been evidently staged to refute the mischievous allegation that Bengal is not entitled to better treatment so long as the Permanent Settlement of land tends to make its revenue inelastic. He wisely points out that the so-called elasticity of land revenue even in the Ryotwari tracts would be a misnomer in the near future. But for this Permanent Settlement which has lent the silver lining to the cloud, the position of the heavily-taxed province would have been far worse, for, next to Bombay, Bengal is the most heavily taxed province. (See p. 60.)

In Section VI the sad and inevitable neglect of the nation-building departments has been traced to the growing financial embarrassment of the province. As Sir Walter Layton points out "the expansion of education and other (nation-building) services has practically ceased." While the transfer of certain heads of expenditure which were provincialised by the Government of India, as for instance, the financing of the twin Universities of Bengal, took place, no proper provision was made to grant additional revenue for carrying out these charges in a fair and equitable manner. The monumental labour of the late Sir Austosh Mookerjee which has seen its embodiment in the famous Sadler Report has gone unrewarded, for Rs. 61 lakhs capital expenditure and Rs. 65 lakhs recurring expenditure needed for carrying out its recommendations have never been provided by any government—neither the central nor the provincial government.

Wise administrative outlay and increasing financial revenues alone can secure the economic progress of the province, argues the author. Can the Layton Scheme hope to provide the wherewithal for the above programme is the topic in Section VII. After quoting the pertinent points of criticism which have been elaborated by the Government of India and the other critics the author wisely remarks that nothing is more fundamental for the success of Indian Federation than "the securing

of financial justice to the different provinces and granting equality to all individual provincial states."

Without making a fetish of "absolute delimitation of the sphere of taxation" the author has followed the lines of reasoning of Prof. Banerjea and warmly approves the idea of "divided heads of revenue, and some taxes to be used as 'balancing factors' to correct any errors of financial mis-calculation if any such were to arise in the near future. While envisaging the 'field of taxation as a totality' some taxes would be all-India, some purely provincial, some divided heads and some would be balancing factors," p. 89.

Now that the "fact-finding Expert Committee" is garnering the reliable data and factual estimates of revenue and expenditure, the author has wisely taken time by the forelock and has forcibly and lucidly presented the case of Bengal for a just and equitable financial settlement. He wisely appeals for a measure of full co-operation amongst all the citizens in presenting the case of Bengal before the bar of the Expert Committee (Federal Finance Committee) of the Round Table Conference.

Will this able effort secure financial justice to Bengal? We hope and sincerely wish it would, but knowing that there is no economic justice anywhere in the wide world we have our own misgivings in this respect. 'Equal justice and equal rights' for which modern democracy stands are unrealisable so long as powerful vested interests stand in the way and the central government refuses to move out of the rut of financial policy. We sincerely hope that economic statesmanship will rise equal to the occasion and not only reconstruct the Indian constitutional framework in the light of the above principles but provide the necessary sinews to the provinces to enable them to live in peace and prosperity.

Every citizen of Bengal should peruse this monograph and should feel grateful to the able and retired civilian for not mincing facts and his frank courage in "calling a spade a spade."

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Story of Maryam : a continuation of "The Story of Hassan."—Told by Hassan, and Englished by John Anthony. Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 22 Berners Street, London, W. 1. 7s. 6d. 1930.

This is a refreshing book of boyish adventure and the story, running through 24 chapters, hardly flags. "Hassan," the narrator, has already made an entry into literature, and has been duly applauded on entrance.

The many pious (?) remarks like "we are all inescapably led by Allah through devious turnings" add spice to the delicious repast spread before the reader. The glory and majesty divine of "Ishtunts" (Assistant Commissioners?), the mention of Ismith Sahib (Mr. Smith), the comparison of Nat Gould and Shakespeare as authors,—all these give the book an oriental touch. The sarcastic sentences, purporting to be observations of a mature experience, are interspersed throughout the volume and add to its beauty; two might serve here for a specimen. "How can a man go about his work, if he has no wife to cook and bring him his meals?" And a little after this,—speaking of a woman and a cow,—“Of the two, the cow is the more docile and obedient animal”!

But how does it sit in the mouth of a follower of Mahammad, talking to his wife, to say: "In your family, I know, every boy is born a *Raja*"? Again, Ladda, speaking freely to Chiragh Bibi, and moralising with "Youth too often suffers from ideals" belongs to Utopia. We read at p. 57,—“Only women of the lowest classes go about unveiled;” evidently, unreality is in the air,—we are going through what is frankly speaking a romance. There is mention also of a remote village in the Frontiers, where a *Babu* is in charge of the post office and he delivers letter to the workers in a neighbouring factory on receipt of a *small bribe*! But all these instances merely lend force to Maryam's saying, that "it was all like a fairy tale."

Another feature of the novel remains to be noted. In course of the story we come across a number of short stories which are pungent with broad touches, reminding us, if we compare small things with great, of the Decameron. And so we have here in the manner of the Arabian Nights modified or toned down to the needs of a 20th century miniature, an old mixture of romantic setting, bizarre plot, and side-dishes of a hot taste,—which, we hope, the reader will find spicy enough and enjoy the meal.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Without Prejudice. By S. G. Dunn. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. A Collection of 26 Pieces or Essays in Prose and Verse.

These "Essays in Prose and Verse" are pleasant reading. The author has dedicated the collection to his "friends," the readers, and the intimate tone admirably suits the form of these essays. Almost all of them have been written after the war, and the sequel has but strengthened the attitude of the author to things in general and that attitude is,—“without

prejudice." The pieces are well-balanced, there being the same number of prose as of verse writings.

The first prose essay is on "The Romantic in Religion." It is reprinted from *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908. The conventional in religion asks for the right or approved sort of conduct, while the romantic would approve only of action or thought freed from convention ; and Mr. Dunn asserts that Christ's teaching is romantic. What could be more romantic, say, than "the spirit bloweth whithersoever it listeth." ? True, the number of those who are really romantic in religion must always be small : who are "unconventional enough to go against authority and rule, defy the tyranny of things" ; who are "enough in love with life and human nature to lose for it all that most men deem makes life worth living." Almost all the other prose essays are like this,—fresh, simple, grave, artistic. As regards the verse essays, three are above the average, one on the Taj Mahal, a fragment only, on the "song of joy transmuted into stone," the other two on India. From both of these, a few lines by way of quotation will not be out of place. The first utters a beautiful prayer :

" O God ! the Nameless under many names !
O Thou, the Formless, under many forms !
The silent, who art heard in many voices !
Through all the pores of Being take my prayer !
Be favourable to this ancient land,
This motherland of Saints and holy men,

This land of hallowed hills and sacred streams,
Of sombre forests and sun-flooded plains,
This glory of the Immemorial East,
Whose dwelling is the splendour of the sun !
Our motherland, our home, our India !

May all her many people lie together
Honouring one another, quietly !
Bring her the peace that Kings cannot bequeath,
The happiness that cometh not by wealth ! "

This is the Sadhu's prayer which begins the book.

It ends with a similar votive offering addressed to India, and the poet's love of nature breathes in the words :

" My feet they have been guided through green fields to the sand,
Till now by Ganga's quiet stream in dream I stand,

And veil on veil is lifted until I see less dim
The glory of the spreading wings that overshadow Him."

The last line

" I am satisfied with beauty at the end of the day "

is however a little weak.

The get-up of the book is excellent.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Kalkamangala—Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 81. Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A. With a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C.I.E.

Scientific study of the various Indian vernaculars is still in its infancy, and learned bodies like the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the different Universities are doing commendable work by fostering this study in different ways of which one of the most important is the bringing out of critical editions of old texts. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat has already made its name by the publication of a number of old works of paramount interest from the standpoint not only of old Bengali literature but also vernacular literature of India as a whole.

The latest production of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat is the *Kalkamangala* of Balarama Kavishekhara. This work of which Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has brought out a critical and up-to-date edition is found to be a rather important contribution to the vast amount of literature pertaining to the romantic and well-known story of the secret love of Vidya, the Princess, and Sundara, the Prince.

The religious tone pervading the work and its freedom from gross vulgarity invariably associated with the literature of Vidya and Sundara—and especially with the work of Bharatachandra, the most important exponent of this literature—marks it out as a very useful and interesting literary production. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and Mr. Chakravarti deserve the hearty congratulations of scholars for bringing to light this little known work which had almost sunk into oblivion. The elaborate and scholarly introduction giving, among other things, a detailed account of Vidya-Sundara literature in different languages; the foot-notes replete with citations from other works on the same topic, drawing attention to the points in which Kavishekhara agrees with or disagrees from them; and the useful indices of important words of linguistic, mythological and geographical interest are some of the main characteristics of the edition, which reflects critical acumen and scholarship of the learned editor.

P. C. C.

English Prose Selections—By Dickinson and Sharma. Pages 228. Published by Macmillan and Co. Limited, London, 1931.

The market at present is flooded with so many books of selections and anthologies intended for Indian students that it is a well-nigh daring attempt to add another to the numbers already existing. But we welcome this new book of selections as the outcome of the authors' experiments made in the educational department, and even as something of an antidote to an increasing number of similar books, many of them crude and grotesque both in conception and execution. And the pity is that our young students are compelled to read them, though almost none of them enable our students in the least to form a correct and coherent idea of the gradual trend of the development and variety of English prose. This want of no slight importance has been removed by the book under review. It is intended primarily for the use of Intermediate students at Indian Universities. We cannot but admire the entirely novel method and principle of the authors in making these selections, based upon that fertility of illustration and cogency of variety of form and colour so very new and interesting and stimulating young readers. The pieces will, we hope, enable our students to form a thorough and comprehensive idea of the modern development of English prose, so infinitely complex and wide both in its range and variety. The extracts have been made with a definiteness of touch and assurance of purpose. It is impossible, for instance, to read De Quincey's "Wordsworth's Households" without realising, on the one hand, the meditative, analytical, descriptive, and fantastic notes which so strongly characterise De Quincey's rich and imaginative poetical prose, and on the other, those primal qualities of humanity and exquisitely tender homeliness characterising both Wordsworth's life and poetry. Darwin's delightful monograph on "The Tortoise" is an astonishingly fascinating piece,—and it will no doubt present an idea of the influence exerted by Science on the life and thought of the day. Macaulay's "A Portrait of Dr. Johnson" is as striking in showing Macaulay's wonderful power of vitalising the past as in giving an accurate and attractive picture of the greatness and weakness of the forceful personality of Dr. Johnson. The piece "Frost and Thaw" by Mrs. Mitford invites us to pleasant outdoor sports and shows us the romance and beauty lying all around us. Moreover we have got in this book of selections delightful extracts of prose from the descriptive James Hogg, the inquisitive and ever-curious George Borrow, the great traveller, Mungo Park, the homely and ever-tender Mrs. Mitford, the agreeable and versatile man-of-letters, Leigh Hunt, the critical and creative artist Mrs. Gaskell, and

also from such great masters of art and science as Ruskin, Adam Smith, Huxley, Hazlitt, Spencer, Priestley, Trelawny, Lord Morley, Froude, Emerson and Jefferies and others. The wonderful piece " Vesuvius " by Shelley illustrates the rich colouring and measured workmanship characteristic of the poet's prose. The extracts range in space from the romantic city of Baghdad to the far-off northern home of the Lapps.

Concise but suggestive notes, mainly of a biographical character, are given at the end of the volume. It is our conviction that this book will prove the best of its kind for Intermediate students for whom it has been compiled and will prepare them for a wider study of the History of English Literature in B.A. classes,

RAMESH CHANDRA DAS

Ourselves

THE VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP

The following notice has been received for publication from the Hony. Secretary to the Vincent Massey Scholarship, Lahore :

Mr. Vincent Massey, late Ambassador to England from Canada, by his generosity has created a trust endowing a scholarship for Indian students called the Vincent Massey Scholarship for study for post-graduate work at the University of Toronto. This scholarship is worth two thousand dollars a year and the scholarship-holder is to be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recommendation of a Selection Committee consisting of three persons one of whom is nominated by His Excellency. The next scholarship will be awarded during the next two or three months.

NEW PH.D.'s

Mr. Rohini Mohan Chaudhuri, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on " The Evolution of Indian Industries."

Mr. Mohanimohan Bhattacharyya, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his theses entitled (1) " Platonic Ideas in Spenser " and (2) " Studies in Spenser."

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1932

CONVOCATION ADDRESS ¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN,

We are assured by a certain authority who has the necessary experience in the matter that the value of certain commodities increases continually with their age. Being only a professor of physics and not a professor of gastronomy, I have not the experience with which to assert whether that statement is correct or not. Seeing especially that I have the misfortune to be a confirmed teetotaller and never having succumbed to the attractions of alcohol or nicotine, it is impossible for me to say whether the virtue of certain commodities is or is not an increasing function of age.

Virtue of Age.

I am concerned, however, this evening with the question of the virtue of age in respect of the position of a centre of learning. There is little doubt that around the ceremonials of an ancient seat of learning hangs an aroma, derived perhaps from age. Students of physiology tell us that the effect of age is chiefly to promote fermentation (Laughter) due to the action of certain enzymes. Whether age, therefore, improves the aroma depends entirely upon what the aroma is. It is sometimes possible to mistake a mere mustiness due to age or senility for the aroma of respectability. Let us stop to think

¹ Delivered by Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., N.L., at the Allahabad University.

what is this aroma of learning that clings round an ancient centre of learning. Let us seek to analyse that aroma and find out its chemical significance. There is little doubt that a centre of learning, a university, acquires as years go on a certain prestige, a certain reputation, which means something of significance to its alumni. But age is not necessarily a sign of wisdom, nor is it necessarily a sign of a capacity for progress. If I am discussing this evening the virtues of age in respect of an individual, I am not sure that I would regard age necessarily as a qualification. When I was younger and had the privilege of delivering convocation addresses at other centres of learning I confess I was somewhat hard upon age and somewhat too enthusiastic about mere youth. But as one grows older, I suppose one can also give oneself credit not merely for an increasing sobriety but also at least for a hypothetical wisdom. And so I would suggest that it is not always true that age necessarily means senility nor that it means ripe wisdom, clarity of judgment, charity of outlook and so on. But whatever signs of decay may accompany age in a particular individual, there is little doubt that by common consent we all recognise that an ancient seat of learning which can count its years not in units, but in two figures or three figures, has an age which is not too much for a university. I must feel proud of being a graduate of a university 500 years old. As time goes on, a centre of learning acquires certain traditions. In the first place, it acquires the memory of great names, it acquires the memory of a succession of gifted scholars who have been its alumni and who have since made good in the world. It acquires also a feeling that it owes a duty to itself, to all those who have been its alumni, to the whole country which looks up to it for leading, for knowledge and for light.

I make these remarks because I wish to remind you, my young friends, who have received your degrees to-day that you are the alumni not perhaps of the oldest of the Indian Universities but certainly of one of the oldest. I cannot claim quite

to have the same age as the Allahabad University. (Laughter.) You are none the less the alumni of a university which does not count its years in figures which can be counted on the fingers of one's hand. It is a privilege you can look back upon, as you grow older, to have been the inheritors of a tradition of learning.

Tradition of Allahabad University.

The Allahabad University has not merely a tradition of some 40 years to look back upon ; it can also claim to have been the first university founded in these provinces ; it can also claim to have been one of the most progressive of the universities in northern India. It did not hesitate when the time came to accept the call of reform and to transform itself from a federation of colleges, spread over a great area, into a university having a geographically limited location, and having teaching rather than affiliating and examining functions. It is possible that that reform might have been forced upon you, it is possible that it was of your own choice. Whatever may be the situation the reform has been carried out. In one sense you are a young university, and in another you are an old university. You have the virtues both of youth and of age. What is more significant is, as one from outside can say without fear of being charged with prejudice, that the Allahabad University has always realised that it has ideals to maintain. It has acquired an enviable reputation amongst the numerous universities of India to-day. Its alumni have shown themselves in many a walk of life to be quite capable of holding their own with the alumni of the other Indian Universities. I should like very specially, however, to draw attention to the fact that your university has recognised in a very special way the real work of a university, which is to advance knowledge. Your publications, your University studies, the contributions in the various departments of learning, not only of the sciences, but also of the arts,

emanating from the Allahabad University are known to every scholar not only in the Indian Universities but also abroad. This tradition, this reputation, is one of which not only the Vice-Chancellor and the members of the university can feel proud of. It is a matter on which you, the alumni of the university, can justifiably congratulate yourselves. After all, the value of the degree which you have received to-day is determined quite as much by the reputation of your Alma Mater as by your own achievement and effort. Let me congratulate those of you who have been the recipients of medals and other degrees this afternoon. I suppose it is one of those advantages which come with growing age that more and more medals have to be awarded by the Vice-Chancellor of the university on a Convocation day. Whether it is all to your advantage I do not know. But it must be very pleasing to some of you, at any rate, to carry away with you recorded in gold and silver some little token of your academic achievement. In later life perhaps it may be given to some of you to receive other tokens of gold and silver of other academic achievements. It is possible that what you have done to-day is only an earnest, an indication of what you will do in later life.

Function of Indian Universities.

Let me turn from these matters to larger questions. What does a university such as yours stand for? I referred a little while ago to conservatism which perhaps is a natural consequence of growing age. A University which is worthy of itself is not necessarily conservative. You must have read just a few days ago that that home of lost causes, Oxford, has at long last relieved the graduates of the burden of passing an examination in scripture. It shows that it is possible even for age to cast aside the chains of conservatism. You surely do not suffer from any conservatism. India to-day is passing through a time of change, a time in which the old is passing away, not

slowly but almost with explosive rapidity, and I sometimes think that the function of the universities in India is not to accelerate change but to act as brakes on the too rapid evolution of the national spirit. I am not sure that you will appreciate such a sentiment. You young men to-day stand for change. You are not no-changers (Laughter), you are progressives. Some of us who are getting old may perhaps not be inclined to move quite so quickly as you.

But allow me to remind you that knowledge which is the privilege of a university is not necessarily really the creation of to-day or to-morrow. Knowledge has a tradition which goes back to the beginnings of humanity. Knowledge like time has no beginning and no end. Never shall it be given to write 'finis' at the end of the book of knowledge. That is the nature of knowledge and it is only right that a university which is the guardian of knowledge should be a little conservative. By the very nature of things a treasure-house of knowledge which grows cannot afford to be conservative altogether. A university seeks to reconcile respect for the old with a realization of the value of what the present and the future will bring forth. That truly is the function of a university, to effect a synthesis of the past with the present, and to build rightly for the future. We need universities in India to-day not only as the guardians of knowledge and as the protectors of culture; we need universities in India also to-day as agents for the promotion of social amenities. It has always been my firmest conviction that there is nothing which binds different nations, different communities, different provinces together so closely as the golden chains of knowledge, as a common desire to advance knowledge and to promote culture.

Brink of a Precipice.

You are all aware that to-day India stands on the brink of a precipice which leads rapidly sliding down to the chaos of

separatism, of disruption, of communalism, of religious and political conflicts. It seems to me it is the function of the universities in India to-day to introduce saner counsels, to try and make us realize that in the advance of knowledge, in the promotion of culture, we have forces that can remove these causes of disruption, that can make us realize that we are all to-day the inheritors of a great civilization and transmitters of a great culture. Those who have eyes to see, those who have ears to hear, realize that the universities in India to-day are the one force which stands between chaos and orderly future. Let us remember that, if we are going to have a happy India, a contented India, an India which is proud of herself and is not split up into a hundred warring provinces and communities (Applause), it will be because of the work that universities such as yours, sir, are doing. If we remember that, if we appreciate the fundamental value to India of the work being accomplished in our universities, our administrators will pause to think before they seek to hamper our activities by financial stringencies. (Hear, hear.)

Government and University Budget.

It is forgotten sometimes that only an infinitesimal proportion of the revenue and the wealth of India is spent to-day in the promotion of true culture. We in India in certain respects are still as far back as the 15th century. Some of us have not yet outgrown the ideas, the beliefs, the prejudices of the mediæval ages. Where it is a question of finding money for building temples, for endowing religious institutions, for promoting religious beliefs and communal ideas, money will be forthcoming in large quantities. When it is an idea of promoting true culture, true knowledge and scientific research, money is not to be found. How much of India's money to-day is spent on the promotion of truly secular learning and true knowledge? It would require a chemical analysis to discover the proportion of the rupee which

is thus spent on purposes which I would approve of. That is the position. And yet if there is a little difficulty to-day in making both sides of the budget meet, longing eyes are cast on the expenditure on science, on education. Committees are appointed to scrutinize exactly how much money can be saved out of the budget of the Allahabad University. (Laughter and cheers.) Speaking as a mere outsider it struck me as astounding that a suggestion could be seriously put forward that money could be saved on the budget of the Allahabad University.

Price of Ignorance.

If I had the power I would multiply the budget of the Allahabad University by just adding one zero to the last unit of your figure. (Renewed cheers.) Compare the revenue and expenditure of the Allahabad University with the money spent, for example, at Harvard and Yale. Compare with the smallest of the American Universities and you will find a staggering difference. It is astonishing what we in India to-day are doing in the field of learning and knowledge with what little money we have. To think that it is possible to effect true economy by cutting down the university budget, it seems to me, spells disaster to the future of India. Let us remember one thing. At one time, sir, I had the doubtful privilege of being myself an accounts officer. (Laughter.) It was one of my functions to scrutinize carefully the salary and travelling allowance bills of Government officers, to find out exactly how much they were overdrawing. Let me tell you that far more money is being spent to-day on the task of discovering the supposed overdrawals by the Government officers (Laughter) than on the entire budgets of all the universities in India taken together. (Cheers.) More money is being spent to-day on the salaries of Directors of Public Instruction and the salaries of Inspectors of Schools than the payment to all the schoolmasters in India taken together. (Cheers.) You have only to look item by item into the budgets of

all the Governments not only of the provinces, but also of the Imperial Government to discover that the true value of entries both on the debit and credit sides goes surely by the rule of contraries. It would be perfectly possible to reverse the balance of the budget, to decrease all items that are swollen and to increase all those that are microscopically small, and yet to maintain a true balance of account which would represent a truer sense of values. We are suffering to-day for the sins of the past. We are to-day paying the penalty for our lack of clear judgment and for our lack of a true sense of values. If we had 50 years ago all the universities in India to-day, if we had 50 years ago a clear realization that the purpose of education, that the purpose of universities is not merely to examine and to award degrees but also to investigate and to advance knowledge, we to-day would have been in a state wholly different from what we are in to-day. To-day we are paying a colossal price, the price of ignorance, the price of apathy. We have to blame ourselves quite as much as others for the situation in which we find ourselves to-day. But it should not be for lack of courage on the part of anyone to say this that no true lover of India, no one who looks forward to ordered progress, to harmony, to absence of communal, political and racial rancour, no one who has the true interests of India at heart can to-day without feeling qualms of hesitation interfere with the progress and activities of our universities. Every rupee cut from the budget will be magnified a millionfold and make the scale weighed towards the side of chaos and disorder. Money spent on the universities to-day is spent on the side of law and order. It is spent on the side of rational progress. It is spent on the side of culture. It is spent on the side of unity, of progress, and not on the side of chaos and disruption, of social catastrophe. If we understand that, if we all clearly realize that, there will be far more friends of universities to-day in official circles than there are at present. That is what I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command.

Way for India's Salvation.

Sir, let me look forward to the future. He would be a bold man who would seek to prophesy. But none the less, sometimes it is desirable to try and lift the veil of mystery that hides the future from our eyes. You, my young friends, I am sure through your hearts surges a feeling of pride and devotion to your motherland. Which of us is not a patriot to-day in India ? But let us ask ourselves what is it that you intend to make of India. I would like to suggest to you, my young friends, that this problem of India's future which interests you and others deeply is one that needs most careful pondering over. We live to-day in an age and in circumstances far different from what we lived in even a hundred years ago. You all remember that Japan in the middle of the last century shut herself round by a wall of isolation. She found herself compelled by the guns of the American Navy to throw aside those walls of isolation and to knock them down, and she was forced to find herself in the stream of modern civilization. What is going to be our attitude towards that civilization ? Shall we regard it merely as something unpleasant, something brutal, forced upon us from outside ? I do not think that that way lies India's salvation for the future. Let us not forget that though India slumbered for 15 centuries, nevertheless there was a time when she was also in the van of human progress, when her sages and her scholars were not bookworms, when they sought by their own effort to understand something of nature, when they dreamed philosophy, when they constructed theories and made observations and invented new materials of progress. India discovered arithmetic and algebra, she made great progress in astronomy, in chemistry, in engineering and many of the practical sciences like medicine and so on. Shall it be said that the slumber of 15 centuries has sent us altogether to the region of complete obscurantism ? Shall we not rise from that slumber and show that once again we can assert our age-old spirit and take part

in the great advance of knowledge? We may like it or not—we may approve it or not—knowledge and all that it means will continue to advance. I put it to you that it is no use trying to hide yourself away, to screen yourself away from this great flood of light and new knowledge that is coming on to us.

How to achieve the Goal.

We in India seek to find our place in the sun. If we in India wish to be recognised as one of the great nations of the world, we can only do so if we are prepared to pay the price of that achievement. Please let me tell you what I regard the proper price of that achievement. That price is to be prepared to work—it is labour, it is courage, it is dauntless enthusiasm, it is the determination to go through countless efforts, countless hours of toil, countless sacrifices in order to reach the goal. It is upon us, it is upon the spirit with which we face the new conditions about us, that the future of India depends. Do not imagine that mere assertion, that mere hope will achieve what you and I want to achieve. If India is to find her place in the sun, it will be through ceaseless toil, through suffering and sacrifice of her sons. Remember that I am telling these, I am not preaching to you what I did not try. Allow me to assure you that it is our mission to see that India shall no longer be regarded merely as a decrepit old nation which can never rise out of the slumber of the ages. I have laboured for 20 years in the cause of science and if I have done anything to try and obtain recognition for India in the field of science, it is not as a personal effort, it is as an effort on behalf of my and your country; it is an effort, on behalf of the memory of our great forefathers; it is an effort to justify the existence of our people on this earth. If we do not progress, if we cannot hold our own with the foremost nations of the world, it is better that we disappear from the face of this earth. Let us reach the heights or let us go down to damnation. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) It is the message that I wish to give you this evening.

APPEARANCES AND REALITIES IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

“ It was quite in the fitness of things that scholars and historians of this part of the country should meet to do honour to one of their contemporaries in another part of the country which, though politically isolated from their land, was one geographically.” In these words Sir C. V. Raman expressed his feelings, in the course of a speech the distinguished Indian scientist delivered at the Calcutta memorial meeting held recently in honour of the late Goan Chief Justice of Portuguese India.

Goa, once one of the parts of Greater India, included in the Empire of Asoka, is a country where the time-honoured Indian legends evoke periods that suggest a remote antiquity. Her village communities—the relics of the ancient political freedom and cultural autonomy—will excite the keenest interest in those who want to study Goa in her hereditary. The village communities continued through the Muslim period; and they remained the first units of Albuquerque’s liberal administration.

Among the many names interwoven with the Portuguese history in India, no name perhaps has attained a higher rank for fame than the name of Albuquerque, a subtle statesman whose despatches forwarded to King Manuel, of the sixteenth century, are still with us ; and they attest his profound respect for political morality, and his knowledge of political obligations. It is interesting to note that “ the Hindus and Muhammadans,” when oppressed by the successors of Albuquerque, to quote the *Commentaries* compiled by his natural son, “ used to go to Goa to his tomb, and make offerings of flowers and oil for his lamp, praying him to do them justice.” The affection the Portuguese entertained for their own municipal institutions,—institutions which gave to ancient Portugal the benefit of their rational

liberty and mental enlightenment—and the Cortes, where we can trace the progress of Portuguese liberty—was unfortunately transferred to the tribunal of Inquisition, which stained the Portuguese history and ruined the last hope of Portugal in the East; and with the Spanish domination that soon followed, came the bondage of Portugal under foreign yoke which, according to Portuguese historians, has been only partially undone. From that time Portugal rapidly decayed. Innovation followed upon innovation, until the Marquis de Pombal appeared and was hailed as the expected deliverer. The minister of Joseph the First aimed at the equalisation of all classes by doing away with the distinction between the old and new Christians. The descendants of the converted Indians were given equal rights and considered eligible for civil, military and ecclesiastical offices. The Royal *Alvaras* of April, 1761, and January, 1773, were, however, the gifts of a Portuguese minister who endeavoured to make the King more absolute than ever, for he knew the pusillanimous King in return would maintain him in power. Be that as it may, he was, the century before last, responsible for the establishment of senates, or municipalities, in Portuguese India. Eventually, the subject races were fully admitted to Portuguese citizenship, in which were fused all differences, all inequalities; and Dom Pedro the Fourth, the giver of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, not only outlined a liberal policy, but filled in the details to the extent of appointing a Goan to the important post of Prefect of Portuguese India with full viceregal powers. But since, Republican Portugal has denied the Colonies the right to share as equals in shaping the national destinies. The Republican régime was to give Portugal and the Colonies a fresh lease of life, and right at the beginning of the Portuguese Republic, Portuguese India was promised colonial autonomy. However, Portuguese India which was directly represented in the Portuguese Parliament, is now heard only through a nominated member of the Colonial Council; and Portuguese India, after twenty years of republican experience, has fully realised that

liberty, equality, and fraternity are phrases which cannot make up for the denial of the fundamental principle of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, namely, perfect equality, irrespective of colour, inscribed on the Republican Constitution of 1911.

The recent Colonial Act, decreed by the military Dictators, in power since 1926, undoubtedly created bad blood between Portugal and her Dominions beyond the seas. It broke the unity of the Portuguese nation, proclaimed by the monarchical and republican constitutions. "Certain international currents," said the Portuguese Colonial Minister who drafted the Colonial Act, "tend to establish ideas more or less unfavourable to the traditional dogmas of the colonial sovereignty of the European Powers with the result that imperialist designs have had to be pursued under the cloak of humanitarian motives." We cannot of course, take seriously men, however seriously they may take themselves, who are engaged in building an empire when they ought to have been engaged in purging and preserving Portugal. "The ills besetting mankind arose not from man's neglect to do what is necessary," said a great Chinese philosopher, "but because he does what is unnecessary." Wise words these last.

The Republican assertion of colonial sovereignty has been such that no wonder Portugal is confronted with rivals against whom, in methods and organization, she is ill-matched; and her colonies are an asylum for the vast tribe of functionaries who devour the colonial revenues,—a state of affairs leading to the flight of thousands of emigrants from Portuguese territories to other lands. There, in a nutshell, we have the present condition of Portugal, to-day, the third colonial power in the world.

The Government of Portuguese India appointed, very recently, an Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, to inquire and report on the economic and moral conditions of Goans in British India, with the view to render them any help they may need. The Emigration Committee's Report was published in the *Boletim Oficial* and a

Portaria issued by the Government of Portuguese India, praised the members of the Emigration Committee for "the intelligence, dedication, and patriotism they have shown," in submitting the Report, over the greater part of which the Portuguese Consul-General had been the presiding deity.

The rather pretentious title "Emigration Commission's Report" may arouse expectations scarcely realised in the scope of the work which on the whole shows signs of being insufficiently thought out.

"It is not possible by reference to the consular records and official statistics of Goa, to prepare an accurate census of the movement of emigration to British India," says the Report. The Emigration Committee, however, "calculates the number of Portuguese citizens living in British India, to be between 55,000 to 60,000." "Besides these 60,000 emigrants of Portuguese nationality," it adds, "there are some who have either naturalised themselves as British subjects, or are the descendants of naturalised parents." It would be interesting to know the exact number of Goan emigrants who have turned British subjects, especially when the Report makes the following statement :—"Emigration has increased during the last few years, chiefly because the emigrants have brought their families with the intention of establishing themselves in British India." But unfortunately, the question of accurate information is not attractive to the average Portuguese bureaucrat who prefers, in his reports, to indulge in rhetoric which may create fresh illusions and disguise the significance of the course of events. "The causes leading to the emigration movement to British India, are partly economic and partly psychological," says the Report. "The economic causes are : the excess of population, difficulties arising from the failure to make proper use of the soil and its products, and absence of industries. In fact the district of Goa with an area of 3,806 square kilometres, has a population of more than 500,000 souls, or say, 132 inhabitants for every square kilometre, which is

exactly twice the density of the population of Portugal." This population scare, engineered with the object of deceiving British India, goes to prove that the authors of the Report, who seem inclined to give us what is little more than a string of facts, had neither the equipment, nor opportunity for really economic inquiry. For if they studied Goa's complex problems, social, economic and political, they would certainly be aware that of all the changes that have come over Goan rural life, none perhaps has been greater than that brought about by the state interference in the village community system, and the consequent decay of village life. The exercise of a constant interference by the unworthy successors of Albuquerque, afforded scant consideration to the communal rights of the people. As a matter of fact, the state interference, eventually delivered the unfortunate peasants into the hands of a rapacious village oligarchy. We should, therefore, have preferred an impartial account of the probable agricultural development under modern conditions, contrasted with the actual results of the efforts of old village folk. The assumption that population in Goa tends to increase more rapidly than subsistence, is all the more intolerable, when it is seen that the growth of knowledge concerning methods of cultivation and transport have enabled mankind to increase subsistence far more rapidly than the average Portuguese bureaucrat could imagine. The authors of the Report believe—on grounds which appear to us quite inconclusive—that "for a district which is essentially agricultural like Goa," the density of the population is exactly twice the density of the population of Portugal, and that "only such countries as are industrially and commercially well developed, can support a dense population." But unfortunately, the movements of Portuguese, and Goan emigration, bring forcibly to the rulers of Portugal, who care to look into the circumstances of national life, the real state of affairs. The fact is that as the local distress becomes acute the vast exodus increases by degrees. It takes a very hard necessity to drag a Portuguese

in Portugal, or a Goan in Portuguese India, from the land to which he is passionately attached. He carries with him that love of country and that pride in the past, but least of all does he look forward to returning to his country with his fortune.

Discussing the causes of emigration, the Report attributes it to certain psychological factors, namely, "the erroneous notion that agricultural and manual labour is servile, a notion which has its origin in the aristocratic prejudices of Portuguese Society of yore." But strange to say, the Report states:—"One may count in thousands those who are following the non-liberal professions: tailors, musicians, bakers, carpenters, shoemakers, whitewashers, mechanics, compositors, compounders, embroiderers, book-binders, etc." "The most numerous class," it adds, "is that of domestic servants: cooks, waiters, ayahs and others." The "attraction of neighbouring commercial and industrial centres like Bombay, with the glamour of its external life, and its amenities," and "the incentive given by the press of Goa by the publication of personal items making exaggerated references to the social and economic position of some of the emigrants," are also the psychological causes, says the Report. Indeed, one gets the impression that the Goan rather enjoys being abroad. Unfortunately, however, thousands of Goan emigrants occupy, to-day, positions in British India, inconsistent with what they consider in Goa the dignity of the family, but whose devotion to the family would never allow them to starve in their own country. Besides, the emigrants are regarded, as they regard themselves, as wage-earners first, and gentlemen afterwards. Here was a psychological phenomenon for the Emigration Committee to investigate. But instead of examining it the Emigration Committee urges, among other considerations, this: "emigration should be controlled by the Portuguese authorities in Goa."

The Report, however, emphasises that "the Indo-Portuguese Community is intellectually one of the most advanced in British India." "The number of Goans who have gone through the

course of secondary and university education is fairly large, and among these there are men well-known for their intellectual culture." "Among those employed in the humbler professions, there is a large number of illiterate persons which, however, does not rise to 10 per cent. (*sic.*) The greater number of our cooks, waiters, and ayahs know how to read and write. The languages generally spoken are English and Konkoni. The Portuguese language is to a great extent not known, or forgotten on account of there being very little opportunity for its use." The Report also assures us that "the moral conditions of our emigrants may be said to be good and even superior to many other communities in British India. Being profoundly religious and educated according to the sound principles of piety and morality, our emigrants are noted for their love of work and devotion to the family."

The aim of the Emigration Committee was, as stated, to enquire into and report on the economic conditions of Goan emigrants in British India. "There is the spectre of unemployment brought about by universal depression in trade and commerce, and by the actual conditions of political life of India. It is not possible to arrive at a precise figure of unemployed ; but it may be approximately fixed at 7,000," says the Report. Evidently the members of the Emigration Committee were never in touch with the labour market. They contemptuously ignored all statistics of supply and demand considered in their industrial and economic aspects. Thus, no attempt was made to solve the important problem of fitting the right people into the right place ; for the Portuguese Government's failure to do this is mainly responsible for Goan unemployment abroad. No table of unemployment percentages has even been made up, or completed on any basis. No wonder the Committee has abstained from any definite formulation of remedies. The Committee's panacea for unemployment ills was : "to restrict emigration, and to secure for the unemployed some kind of work in Goa, in our colonies, and elsewhere."

Happily, the representatives of the Goan masses in Bombay made their voices heard. They saw clearly that the Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, meant for them complete destruction of their constitutional labour activities ; and the *Procuradores*¹ of village residential clubs refused to nominate their representatives on the Emigration Committee appointed by the Government of Portuguese India, until the racial classification made by the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay,² was withdrawn. As a matter of fact,

¹ The original founders of the Goan Clubs and their successors subsequently have transplanted in Bombay and elsewhere, the mode of life obtaining in Goa in a manner exciting the admiration of many foreigners. One of these was the late Dr. Thomas Blaney, as any one could gather from an account of the Goan Clubs he had published in the 'Times of India.' He discovered an organised existence ; for each Club was in charge of a *Procurador* a title borrowed from a similar *Procurador* superintending the affairs of every village community in Goa" (*The Indian Daily Mail*, September 10, 1929).

² "I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward a copy of correspondence with the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay, on the subject of the mode of describing natives of Portuguese India. It will be seen that the Consul-General took exception to their being described as 'Portuguese' and has accepted the suggestion of the Government of Bombay that those who are pure Indians may be called 'Portuguese Indians,' and that such of them as can establish partial European ancestry should be called 'Indo-Portuguese.' Before issuing general orders on the subject to the officers of the Government of Bombay, I am to request the favour of being informed whether the Government of India approve of the terms proposed." *Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 4538-A, dated the 1st October 1926.*

"Reference your letter No. 4538-A, dated the 1st October, 1926.

The Government of India have no objection to the issue of general orders on the subject as proposed by the Government of Bombay." *Memorandum from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 396-G/26, dated the 26th October, 1926.*

"I am directed by the Governor in Council to refer to the correspondence ending with the memorandum from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. 396-G 26, dated the 26th October, 1926, conveying approval to the proposal that those natives of Portuguese India who are pure Indians may be called 'Portuguese Indians' and that such of them as can establish partial European ancestry should be called 'Indo-Portuguese.'

"2. I am now to forward a copy of further correspondence with the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay, from which it will be seen that on a representation made by the Goan Union, the Consul-General now desires that the orders referred to above should be cancelled and that in future all Portuguese citizens irrespective of their race of descent, should be called 'Portuguese'. I am to request the favour of being informed whether the Government of India see any objection to the Consul-General's request being complied

in accordance with the resolution passed at their mass meeting, the Procuradores ignored the Sub-committee specially requested by the Emigration Committee to inquire into, and suggest ways and means to improve the conditions of the Goan Clubs. Fortunately, they put the case for emigrants' right to move and act in their own way, in precisely that spirit of solidarity and sympathy that is most becoming in an emigrant in his struggle for existence.

The emigrants, says the Report, "are free from criminal tendencies, though, in some cases, they have come into the clutches of the police, and been dragged into courts which, however, is not to be wondered at, considering the dangerous conditions of a city like Bombay. We are happy to say that these exceptions are becoming rarer and rarer, and that the moral condition of our community to-day is much better in this sense than in former times." But nevertheless, the Emigration Committee raises the question of "repatriation of the vagrants and undesirables of the community." And, by a curious irony of fate, a member of the Emigration Committee has since been deported from Bombay, for being an undesirable alien.

But what of the results of the Emigration Committee's Report? What of the prospects of its success in helping the Goan emigrant? "For the management of the affairs of the Portuguese Community in British India we propose the establishment of local Executive Committees in Bombay, Karachi,

with." *Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India No. 4538-A, dated the 24th March 1930.*

"With reference to your letter No. 4538—A, dated the 24th March 1931, I am directed to state that the Government of India have no objection to the proposal of the Consul-General for Portugal at Bombay that, in future, all Portuguese citizens irrespective of their race or descent, should be called 'Portuguese.'

"2. It is observed from the second paragraph of the Consul-General's letter No. 123, dated the 25th February, 1930, that he apparently recognises the right of the Government of India to differentiate for their own purposes, between the different categories of natives of Portuguese India, and if this right is conceded, the Government of India see no occasion to take any exception to their proposals." *Letter from the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department No. F 120 G 30, dated the 16th May, 1930.*

Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon and other centres," said the Report. The Emigration Committee presided over by the Consul-General for Portugal, however, soon found that it would have to meet with the opposition of the Goan Union, the premier representative institution of Goans in British India. The Central Council of the Goan Union, having considered the Report, viewed the whole situation from a different angle of vision to that taken by the President of the Emigration Committee, and the Government of Portuguese India; and the fact deserves mention, that the recommendations of the Emigration Committee did not meet with the approval of some of the members of the Emigration Committee, who having supported the resolutions of the Goan Union, repudiated the Emigration Committee's Report:

The present writer who is the President of the Goan Union was, of course, not much perturbed by the Emigration Committee's proposal to establish local Executive Committees presided over by Portuguese Consuls. The Government of Portuguese India had appointed an Emigration Committee under the presidentship of the Consul-General for Portugal. But it was not properly constituted; and the negotiations which the Portuguese Consul-General officially conducted with the Goan Union, had done much to secure Goan co-operation in constituting the new Emigration Committee, and ensuring its smooth working. "The existing representative rights of Goan institutions abroad, would, therefore, be maintained, and the maintenance of all Goan representative institutions ought to be the object of the Goan Union to secure.

What future, then, does await Portuguese India? Portugal calls the remnants of an Empire which found itself reckoned in history, as the "Empire of Lost Opportunities," the *Estado da India*; and the Portuguese possessions are allowed to exist under British supremacy in British India. This may be a blunt way of putting it, but after all let us face facts. It is interesting to note that England took possession of Goa, in

1779. Again, in 1804, she threatened her ancient ally, with the occupation of the fortress in Goa; and the Portuguese Government in India protested in vain. But since, the Goan emigrants, with their yearly remittances from British India, where it has been their privilege to live during three quarters of a century, help Portuguese India to disguise its enormous deficit. They cannot, therefore, blind themselves to the fact that Portuguese India has seen a writing on the wall that is not hard to decipher and as we study the Portuguese colonial policy by the light of political events in British India, events that are fast drawing near, the writing on the wall distinctly comes out, and in its character, we see realities and not appearances.

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

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KARMA

That night when first I met you,
Karma, remember the thrill?
When I swore that I'd never forget you,
'Neath the trees on that sacred Hill;
The air was all heavy with gold from the moon,
The breeze bore the fragments of some happy tune.
O Karma, the thrill of that night, do you miss
The touch of my hands, the warmth of my kiss?

The days are, oh! so dreary
Now that we are apart,
Nothing is there to cheer me,
But the sound of your voice in my heart.
Ah! When I meet you, Dear, after a while,
There'll not be a tear in your eye, but a smile!
Only the press of my lips in your hair,
But just for that, only—what would I dare?

That night when first I met you,
Has left my heart writhing in pain,
At no time do I ever forget you...
Always longing to see you again!
But when we meet again—no more to part,
The joy of that hour will erase all the smart;
Just as I will be thankful, and still keep in view
The night when Love guided my footsteps to you!

LELAND J. BERRY

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ROUSSEAU

Jean Jacques Rousseau, the spiritual father of the French Revolution, was the deepest expression and the symbolic culmination of a period of social disintegration and moral discords. His literary, philosophical and scientific activity was one of the chief ideological forces which destroyed the French absolute monarchy and the remnants of feudalism, which as a useless court nobility and a dangerous social parasite, extracted the creative forces of the French Nation and liberated them from their trammels and made them the progenitors of one of the severest and extensive political *concubious* recorded in History. As one writer of Rousseau's life correctly says: "Rousseau is the people; he saw the life and society from the side of the disinherited, the feeble, the oppressed, the vagabond and the starving. He saw above the political inequality the social inequality, and he protested not so much against the nobility as against wealth. Equality to him is as precious as liberty, and the great proprietor who makes men poor is, for him, as detestable as the despot who makes men slaves. Social injustice and political injustice sustain themselves mutually."

Rousseau's whole career was coloured by the sufferings of the small bourgeoisie class from which he himself had sprung. He was born in the austere Calvinistic Republic of Geneva, "as the citizen of a free state," as he himself says, and he was the son of a poor watchmaker. But his birth caused the death of his mother and his father was a light-hearted quarreller and vagabond who soon abandoned his child to his own fate. This paternal moral inheritance accompanied Rousseau during his whole life, which was a continuous vagrancy without settled life and without sufficient intellectual and moral concentration. The result is that he was a confused self-taught man who only slowly and unharmoniously acquired the unity of intellectual vision. From his earliest childhood, the necessity of earning

a livelihood drove him from one occupation to another ; but he was, one might say, biologically unfit for any regular profession, because anything that demanded continuous activity and application weighed upon him in a most oppressive manner. He was a clerk to an attorney who regarded him as a helpless fellow, then a pupil to an engraver, later a servant, a lackey, a teacher of music, a poet, a composer, a novelist, the secretary to the French Ambassador at Venice, and in the period of his fame, the much sought guest of many aristocratic houses. He was very often on the verge of famine and thoughts of suicide were not alien to him.

This unstable career, without education, without direction, without the loving care of a parental home, reflected itself in his moral nature, which was an astonishing mixture of the lightest qualities of human sympathy, pity and magnanimity, and of traits of moral inferiority very often touching the pathological. He spent the earlier part of his life in sexual promiscuity; he committed a theft in a house where he was teacher; he became the lover of an elderly lady and as a result was compelled to undergo many humiliations. He was converted by his sweetheart to Catholicism but later turned to Protestantism. He put his five illegitimate children into an orphanage. He was very often ungrateful towards his best friends and almost all of his relatives were disturbed by his distrustful, unsocial and suspicious nature.

Certainly, unless we consider his nervous pathology we cannot understand many aspects of his contradictory character. There was something infantile about him during his whole life and his nervous, irritable, anarchical temperament grew later into a veritable mania of persecution. The antagonism between his romantic love of a simple, unartificial and unsophisticated life and his connection with the frivolous, luxurious life of the upper ten thousand, accentuated even more the cleavage in his moral personality. But in his riper manhood, the noble and idealistic features of his character gained more and more

preponderance. He realized perfectly the moral danger of his situation. He himself said that his life vacillated between Achilles and Thersites, between a hero and good-for-nothing; but in spite of his various inconsistencies and the various struggles that went on between his higher and lower selves, he succeeded in remaining true to the higher inspirations of his own soul. When a man of forty he underwent a serious moral crisis which threw him into despair; he sought poverty and solitude, he found a great Platonic love; the remorse of conscience persecuted him and he tried to find his abandoned children.

His social and moral disharmony was farther envenomed by his political persecutions after his works on social and political questions had made him famous. He fled from France to Switzerland and again from Switzerland to France. His native city, the liberty and simplicity of which he admired and extolled so much, burned his books. Another cause of his despair, which intensified his persecution complex was the enmity and hostility of his great contemporary and rival, Voltaire, who must really be held to have contributed much to make his life disagreeable. When, in 1766, he accepted the invitation of Hume and went to England to enjoy the hospitality of the official and aristocratic circles in that country, it was not only the tactlessness of his life that compelled him to abandon those islands, which gave him the promise of a new and undisturbed home, but also Voltaire, who in an anonymous pamphlet compiled many citations of Rousseau against Englishmen. In the last period of his life his taste for calmness and solitude became even more pronounced; music and botany were his chief consolations amid the stormy sea of his passions. He died while he was a guest in the chateau of the Marquis de Girardin and the prevailing opinion of the time was convinced that he was the victim of his suicide complex, which haunted him throughout life. But when his body was transported to the Pantheon in Paris, a medical examination demonstrated that

this assumption was unfounded, though there can be no doubt that so much worry and despair contributed to hasten his end.

The turning point of his life was in 1750, when he gained the award of the Academy of Dijon in answering the question whether the arts or the sciences contributed to the corruption or the ennoblement of manners. Rousseau answered the question unfavourably to the arts ; but there is a curious story about the origin of his conviction, which shows how irritable, impressionable and eager for popular sensation the great prophet was. According to Marmontel, Rousseau talked about his plan to Diderot, the great encyclopedist, and when the latter heard that his colleague intended to give an answer in favour of the arts and the sciences, he admonished him not to adopt the trite plan of mediocre writers, but rather to follow the dictates of his own original thinking and to follow the daring way of accusing intellectual culture of the corruption of society. Rousseau could not resist the suggestion. He won the prize; his name became famous and he turned from poetry and music to the more arduous task of political and social philosophy. In 1755, he wrote his famous discourse on the "Origin and Basis of Inequality among Men," unfavourably received by the same Academy. Three years later he published an important article in the Encyclopedia of Political Economy and in 1762, his famous "Social Contract," which was politically prepared in his brilliant essay on education, *Emile*, was first published in its full form.

He had originally intended to write a whole system of social philosophy, but manifestly such a systematic task was irreconcilable with his character and temperament and impossible of accomplishment. His social, philosophical and political, outlook was at first influenced by Montesquieu, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, especially by Holback, D'Alembert and Diderot, but soon he abandoned the rather constitutional and materialistic orientation of this group and turned his whole attention to an investigation of the problem of the moral aspects of social inequality and misery. He was surely nearer to Pufendorf and to Locke

than to his own friends and contemporaries, but the state of Nature, with its simple, independent and happy savages—a half-historical and half-romantic and sentimental vision—became, one may say, the central myth of his speculation. Many of his contemporaries, and later antagonists, ridiculed him on this account and distorted his thought, pretending that Rousseau wished to demolish European culture and lead humanity back to its original state of barbaric anarchism. In this sense Voltaire wrote satirically to him concerning his advocacy of the natural state. “If you are in any event determined to graze, come and do it on my property.” But the real thought of Rousseau was not so much an anachronistic or an anarchic idea, but rather the reintroduction into the modern state of that principle of moral purity and simplicity which he believed to have been characteristic of the primitive life.

His whole social and political philosophy is centred in the task of giving a sound constitutional basis to a popular sovereignty which alone could lead society toward the common weal. His famous theory of the *General will* opposed to the *will of all* is a very profound and suggestive, though not sufficiently elaborated, attempt at finding out the fundamental principles of all free and reasonable human co-operation among potentially equal men. In our own day, when the general interest of society is ridiculed as a kind of class hypocrisy, the sharp distinction of Rousseau between the General will and majority will and his categorical assertion that sovereignty cannot be transmitted, not even in the form of a representative legislative body, and that the people must directly pronounce its will on all important questions has a great and profound interest for the present generation both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. Our present political atmosphere is saturated with devising of plans for a functional and economic representation, which without a careful revision of the general public interest cannot be solved in a satisfactory way. Similarly, all endeavours to extend direct legislation by the whole body of citizens in the form of Referendum, Veto or Popular

Initiative and those which aim at a decentralization of the state towards new forms of economic co-operation, cultural self-determination and administrative regionalism, will have an important theoretical background in the social philosophy of the citizen of Geneva.

On the other hand, the political analysis of Jean Jacques Rousseau is in many respects unsatisfactory not only from the point of view of our more complicated capitalistic society but also from the point of view of his own epoch. Though he realized perfectly the dangers of class rule and party politics, though he clearly perceived that the tendency towards the mass democracies of the cities must destroy the real essence of the general will, though he clearly understood the very essence of class struggle and exploitation, his system does not give us sufficient information and direction as to how these dangers can be avoided. At the same time he was scarcely aware of the fact that the unrestricted power of the general will, which he intended even to further and corroborate by a very rigid kind of civic religion sustained if necessary by capital punishment, could mean a new absolutism scarcely less formidable than that of the former kingdoms and oligarchies: the absolutism of the Demos. Under these conditions, his conception of the general will, the central point of his system, remains somewhat obscure and it is no wonder that he regards a good constitution rather as an ideal than as a political reality, almost as a mystical act of divine enlightenment. It was in this connection that he made the famous prophecy, relative to the Corsicans, that some day this little island will rule Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte indeed was born less than ten years after this singular prediction was made; but one may wonder whether the great admirer of the antique city states and of the Swiss city republics would have acknowledged the mission of the Corsican superman as the appropriate realisation of his philosophical conceptions.

The contribution of Rousseau to political and social philosophy and theory is far greater than his very important analyses

and suggestions concerning the constitutional side of the problem. One of the chief merits of Rousseau consists in the fact that he realized more keenly than any of his predecessors the importance of the economic and social problems underlying the constitutional, what he called inequality and servitude. The question has often been hotly debated whether the man who so fiercely denounced the corrupting influence of wealth and the anti-democratic tendencies of a purely hedonistic civilization should be regarded as a socialist. Certainly if we regard socialism as a system of collective property and communistic production, the great Genevese would scarcely qualify, for he is wholly opposed to such a system. But if we accept as the criterion of socialism the endeavour towards social justice, towards the elimination of all kinds of corruption and unrequited remuneration, then the whole philosophy of Rousseau may be regarded as the emanation of a genuine socialism. In this connection it may be noted that it was a profound transformation that came over Rousseau which was responsible for his idealizing and worshipping the omnipotence of society,—society, which in his earlier days he was wont to vilify, treat with contempt and keep himself entirely aloof from. But the society that he set before himself was an ideal and harmoniously evolved entity of equally endowed human beings whereas the society that he set himself against was a society honeycombed with inequalities and punctuated by the virus of oppression of one section by another. From the point of view of his socialistic ideas, he may also be regarded as one of the predecessors of Henry George and land reform, for he regarded land as the common property of society as a whole and therefore would restrict private property in land to an area just sufficient for personal cultivation by its owner.

The importance of Rousseau is not less great in the realm of private and social ethics. He emphasized with an uncommon strength, vigour and sincere pathos, the force of which still impresses the reader, a series of elementary moral relations without the aid of which no higher kind of social co-operation will ever

be realized. Man is free, all men are equal, no man is justified in employing others for the realization of his own happiness without himself serving equally with others, the state is of all and for all, these and similar truths are emphasised by the great moralist not in a trite or preaching manner but with the illumination of an intuitive genius. With him the whole social and political philosophy of France took a radical turn. The finer administrative reforms of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists no longer sufficed for Rousseau. His conviction was rather that only an entire and radical metamorphosis in human nature could lead to a veritable remoulding of the old state. In this respect he was very near the Bolsheviks of our own day, for he would have employed a compulsory system of education for the realization of this supreme purpose. From this point of view his interest in education is distinctly social and his paradoxical but highly suggestive *Emile* was only an introduction to his social philosophy.

In general it may be said that the influence of Rousseau on his period and on later times was greater than that of any other man since the Reformation, and among his successors to fame only Karl Marx can rival him. We are even justified in saying that the influence of the apostle of the French Revolution was more extended from one point of view than that of the recent Russian Revolution, because it captured, not a single economic mass interest, but, in morals and education, all the strata of thinking mankind. "All the dissatisfied, all the sufferers, recognize themselves in his hates and sufferings." At the same time his many-sided, complex, contradictory nature combined with poetic imagination and rhetorical exuberance, with super-natural metaphysical cravings, satisfied the most divergent social and philosophical appetites and his influence became preponderant in the most antagonistic camps. In this manner his social system led at one and the same time to the Jacobin Republic and to the Catholic Restoration, to the sentimental philosophy of Jacobi and Maine de Biran and to the

romanticism of Chateaubriand. Simultaneously many theses of his thoughts have become important elements in our present-day socialist conception in all schools which are animated more by justice than by economic class interest.

Rousseau's outstanding contributions to political theory are twofold, though there are many directions in which he has made himself famous as has been pointed out above. He first brought order out of chaos, in the world of thought on politics by freeing the theory relating to the concept of an original compact from all its encumbrances and excrescences and converting it into a political principle of practical value and interest. He rescued it from being dragged along into different ramifications into which it was allowed to stray in the hands of writers like Hobbes and James I and gave it an interpretation and an orientation quite in consonance with the best and the most acceptable thought on the subject, before or after. According to him, the social contract, if ever there was one, between the individuals composing the state to form the state and to live an organized life is intended to secure the sovereignty of the whole community and as a means of harmonizing that sovereignty with the full liberty of the individual to realize himself. The general accusation brought against him that in securing civil liberty through an organized state, Rousseau has sacrificed the individual, is, considered in the light of this observation, unfounded, since it is impossible to allow unrestrained liberty to every individual, in which case anarchy will ensue and civil liberty will disappear. Secondly, his theory of general will though scarcely attainable in his time has always been the *beau ideal* of democratic political thinkers and in the modern attempts at resuscitating democracy and making it a live institution, at enabling the people as a whole, as opposed to a section thereof, to take an intelligent and practical interest in political affairs, at securing opportunities to the community to convert itself from the potential political sovereign into the actual *de facto* sovereign, it occupies a high place as being a source of inspiration and strength.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that in spite of his revolutionary principles which he followed out with such consistent vigour, he had been admired and praised not only by his own countrymen who caught their revolutionary inspiration from his writings but also by foreigners. Robespierre who visited him in his seclusion said to him--and his words were a vivid expression of the general sentiment of his epoch : " You divine one, you taught me to understand; in my years of youth, you led me to appreciate the dignity of nature and to meditate on the principle of moral order." Lessing called him the " daring, worldly wise." Kant, the great passionless critic, regarded him as one of the noblest idealists, and the influence of the citizen of Geneva may be traced on every page of his political and social speculation. Nor did the sage of Konnigsberg ever conceal his indebtedness to the philosopher of the Ermitage. He used to say : " Rousseau set me in the right direction " and he considered the French Revolution the outcome of the speculation of his master, as the strongest evidence of an evolving humanity. The second half of the 19th century and our own period with their rather conservative, anti-democratic and dictatorial tendencies and emanations have come to regard his achievements coldly and sceptically. Bluntschli sees in him little more than a dilettante, a speculative dreamer, and the judgment of Dunning is not more favourable. But more recently critics are again coming to recognize the great philosophical power and the deep moral intuition of Rousseau's genius. Thus Rudolf Stammler calls him one of the keenest thinkers in jural philosophy. That this more kindly and sympathetic appreciation will be accepted in the future estimate of Rousseau may confidently be expected since the materialistic conception of society now so generally prevalent has clearly and emphatically demonstrated that all political speculation and practical efforts without a moral basis and a spiritual compass must ever be barren and incapable of establishing a higher type of social co-operation.

MAHĀVĪRA, THE MAN

It has to be admitted that the life and personality of Mahāvīra has not received that attention from students of Jainism, as Buddha has received from Pali scholars. It is true no doubt that compared with the information available on Buddha, the material is very meagre for a study of Mahāvīra as a man; the Jaina Āgamas yield but a negligible fraction of what the Buddhists have recorded in the discourses of the Sutta Piṭaka, in the interesting history of the rules of Vinaya, and in the stories so full of living human interest in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. It seems to have never occurred to the Jainas to attempt any connected narrative of the life of the Master approaching the Mahāvagga account of Buddha's life from the obtainment of Enlightenment to the admission of Sāriputta and Moggallāna into the Order or the synopsis of events of Buddha's last days as in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; the chapter entitled *Jinacarita* in the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu is after all a poor substitute on the life of Mahāvīra, compared with these. Mahāvīra was by no means less famous nor did he have lesser following than Buddha in their age. It is desirable therefore that the personality of Mahāvīra should be studied and with that end in view I have attempted to present here all that I have been able to collect from the Canonical Literature of the Jainas as well as from Pali sources having a bearing on the life of Mahāvīra or which give us glimpses into his personal characteristics.

From extracts such as *Ācārāṅga* I. viii. 1-4 and II. 15, *Kalpasūtra*, *Jinacarita* ii-v, *Bhagavatī*, p. 661 (Āgamodaya Samiti) and *Samavāyāṅga* 30 and 42, we learn the following concerning the Master's life.

Mahāvīra was born about the middle of the sixth century B.C.¹ in Kuṇḍagrāma, a village in the suburbs of the city

¹ The Svetāmbara tradition as recorded by Hemacandra in the *Parīṣiṭṭaparvan* places the date of Mahāvīra's death in 527 B.C.; the Digambaras place it eighteen years later; Jacobi puts it in 480-76 B.C. and Hoernle in 480 B.C., but Charpentier prefers 468 B.C.

of Vaiśālī. He was the second son of Siddhārtha, a Kṣatriya chief of the *Jñātr* clan, by his wife Triśalā. His mother was related to the royal house of Magadha. His father was a lay disciple of Pārśva. His parents gave him the name of *Vardhamāna* because their wealth and prosperity increased since Triśalā conceived. Later in life his disciples called him *Mahāvīra* "because he stands fast in the midst of dangers and fears, patiently bears hardships and calamities, adheres to the chosen rules of penance, is wise, indifferent to pleasure and pain, rich in control and gifted with fortitude." He was also designated as *Vīra*, *Jina*, *Kevalin*, *Buddha*, *Suhastin*, etc., to denote his excellence and eminence.¹

He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra*; the Buddhists confused this with the *gotra* of Indrabhūti Gautama, his chief disciple. To his contemporaries he was generally known as *Nirgrantha Jñātrputra*. "He was born in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark fortnight of Caitra on its fourteenth day, in the middle of the night while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni." The Svetāmbaras have recorded a legend of the transference of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to that of the Kṣatriyānī Triśalā. Jacobi thinks that the legend means that Mahāvīra was born of a Brahman wife of Siddhārtha. It may also be that the legend is a pure invention on the part of later stalwarts to give the Master a miraculous and the highest birth according to the notions of a later age. The Digambaras know nothing of the legend and stoutly deny it. Before the birth of Mahāvīra his mother Triśalā saw a series of dreams which the interpreters said meant the coming of a great king or religious teacher—an episode never missed in the accounts of the birth of prominent future converts, in the literature of the

¹ The tenth *Prakīrṇa* called *Vīrastava* contains all his names. Buddha in his talk with Upaka, the Naked ascetic whom he met on the road from Uruvela to Gaya after the Enlightenment, also claimed to be a Jina; for Buddha's epithet of "Elephant" see *Cullavagga*, VII. 3, 12.

Jainas. Little has been recorded of his boyhood or early youth—we are not told whether he learnt the “seventy-two arts”; possibly he did, for there is no reason why he should not be given the advantages of a prince’s education. But we are told that “he was a clever man and had the aspirations of a clever man.”

He was married, and had a daughter and a grand-daughter. The Digambaras deny that he ever married. It is improbable, one should think, that in those days one born of a noble and well-to-do family should remain unmarried up to his thirtieth year, as was Mahāvīra’s age at the time he renounced the world. The Digambaras’ denial seems to be the outcome of their desire to look upon the great ascetic as a life-long celibate, for the Digambaras have always shown a preference for stricter asceticism. It is easy to imagine that a man who became a Jina later in life was not worldly-minded in his early youth. Another legend of the Svetāmbaras say that before his birth the embryo decided not to move in his mother’s womb lest it would cause pain to the mother and that when it subsequently did move, it was for the purpose of reassuring the mother who had imagined the embryo to be dead and worried over it. The embryo also decided, we are told, that he would not renounce the world till after his mother died in order that she might be spared the grief of separation from her son.¹ The legend suggests to me a significant explanation; it probably arose out of an actual incident in the early life of Mahāvīra. As a grown-up man he must have shown a leaning towards ascetic life and expressed a desire to renounce the world. The mother, naturally enough, grieved and cried over it and succeeded in drawing a promise from her resolute son not to execute his intentions till she was dead. We have a corroboration of this hypothesis in almost every one of the large number of stories in the texts of the conversion of princes wherein the mother is always represented as remonstrating with her son and trying to obtain from

¹ *Kalpasūtra*, IV.

him a similar promise. It is further supported by the fact that his renunciation took place immediately after the death of his parents, and the statement in the texts that at the time of Mahāvīra's renunciation "his people raised no objection" raises the presumption that there had previously been some objection from some quarter. We are also entitled to infer that owing to his strong ascetical tastes he might have been averse to marriage in his early youth and which his parents carried through in spite of his lukewarm attitude which the Digambaras developed into life-long celibacy and total denial of marriage.

When Mahāvīra was thirty years of age his parents died and with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana he gave away his belongings in charity and renounced the world. He descended from the palanquin that carried him under an *aśoka* tree, discarded his ornaments, plucked out his hair, fasted for two and a half days, drank no water, put on only a robe and entered the life of an ascetic. Remembering that his parents were lay disciples of the Order of Pārśva, we may infer that it was as an ascetical member of the same Order that he began his novitiate. He wore clothes for a year and a month after which he adopted nudity and stuck to it throughout the rest of his life. He practised penances for twelve years after which he succeeded in obtaining *kevala* or omniscient knowledge, the goal of his efforts. He was therefore forty-two years of age when he became a kevalin and for about thirty years from that time he carried on his mission as a preacher and teacher. He died at the age of seventy-two in Pāvā. This news was conveyed to Buddha as we learn from *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Sāmagāma Sutta*.

A few details are available of his life during the period of twelve years that he spent in his preparation for his mission. He went about naked and did not possess even a bowl for collecting alms which he accepted in the hollow of his hands. He neglected his body and abandoned care of it and patiently put up with all sorts of pleasant and unpleasant occurrences. Except in the

rainy season he lived all the eight months of summer and winter, in villages only a single night, in towns only five nights. Many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it, and caused pain there. People were shocked at the sight of him, they struck and shouted at him. He avoided women and householders and gave no answer to questions asked, nor returned salutes. He was beaten with sticks by some people. He paid no attention to story-tellers and other diversions. He used no cold water for two years and found that if closely inspected earth, water, fire, air, lichens, seeds, and sprouts exhibited signs of being imbued with life and he avoided injuring them. He found that immovable beings are changed to movable ones, and movable beings to immovable ones; beings which are born in all states become individually sinners by their actions, and whatever was under the conditions of existence suffered pain.

He did not use another's robe or eat out of another's vessel. He did not rub his eyes or scratch his body. He sometimes lodged in travellers' halls, workshops, assembling places, wells, shops, straw-sheds, suburban houses, burial grounds, deserted houses, or at the foot of a tree. He slept only a little and that not for pleasure. He went outside for once in a night and walked about for an hour; in his dwelling-places he was troubled by vermin and bad people, the village-guard and lance-bearers attacked him, single women or men tempted him. In the resting place one night people asked him who he was and what he wanted there, as he did not answer they treated him badly but he persevered in his meditations. Sometimes to avoid greater troubles when asked "Who is there within?" he answered, "It is I, a mendicant." He took no protection against cold or rain. He travelled in the pathless country of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi and in Subbhābhūmi, and in those places he used miserable beds and seats. In Lāḍha many natives attacked him; even in the less hostile parts of the country the inhabitants set dogs upon him crying "chucchu." Other mendicants used staves too keep off the dogs but he did not. The peasants abused him; villagers attacked him

and asked him to get away, and struck and ill-treated him. When he once sat without moving his body, they cut his flesh, tore his hair, covered him with dust, threw him up and let him fall, and disturbed him in his religious postures. He bore all this calmly without protest and never retaliated. In spite of his privations and sufferings he never fell ill or when wounded never applied medicines. In summer he exposed himself to the heat, sat squatting in the sun, and in winter he meditated in the shade. He lived on rice, pounded jujube or beans,—thrown away, or given as alms by others. Sometimes he did not drink for days together, fasted also for days, and practised various other severe austerities.

What a contrast with the probationary period of Buddha, the other great ex-prince mendicant of that age! For his noble birth, graceful mien and gentle manners the prince of Kapilavastu was welcomed by the teachers Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta and their pupils, he created an agreeable surprise amongst the citizens of Rajagrha, and attracted the attention even of King Bimbisāra. Mahāvīra's troubles were partly due to the ungainly sight of his nude, dirty, unkempt, and dishevelled figure; his sombre silence and apparently grim determination further aggravated the trouble by arousing at first sight the hostility of on-lookers.

For sometime during these twelve years Mahāvīra lived together with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the Ājīvika teacher. The Jaina texts regard Gosāla as an ex-disciple of Mahāvīra which however is an exaggeration. As a matter of fact they were both associates in a common concern.¹ Later on there sprang up acute difference of opinion between the two and they fell foul of each other culminating in their separation. The earlier compact was entered into, possibly the initiative coming from Mahāvīra, with a view to amalgamate the two Orders of the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas, but the attempt as we find proved abortive.

In the thirteenth year of his asceticism when he was about forty-three years of age Mahāvīra obtained the fruits of his

¹ I have fully dealt with the controversy on this point in my *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p. 7 ff.

labours. It occurred in the second month of summer, outside the village Jimbhayaggāma, on the north bank of the river R̥jupālikā. Mahāvīra was seated at the time in the field of a householder, in a squatting position with joined heels, the knees high and the head low, exposed to the fierce heat of the sun, and in deep meditation. He had been for long reflecting on the soul, non-soul, suffering, its causes and remedy. When he obtained *kevala* or true and perfect knowledge that he was seeking, the whole world of gods, men, animals and demons became plain to him. It has been questioned whether Mahāvīra made any strikingly new discovery when he claimed that omniscient knowledge had been revealed to him. It has also been suggested that what he obtained amounted only to gaining personal knowledge of what he already knew in theory, that he only reached the end of a road that was already laid out in plans before him. A new discovery is a relative term—a thing is new in substance although not in fact, if it is viewed in a new light or if it is new in part. Mahāvīra knew that he had to reach a goal but the full meaning and content of this goal he did not know till he had gained personal knowledge of it. By knowing a thing personally, we know so much more of it than before that it would be no exaggeration to say that it is something new that has been obtained—new both to the finder as well as to those who are made acquainted with it.

From now, for the last thirty years of his life Mahāvīra was an ascetical preacher and the head of his Order of mendicants. He constantly moved from place to place accompanied by his disciples, both male and female. When he reached a town, he stopped outside, and people came out to see and hear him. Rich and poor, prince and peasant, merchants and householders went to him—he was open to all alike. The congregations consisted of "Aryan and non-Aryan."¹ Everyone was received with the same dignity and welcome. He answered all questioners with the same brevity and directness,

¹ *Aupapātika*, 34,

Members of other sects and Brahmans came to ask questions of him or to hold discussions with him ; of these only such as have a direct bearing on his own doctrines have been preserved. It would undoubtedly have been more interesting and useful if more of such discussions with members of other sects were preserved ; but they are lost. The Fourteen Pūrvas which contained these discussions were compressed into the *Dṛṣṭivāda* which formed the twelfth book, now lost, of the *Āṅgas*.

When a member of the congregation had to ask a question of Mahāvīra or say something to him, such person would go up to him, circumambulated him from the right, and after salutations made his statement in becoming language. Wealthy visitors used to take off their ornaments and jewels before coming into his presence as a mark of respect when they came to him for special instruction or for admission into the Order. Kṣatriyas left their arms behind on such occasions. The correct mode of dress was to clothe oneself with one piece only, *i.e.*, to wrap the folds of the *dhoti* around the upper part of the body. We do not read of the lay disciples of Buddha observing any particular mode of dress before their Master although the ascetical members of the Order observed the etiquette of keeping one shoulder uncovered. The Licchavis, to mention only one instance, whom he compared with the Tāvātimsa gods, certainly appeared before Buddha in all their fineries and finished toilet.¹ It was out of deference for his nudity perhaps, that Mahāvīra's visitors clothed themselves scantily. If anyone came to seek admission into the Order, either as an ascetic or a lay adherent, permission for such was readily given. To lay members, the Five Lesser Vows were administered, and in the case of those who were prepared to renounce the world, the tonsure was given or the candidate himself tore off his hair "in five handfuls"—always an act of high merit—discarded all clothing, became nude, and lived practising

¹ *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* II, 20,

austerities and the rules on study, meditation, begging, movements, etc., for novices. The ascetics either dwelt by themselves under an instructor or accompanied the Master in his peripatetic mission. Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, in spite of his great leaning towards Buddha, did not altogether neglect Mahāvīra. Bimbisāra's son Ajātaśatru was more devoted to Buddha's rivals; he is eulogised in Jaina stories as a great patron of the Nirgranthas.

The disciples of Mahāvīra, more particularly Gautama, the favourite disciple, frequently asked questions of him, some of which would seem to be meaningless or even foolish at the present time, and the Master never tired of answering them. If permission was asked of him for any purpose, *e.g.*, undertaking special austerities or going on a journey, by a disciple Mahāvīra gave his assent: but on two occasions we find an exception to this ready assent on his part. In the first case Gosāla is reported to have asked for permission to be enrolled as a disciple and was thrice refused and was finally admitted on his repeating the request for the fourth time.¹ In the second case Jamālī, a disciple who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and had also married Mahāvīra's daughter, begged permission to go wandering with a large number of ascetics but Mahāvīra gave no reply even after being asked three times.² It is to be noted that the consequence in both of these cases was far from happy, for, Gosāla had to separate ultimately from Mahāvīra and Jamālī became the founder of the first schism. The texts of course say that owing to his omniscience, Mahāvīra knew from before that these untoward results would follow and therefore withheld permission. We may reasonably infer from these that disagreement and causes of friction between the Master and these disciples had begun long before the final rupture took place.

In the recorded dialogues of Mahāvīra he is mostly seen affirming or negating some questions asked or detailing

¹ *Bhag.* 15. 541.

² *Bhag.* 9. 33, 383-87; *Sthānāṅga*, 7.3, 587.

divisions and classifications of various matters on which information was sought. Sometimes again, he would affirm both the alternatives of a question which would puzzle the questioner whereupon Mahāvīra would enter into a wider explanation of the matter. The acute analytical genius of Mahāvīra comes out very prominently in all these scraps of conversation. He had the intellectual gift of close and minute observation of details which are so marked a feature of the philosophical system of the Jainas. Many of his directions to his disciples were no doubt the result of his own experiences as a man of the world and as a wandering ascetic, of the ways of men and women, temptations, and of life in general. His biological theories and classifications he owed very probably to his observations in solitary and out-of-the-way places teeming with minuté forms of vegetable and animal life, and the same thing may be said with regard to his views on the mutability of movable and immovable objects. The extensive manifestations of the living principle that he observed all around him during his lonely wanderings in unfrequented places had possibly the effect of his widening the scope of life to include objects commonly regarded as lifeless but which appeared on close examination to exhibit such symptoms of life as decay, growth, movement, etc.

Out of the many long and somewhat wearying divisions and sub-divisions of various subjects which the Canon assiduously parades as forming the bulk of Mahāvīra's dialogues, the following two may be selected in illustration of the art he used in convincing others :

Gautama, the favourite disciple, asked : "Sir, is the soul eternal, or the world? "

"The soul and the world are both eternal. "

"How is it, Sir, that the soul and the world are both eternal? "

"Gautama, where does an egg come from? "

"It comes, Sir, from the hen. "

“ Where does the hen come from ? ”

“ It comes from the egg. ”

“ Did the egg come before the hen, or the hen before the egg ? ”

“ Sir, they are both eternal. ”

“ Likewise, Gautama, the soul and the world are both eternal. ” ¹

A potter, Saddālaputta by name, was a follower of the Ājīvikas and consequently did not believe in exertion or manly strength as shaping human destiny. He was once bringing out his ware from within his shop and was putting them in the sun when Mahāvīra asked him how his ware was made. Saddālaputta replied that it was made by mixing clay with water, ashes, etc., and then placing it on the wheel. Mahāvīra asked if it was made with or without exertion, and the answer of course was that it was without, for there is no such thing as exertion, etc. What would he do if any of his servants were to steal or break his ware, or to seduce his wife—was Mahāvīra's next question to which the answer was that such servants would be punished or put to death. Mahāvīra then pointed out that if there was no such thing as exertion, etc., then the servants were not responsible for their action; and that if “ everything is unalterably fixed ” as the Ājīvikas held, then Saddālaputta would not be justified in taking any action against his servants.² Saddālaputta, we are told, was convinced in this way that the Ājīvika doctrine was false and he became a disciple of Mahāvīra.

Sometimes a parable was used. In order to bring home to the disciples the supremacy of the Nirgrantha ascetic over others, Mahāvīra told them the story of a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful and conspicuous, and in the middle of which there

¹ *Bhag.* 1.6.52.

² *Upāsakadaśa* VII. 195-200.

grew one big white lotus. Now, there came four men, one from each quarter, who prided themselves of their abilities and attempted to fetch the big lotus in the middle. To each of them, the more he proceeded the more the water and the mud seemed to extend; they had left the shore but could not reach the big lotus or any of the banks and got stuck in the mud. Then came a restrained monk living on low food—*i.e.*, a Nirgrantha monk—who did not enter the pool but standing on the bank he called out ‘Fly up, O White Lotus’ and it flew up to him. “I have told you, O long-lived śramaṇas, a parable and you must comprehend the meaning of it,” said Mahāvīra. The monks and the nuns replied that they did not comprehend the meaning of it. “Ah, long-lived śramaṇas,” said Mahāvīra, “I shall explain to you with its reasons—meaning the world I spoke of the lotus-pool, meaning karma I spoke of the water, meaning pleasures and amusements I spoke of the mud, meaning people in general I spoke of the many lotuses, meaning the king I spoke of the big lotus in the middle, meaning heretical teachers I spoke of the four men, meaning the Law (*i.e.*, the Doctrine of the Nirgranthas) I spoke of the monk, meaning the Order (*i.e.*, the Nirgrantha Order) I spoke of the bank, meaning the preaching of the Law I spoke of the monk’s voice, meaning nirvāṇa I spoke of the lotus flying up—meaning these things, O long-lived śramaṇas, I told the simile.” Then he went on to explain how there were many kinds of men in the world, some rich, some poor, some noble, some humble, of whom one was the king, whom different teachers wished to convert but all except the Nirgrantha monk failed in their efforts.¹

Here is one of Mahāvīra’s exhortations to his disciples—
 “Surely, venerable companions, if those servants of the śramaṇa who are householders living in the midst of householders refute the theories of heretic people, then much more, venerable companions, must the Nirgrantha ascetics be able to refute such

¹ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* II. i.

theories by means of theses, argument, questions, proofs, and explanations.¹

Mahāvīra possessed a powerfully-built physique and we find him described in the standard passages as a strong man, light and vigorous, grand, stern, simple, gentle and heedful. He was broad-chested and his voice was deep and resonant. He preached in the provincial dialect of Magadha. His manner of treating a subject was exhaustive as, in the words of Bhadrabāhu, he “preached with its application, argumentation, information, text, meaning and examination of the meaning.”²

As an efficient organiser and zealous propagandist Mahāvīra was unequalled. He welded together the two sections of the Order—the ascetics and the laity—and accorded to the latter a definite and honourable place in the ecclesiastical scheme, also making it the highest duty and act of merit on the part of the latter to support the former by giving alms liberally. The laity was enjoined to be exclusive in their loyalty and patronage and intercourse with adherents of a rival creed was a matter of disapprobation, as would appear from this declaration made by Ānanda, a newly converted lay disciple—“Truly, Reverend Sir, it does not befit me from this day forward to praise and worship any man of a heretic community, or any of the devas or objects of reverence of a heretic community; or without being first addressed by them to address them or converse with them; or to give them or supply them with food and drink or delicacies or dainties except it be by the command of the king or the community or any powerful man or a deva or by the orders of one’s elders or by the exigencies of living.”³ Propagation of his doctrine, extermination of heresy, winning over converts from other creeds, and suppression of rivals were carried on by Mahāvīra with great energy; in this his contemporary rival teachers,

¹ *Upās.* VI, 174.

² *Aup.* 34; *Kalp. S.*, *Rules for yatīs*, 64.

³ *Upās.* I, 58.

Buddha included, also were very keen no doubt. Buddha's motive for directing his steps towards Isipatana-Migadava immediately after obtaining enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi tree, his thoughts before undertaking this journey of attempting the conversion of his former teachers Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, his sojourn among the Jaṭilas of Uruvela, his winning over the two highly talented friends Sāriputta and Moggallāna about which he was taunted by the people of Rājagṛha, and many other such incidents in some of which he commissioned either Sāriputta or Moggallāna to go in advance and prepare the ground for a new conversion, while he himself came up later on to complete the task—the motive for these must have been propaganda and obtainment of publicity. To Mahāvīra as well as to his other rivals, the purpose of this propaganda was preaching of truth as it appeared to each of them.

The B h a g a v a t I mentions the episode of exchange of curses between Mahāvīra and Gosāla, which bereft of figurative language, was perhaps in fact a nasty battle of words between the two. If "fiery forces" (*teullesa*) which we are told were exchanged by the two, may be taken to mean fiery language, then there was good reason for it, for it is mentioned that the event caused considerable commotion in the locality, that the people were equally divided in their sympathy for the two disputants, and hence for effect a strong impression had to be made on the public mind. A little after this Mahāvīra instructed his disciples to go and annoy Gosāla with questions when the latter was lying ill of fever.

The Buddhists have recorded an account of tumultuous happenings in the suburb of Nālandā when both Mahāvīra and Buddha were present there. Upāli, a lay disciple of Mahāvīra, paid a visit to Buddha against the strong warnings of Mahāvīra, and finally transferred his loyalty to Buddha, whereupon Mahāvīra invaded Upāli's house with a large number of followers and strongly upbraided him for his disloyalty and his

cold-shouldering the Nirgranthas.¹ The Pali account adds that Mahāvīra was so very much upset about this matter that hot blood gushed out of his mouth. On another occasion, say the Buddhists, he asked Prince Abhaya—the Jainas frequently mention a son of Bimbisāra who had this name—to question Buddha as to whether Buddha ever used harsh language. It had come to his ears that Buddha, in referring to Devadatta, the schismatic leader and an avowed enemy of Buddha, had used such words as “*āpāyiko Devadatto, nerayiko Devadatto.*” If, said Mahāvīra to Abhaya, Buddha admitted that he used harsh language he would stand self-condemned and on the other hand if he denied it then he should be asked if he referred to Devadatta in those words. Mahāvīra, we are told also took care to remind Abhaya that if the latter could defeat Buddha in debate he would gain great fame.²

The Buddhists narrate many other stories detrimental to the reputation of Mahāvīra and his followers. We must beware of attaching too much importance to these narratives, for directed against a rival sect as they are, they are sure to be tainted with sectarian jealousy and animosity.

An important item in the organisation of the Order was the appointment of eleven *gaṇadharas* or chief disciples under whom the ascetics were grouped. Each group again was subdivided into smaller groups of a few ascetics under an instructor. Discipline must have been rigid and unlike the Śākya-putrīya śramaṇas, the Nirgrantha śramaṇas had plenty of work to do by way of the practise of austerities, penances and fasts, etc., besides dhyāna, to keep them engaged. Stress was laid upon study also. All these combined to make the life of a Nirgrantha śramaṇa far less easy than his brother in the Order of the Śākya-putrīyas and this is one of the reasons why we do not find among the Nirgranthas such frequent

¹ *Majjhima-Nikāya, Upāli Sutta.*

² *Majjhima-Nikāya, Abhayarājakumāra Sutta.*

dissensions, disputes, and strifes of the nature as arose amongst the Saṃgha of Buddha, as the Vīnaya literature shows. Life was far too serious with a Nirgrantha śramaṇa than it was to a Śākyaputriya śramaṇa who in many instances took the implications of the *majjhimā paṭipadā* to be a justification for his indolence and in whose hands avoidance of rigours became the seed of levity.

Sometime after his separation from Gosāla, Mahāvīra was ill of fever and asked a disciple to go to a married woman, Revatī by name, and tell her that there was no need of the two pigeons she had been cooking for him but that there was the flesh of a cock killed the day before by a cat—that she should send him. The disciple did as he was told and when the meat was brought to him, Mahāvīra ate it voraciously.¹ This is the plain meaning of the language of the text but it became a delicate question to the Jaina, and we find Abhayadeva, the Commentator, making the remark that although this statement is taken in its literal sense by some, there are others who understand the terms used in the text for ‘pigeon,’ ‘flesh of a cock,’ and ‘cat’ to mean respectively gourd, pulp of citron, and the *viḍālikā* plant. That this is a strained attempt on the part of a later generation to bring into line what Mahāvīra ate with their ideas of pure food, is clear on the very face of it, for the simple language of the text coupled with Abhayadeva’s admission that *it is taken in its literal sense by many*, leaves no doubt on the matter. Later Buddhists also got into the same difficulty in regard to their Master’s last meal. In fact, the occasion and the circumstances of Mahāvīra’s meat-eating in this case was perfectly consistent with the rule of food he laid down which was identical with Buddha’s rule on the matter as well, *viz.*, that one should not kill for himself or ask another to kill for him nor should the slaughter be expressly for him. In this case the cat had

¹ *Bhag.* 15, 557.

killed the cock and there was no sin in eating meat as such if it satisfied those three conditions. In this connection notice needs also to be taken of the instruction to the Nirgrantha ascetics to accept only such fish and meat given as alms, as were free from bones,¹ which shows that no prohibition attached, at least in the beginning, to the taking as alms of any food that was ordinarily used as fit for human consumption if it did not involve killing of life in the three-fold manner stated above.

In common with most of his contemporaries Mahāvīra also accepted without question the twin theories of karma and transmigration of the soul. He was responsible for a great deal of development taking place in these two important ideas which have so deeply tinged every shade of Indian thought, and the credit must go to him of being the first historical person to bring these two questions to the forefront and make far-reaching contributions to their subsequent elaboration. In the system of Mahāvīra there is no room for God nor any need of Him. He may be called an atheist in a sense. He taught that *jīva* and *pudgala* or the soul and matter are both eternally existent. According to him, the *jīva* in its liberated state would be endowed with such attributes as would bring it almost in line with the *ātman* or Brahman of the Upaniṣads or the state of *nibbāna* as Buddha conceived it. But the Jaina Canon does not know God ; it does not mention Him ; it does not ask anything about Him. The grounds that Professor Surendranath Dasgupta mentions as the Jaina's arguments in support of atheism² are the later wisdom of learned schoolmen. Even though the dualistic *jīva-pudgala* doctrine does not require God, one would expect to know what Mahāvīra had to say to those who believed in a God—but in vain would one search into the thousands of questions and answers between the disciples and Mahāvīra,

¹ *Ācār*. II, i. 10. 6.

² *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 203-206.

contained in the voluminous *B h a g a v a t ī*, on all possible and even impossible subjects, or into any other work of the Canon, for such information. In the case of Buddha we have at least the satisfaction of a significant silence on his part on this question ¹ because he thought such discussion was without any practical utility whereas the doctrine of the *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* was both practically important and he was certain about it. One wonders why the ever inquisitive Gautama, the favourite disciple, failed to sound the Master about so important a matter. The answer to all this seems to be that the creed to which Mahāvīra lent all the weight of his support had long been independent of the idea of God. ²

A comparison is irresistible between Buddha and Mahāvīra the two great teachers who preached their anti-Vedic doctrines in the same period of that distant past. Born in families of the same high social status, both of them renounced the world at about the same age; both claimed the attainment of the highest human perfection and untiringly and ceaselessly preached their respective doctrines in more or less the same geographical region in and around the province of Magadha. The teachings of one went through phases of amazing vitality and development reaching beyond the shores of India, acting, as a great civilising agency amongst peoples of different climes and distant regions, stimulating moral and spiritual progress wherever it went, and ultimately fell into decay and died out completely in its homeland. On the other hand the teachings of Mahāvīra remained much the same throughout the long centuries, never gathering a halo of glory around itself but yet illumining its immediate vicinity, lacking in fervour but robust in its strength and service, and although ousted from its original home yet maintaining its position with sufficient respectability amongst an intelligent section of the Indian people down to the present day.

¹ *Digha Nikāya, Poṭṭhapāda Sutta.*

² I have devoted a chapter to a discussion of this question in my forthcoming study of Jainism from Canonical Sources, of which the present article forms a section.

In the vigour and independence of their Kṣatriyan outlook, in their great moral earnestness and zeal for the spiritual welfare of the masses in general, in their personal sacrifices, in their philosophical insight and constructive genius, those two great contemporaries were almost alike. But let that not detain us, for it is the dissimilarities of their character that interest us in our present study.

Mahāvīra was a stern and austere man who lacked the charming geniality, elasticity of temperament, and gentle attractiveness of Buddha. Except when he preached or answered questions or spoke for effect Mahāvīra was mostly silent, whereas Buddha was a great conversationalist who took a delight in talking in congenial company, frequently surprising the disciples in the middle of their talks, seeking conversation with aspirants of other sects, and also talked on the road while journeying from place to place. Buddha was more frank and outspoken about his thoughts and feelings to his disciples from whom he withheld nothing. On many an occasion we find Buddha reproving his disciples for breach of the rules of Vinaya, for their foolishness or for any other thing which was not approved of by him in their conduct. In the instances mentioned by the Jainas, on the other hand, when Mahāvīra had any occasion to differ with or disapprove of his disciples we find him maintaining, at least in the first instance, a grim silence. Mention has been made of Mahāvīra's aggressiveness in act, but Buddha was probably the more aggressive and uncompromising in talk as well as somewhat excitable. Mahāvīra strictly forbade any intercourse on the part of his followers with supporters of other creeds or giving them alms, but we find Buddha exhorting Siha, who transferred his loyalty from Mahāvīra to himself, not to deprive the Nirgranjhas of alms in his house to which they had so long been accustomed.¹ The intellectual equipment of the two

¹ *Mahāvagga* VI, 31.11.

teachers were the same, and yet while Buddha extolled the merits of work, Mahāvīra dwelt more on the dire consequences of bad work ; one wanted more good work while the other wanted less bad work ; one encouraged people to be “ once-returners ” and “ no-returners,” while the other drew gruesome pictures of suffering in countless hells and series of painful births on earth and asked people to beware. The optimism of one developed into the spirit of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* which held out hopes of Tathāgata-hood to thousands of men, while the grimness of the other led to the amplification of sufferings here and hereafter in the First Part of the *Vipākaśruta*.

Buddha held that the state of mind accompanying an act, good or bad, is more important than the act itself in assessing the value thereof, but Mahāvīra, though he did not discount the state of mind altogether, held that the actual act committed was the more important in passing judgment on the moral status of the doer.

Mahāvīra does not seem to have aroused the hostility of the Brahmans as did Buddha. Buddha was the greater idealist whereas Mahāvīra was the more practical man, and took careful stock of circumstances immediately surrounding him. Mahāvīra was always prepared to concede a point or two to his rivals, and to appear to agree with them for a while. Both of them were skilful and diplomatic in their dealings with prospective converts—but while Buddha depended on his gentleness, goodness and harmless diplomacy to create an impression, Mahāvīra arrayed all his forces to demolish the stronghold of an adversary's creed.

Mahāvīra adopted nudity and held it up before his disciples as the ideal. Buddha laid down strict rules on robing and was very particular about his disciples making a decent appearance in public ; he recommended bath and washing and encouraged habits of personal cleanliness, all of which were forbidden by Mahāvīra. Treatment of disease, use of medicines, moderate comfort for the body were allowed by Buddha, but Mahāvīra

had no place for these in his scheme of asceticism. We must not misunderstand the meaning of Mahāvīra's nudity, shocking and repulsive though it might seem to us as it did even to many of his contemporaries. We have to remember that Mahāvīra's object was not to promote refinement of tastes and susceptibilities but to help and hasten the liberation of the soul from the bondage of *pudgala*, the ultimate constituent of matter. Whatever tended to free the mind from notions and practices that had the effect of accentuating or perpetuating the dependence of the soul on the body or their inseparableness, was a step towards the goal, for according to him man's sufferings were due to *pudgala*-particles adhering to and coalescing with the soul and liberation meant shedding off these accretions. Nudity meant that the person had shifted the focus from the body to the soul and had concentrated himself on his real self, the soul, to such an extent as to exclude all ideas of there being any relation between the soul and the body or in other words looking upon the soul as if it had already been freed from and made independent of its binding agency. Viewed in this light, the state of nudity is a symbol of a high degree of purity of mind and spiritual loftiness where the flesh becomes as good as non-existent. Mortification of the flesh, neglect of taking any care of and interest in the body are also designed to serve the same end by forcibly making the mind ignore the body, rise superior to it, and free the soul from its subjection. •

Unlike Buddha, Mahāvīra had no objections regarding the admission of women into the Order. Except in such matters as a few extra articles of clothing we find no mention of differences being made between monks and nuns. In the *Upāsakadaśā* we find Mahāvīra accompanied by large numbers of nuns too in his journeys from place to place and in the *Jñātādharmakathā* stories we come across female Elders who had not only nuns but monks as well under their instruction.

Alas! the rigid control exercised by Mahāvīra over his Order could not prevent dissensions, for we learn on Buddhist

testimony¹ that immediately after his death the public knew of the outbreak of dissensions among the Nirgranthas.

AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

TO DEATH

1

I dash through World's miseries,
To meet thee, Darling of my soul!
I chase those vile fears away to see
The dawn of Life in thy sweet eyes.

2

Like the rising sun sprinkling
Unbidden joy over the world around,
Like the pouring rain showering
Boundless wealth on earth below,

3

Like the roaring ocean sweeping
The shores with majestic beauty,
I feel in thy stately coming
The Joy of Life that is ever to be.

N. N. CHANDRA

¹ *Digha-Nikāya, Pāsādika Sutta ; Majjhima-Nikāya, Samagāma Sutta.*

ARU DUTT AND HER WORK

The name of Aru, Toru's elder sister, will always be associated with her own name, as the name of Coleridge is for ever associated with that of Wordsworth for his collaboration in the planning and publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*, and much more truly, as the names of the Brontës are for ever associated as Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell. The comparison in this case with Wordsworth and Coleridge is significant, for as in the *Lyrical Ballads* it was Coleridge's share which gave the venture its unique success, so, in the 'Sheaf' properly speaking, Aru's work outshines that of her younger sister. The rendering of Victor Hugo's 'Serenade' which is as much original as a translation can be, so long thought to be Toru's, has now unquestionably been decided to be the work of Aru—as Toru's recently published letters show, and also as it bears the initial 'A' against it.

We are surprised to-day to find how a great scholar of the eminence of the late Mr. Edmund Gosse who even pointed out Toru's spirit for research in her notes to 'A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields,' could mistake the poem as Toru's even though he found the initial 'A' against it. To remove all confusion Toru expressly mentions the name of her elder sister towards the conclusion of the notes and thus explains the initial 'A.'

"The writer of these pages has only to add here, that the pieces signed 'A' are by her dear and only sister Aru who fell asleep in Jesus on the 23rd July, 1874, at the early age of twenty years. The last piece she translated was 'Colinette.' Had she lived, this book with her help might perhaps have been better, and the writer might perhaps have had less reason to be ashamed of it, and less occasion to ask for the reader's indulgence. Alas!

"Of all sad words of tongue or pen
The saddest are these—it might have been."

But Mr. Gosse is not to blame. He was seized with rapture and amazement at the discovery of the lyrical gem in the anthology.

Indeed, this girl who died younger than Toru (she was barely twenty when she died) was equally gifted as her sister, though not more so. She had definite artistic leanings; and she had in mind to illustrate a novel to be written by Toru. That, however, could never be owing to her premature death; and Toru's novel ' *Le Journal de Mlle. D'Arvers* ' was published after the death of both the sisters, without the proposed illustrations by Aru. And the bereaved father was left to mourn his sad losses in such pathetic and moving words as these,—“ Why should these three young lives so full of hope and work be cut short, while I, old and almost infirm, linger on ? I can dimly see that there is a fitness, a preparation for the life beyond which they had and I have not. One day I shall see it all clearly. Blessed be the Lord. His will be done.”

It is a pity, that this gifted poetess has not left us any original work. But, what she has left, is, by its sheer beauty and pathetic interest, enough to give her a place in the history of English literature by the side of her better-known sister.

Her work is very meagre. She did eight of the translations contained in the ' *Sheaf*,' but anyone who soberly judges these verse-translations will find that her lyrical quality was as extraordinary as that of Toru and that she has left us some altogether complete gems. One can also get a peep into the mind of this true child of Romanticism, if one considers her choice of subjects. In this she resembled Mrs. Hemans, about whom Prof. Herford has said, “ She is at the beck and call of whatever is touched with the pathos of the far-away, of the by-gone scenes of reminiscence or farewell, laments of exile and dirges for the dead.” Aru too loved to indulge with the richest intensity the more superficial and transient elements of Romanticism and to feel and depict the pathos of life; and here too, she was attracted by that love to translate some of the most pathetic pieces in the anthology—pieces which have in them the glow of crepuscular light.

But the most remarkable of her renderings are three,—the first Victor Hugo's 'Serenade' the original with the translation of which we reproduce below :—

Autre Chanson.

L'aube nait et ta porte est close !

Ma belle, pourquoi sommeiller ?

À l'heure ou s'éveille la rose

Ne vas-tu pas te réveiller ?

O ma charmante,

Ecoute ici

L'amant qui chante

Et pleure aussi !

Tout frappe à ta porte bénie ;

L'aurore dit : Je suis le jour !

L'oiseau dit : Je suis l'harmonie !

Et mon coeur dit : Je suis l'amour !

O ma charmante,

Ecoute ici

L'amant qui chante

Et pleure aussi !

Je t'adore ange et t'aime femme.

Dieu qui par toi m'a complété

A fait mon amour pour ton âme

Et mon regard pour ta beauté :

O ma charmante

Ecoute ici

L'amant qui chante

Et pleure aussi !

Morning Serenade.

" Still barred thy doors ! the far East glows,

The morning wind blows fresh and free,

Should not the hour that wakes the rose

Awaken also thee ?

All look for thee, Love, Light and Song,

Light in the sky deep red above,

Song in the lark of pinions strong,

And in my heart true Love,

Apart we miss our nature's goal,
 Why strive to cheat our destinies ?
 Was not my love made for thy soul ?
 Thy beauty for mine eyes ?

No longer sleep,
 Oh ! listen now !
 I wait and weep :
 But where art thou ?

the second ' The Captive to the Swallows ' from Beranger, and the third and last ' The Young Captive ' from Andre Chenier's ² *Jeune Captive* ' written during his months of imprisonment in the ' Iambes.' Aru very ably and feelingly conveys the longing and lingering look at life of the beautiful Aimee de Coigny, Duchess de Fleury, herself like her poet, a victim of the Revolution, in such lines as :—

The Young Captive.

The budding shoot ripens unharmed by the scythe,
 Without fear of the press, on vine branches lithe,
 Through spring-tide the green clusters bloom.
 Is't strange then, that I in my life's morning hour,
 Though troubles like clouds on the dark present lower,
 Half-frighted shrink back from my doom ?

2

Let the stern stoic run boldly on death !
 I—I weep and I hope; to the north wind's chill breath
 I bend,—then erect is my form !
 If days there are bitter, there are days also sweet,
 Enjoyment unmixed where on earth may we meet ?
 What ocean has never a storm ?

3

Illusions the fairest assuage half my pain,
 The walls of a prison enclose me in vain,
 The strong wings of hope bear me far;
 So escape from the net of the fowler the bird,
 So darts he through ether, while his music is heard
 Like showers of sweet sound from a star,

4

Comes Death unto me? I sleep tranquil and calm,
And Peace when I wake stands by with her balm,
 Remorse is the offspring of crimes;
My welcome each morning smiles forth in all eyes,
My presence is here to sad brows, a surprise
 Which kindles to pleasure at times.

The end of my journey seemed so far to my view;
Of the elm-trees which border the long avenue,
 The nearest are only past by;
At the banquet of life I have barely sat down,
My lips have but pressed the bright foaming crown
 Of the wine in my cup bubbling high.

6

I am only in spring,—the harvest I'd see,
From season to season like the sun—I would be
 Intent on completing my round;
Shining bright in the garden,—its honour and queen;
As yet but the beams of morning I've seen
 I wait for eve's stillness profound.

Oh Death, thou canst wait; leave, leave me to dream,
And strike at the hearts where Despair is supreme,
 And Shame hails thy dart as a boon!
For me, Pales have arbours unknown to the throngs,
The world has delights, the Muses have songs,
 I wish not to perish too soon.

8

A prisoner myself broken-hearted and crushed,
From my heart to my lips all my sympathies rushed,
 And my lyre from its slumbers awoke;
All these sorrows, the wishes of a captive I heard,
And to rhyme and to measure I married each word
 As softly and simply she spoke.

9

Should this song of my prison hereafter inspire
 Some student with leisure her name to enquire,
 This answer at least may be given,—
 That grace marked her figure, her action, her speech,
 And as lived near her blamelsss might teach
 That life is the best gift of heaven.

I quote the first and the last stanzas of the original poem for the purpose of comparison,—

La Jeune Captive.

L'épi naissant mûrit de la faux respecté;
 Sans crainte du pressoir, le pampre tout l'été
 Boit les doux présents de l'aurore;
 Et noi, comme lui belle, et jeune comme lui,
 Quoi que l'heure présente ait de trouble et d'ennui,
 Je ne veux pas mourir encore.

Ces chants, de ma prison témoins harmonieux,
 Feront a quelque amant des loisirs studieux
 Chercher quelle fut cette belle :
 La grâce décorait son front et ses discours :
 Et, comme elle, craindront de voir finir leurs jours
 Ceux qui les passeront pres d'elle.

No less beautiful is her rendering of Beranger's 'The Captive to the Swallows,' as one can see from the two following stanzas,—

" A soldier captive by the Maure,
 Who bent beneath his heavy chain
 Welcomed the swallows from afar,—
 'O birds! I see you once again,
 ' Foes of the winter, high ye wheel,
 Hope follows in your track e'en here :

From well-loved France you come reveal
 All that ye know of my country dear."

Here is a type of the work which she loved and did. I recall with pride what was said of this rendering of Aru's by Mlle. Clarisse Bader. She said, "*Seigneur, a rappelle aupres de lui l'ame qui avait si fidilement interprete de chant de la jeune captive.*" True, Aru has not overwhelmed us with an abundance of her work as many poets have done but, I think, she has embalmed her name for all time, in such slender work as we see. In fragrance and sweetness, I am inclined to think of these three poems of hers, as of those three lilies which the Blessed Damozel held when leaning out from inside the gold bar of heaven.

When we review the work of the Dutt sisters, we find that Toru's work in comparison with that of her elder sister is more powerful, more varied, as her mind essentially was. "Toru had read more, probably had thought more and the elder sister generally appeared to follow the lead of the younger; so that I have often been asked by strangers which of the two is Miss Dutt?" wrote her father in the Prefatory Memoir prefixed to the 'Sheaf.' The contrast which Charlotte Bronte marked between Anne and Emily was perhaps, in an equal manner, present in the characters of these two sisters. In reviewing Aru's character we are strongly reminded of the powerful picture of Charlotte Bronte which gives us to know that Anne's character was milder and more subdued; she wanted the power, the fire, the originality of her sister, but was well-endowed with quiet virtues of her own. Long-suffering, self-denying, reflective and intelligent, a constitutional reserve and taciturnity placed and kept her in the shade and covered her mind, and especially her feelings, with a sort of nun-like veil, which was rarely lifted." Aru like Anne was always more reserved and reticent than her younger sister, was less original, and consequently, she has left work which is tinctured with similar qualities. Toru kept less closely to the originals than Aru. In the enthusiasm for Toru, one is apt to lose sight of her elder sister, but it is not proper in view of the sterling quality of her work.

Perhaps no one, until quite recently, cared to know what the initial 'A' stands for. And, probably to this fact is due the omission of Aru's translation of the Morning Serenade by Victor Hugo, which we mark in 'Selections chiefly Lyrical from the Poetical Works of Victor Hugo,' edited by Henry Llewellyn Williams, in 1885, although the editor selected the rendering of the much less beautiful Serenade 'Quand tu Chantes' by Henry F. Chorley.

Readers of the well-known Greek Anthology know that the most ingenious work of Meleager of Gadara is the Proem to the Anthology. There he thus describes the Metaphorical Garland:—

“ Whereunto many blossoms brought Anyte.
Wild flags, and Moero many,—lilies white;
And Sappho few, but roses.”

And we have the earnest, that readers of “A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields,” instead of being bewildered in the labyrinth of ‘wild flags’ and ‘lilies white’ of Toru, will notice the few roses which Aru so carefully transplanted from their native soil.¹

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

¹ From the Author's “Indian Female Writers of English Verse.”

THE BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, POET AND PLAYWRIGHT (1564-1616)

Stratford-on-Avon, the birthplace of William Shakespeare, is a literary Mecca. Indeed, it is a great deal more ; it is a gem of scenic beauty, and of great historical interest to all. Situated centrally in England upon the banks of the broad River Avon, Stratford attracts thousands of visitors a year from all parts of the world who seek the shrine of the greatest man the literary world has ever known. Into the town they pour from India, Ceylon, China, Japan, America, France, Germany—all to pay tribute to a noble man.

Stratford is roughly $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles from my own house, a distance which gives me ample opportunity of studying its history, visitors and points of interest at close range. Its points of interest are many—and varied. Chief of these I would say is the house in which Shakespeare was born, April 23rd, 1564. For more than two centuries it has been the shrine of devout pilgrims, and upon my last visit to this old-world latticed windowed house I was more than amazed to find it in such good repair, having suffered no apparent injury from the countless thousands of feet that had trod through and through the narrow timbered rooms since the pilgrimage began. In each of the six rooms in the house there are guides and attendants who explain the various exhibits and curious old books and papers to the wondering crowd that continually flocks through.

Clopton Bridge, which spans the Avon with nineteen arches, is a solid structure of grey stone, was built in 1490 and is still quite sound. Halls Croft is a magnificent specimen of old English architecture with its old garden and timbered front ; this was for some time the residence of Susanna Shakespeare, the poet's eldest daughter.

America has long revered the memory of William Shakespeare and probably there are more American visitors to

Stratford than any other nationality, but in the main street of Stratford there is a little house that always flies the American flag. This is Havard House which was built by Alderman Thomas Rogers, whose descendant, John Havard, founded the world-famous American University bearing his name. This house too has many thousands of visitors a year.

Great interest is shown in the cottage at Shottery, one mile from the centre of Stratford, in which Ann Hathaway, the Poet's wife lived. At the top of the main street nearly opposite to where Marie Corelli, the world famous novelist, lived, is the old timbered Grammar School or the King Edward VI School founded by Thomas Jolyffe, a priest, in the reign of King Edward VI.

In 1597 William Shakespeare bought the largest house in Stratford town, New Place, and this was the scene of the Poet's retirement and last residence. He went to live in this quiet old house with the formal intention of revising and issuing a new edition of his plays and poems, but unhappily, worn out with hard work, he died of some nervous disorder, April 23rd, 1616.

A few years ago in a commanding position on the banks of the River Avon stood the Shakespeare Memorial Buildings, consisting of a Library, Picture Gallery, Lecture Rooms, Museum, View Tower, Gardens and Sculpture. But unfortunately, in some mysterious manner most of these magnificent buildings were destroyed in a disastrous fire a few years ago. They are shortly to be replaced by a very modern style of buildings, the plans of which have roused much critical comment. The foundation stones have indeed been laid, and it is very gratifying to find that America's admiration of Shakespeare is so great that the citizens of the United States of America head the subscription list for the building of the New Shakespeare Memorial Buildings with no less a sum than a quarter of a million sterling. Nearly all of the valuable pictures housed in the Gallery were saved from the ravages of the fire, and when they are finally given a home in the building that is in course

of erection they will be the largest known collection of pictures in oils or print connected with the life and works of Shakespeare.

In High Street we have the Cage where Judith, the Poet's youngest daughter, lived for thirty-six years after her marriage with Thomas Quiney. The Town Hall which is quite an interesting place was built as early as 1633, and was later re-built in 1768 from the proceeds of the Garrick Jubilee.

But for a really interesting ancient structure we turn our attention to the Holy Trinity Church, a portion of which, I believe, dates back to A. D. 692. In the Chancel of this old-world Church, in the most honoured position, lie the remains of the great Poet, and above his grave is the following cryptic inscription upon a dark stone :—

Good frend for Jesus sake forbear,
To digg the dust enclosed here :
Bleste be a man that spares these stones,
And crust be he that moves my bones.

This inscription is, of course, written in very old English, and readers will observe that the spelling of certain words are very curious as compared with the present-day English style. The only record preserved that directly relates to Shakespeare's death, which may be real or fictitious, is in the ancient Diary belonging to Ward wherein is written :—

“Shakespeare, Drayton and Ben Jonson (another poet)
had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard,
for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted.”

Shakespeare's widow survived her illustrious husband seven years, dying in the month of August, 1623.

Historians are of a decided opinion that Shakespeare whilst in London, about the year 1568, became an actor in Lord Strange's company playing at various theatres in and around Shoreditch. Numerous bands of wandering actors and players had visited Stratford during the Poet's boyhood and it is presumed that he was fired, upon witnessing these performances, with

an ardent longing for a similar vocation, and so found his way to London, which in those days, as now, was the main centre for all theatrical work.

Here the Poet played for some considerable time, taking the part of a king in several pieces, the ghost in *Hamlet*, and also a prominent part in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, until in about 1603 he retired from the stage, for he did not greatly love the profession of an actor. He felt that it lowered his prestige to no little extent, for, as may be judged from his writings, Shakespeare always considered himself a gentleman of noble birth and good breeding, and all his associates were gentlemen too.

With regard to his writings, nothing has been found that was written by Shakespeare earlier than 1593, which goes to prove he did not commence to write in earnest until he had attained the age of twenty-eight. In 1593, we find he published a poem called *Venus and Adonis*, which was addressed, in the dedication, to Henry Wriothesly (Earl of Southampton); and in 1594 a further poem was published, *The Rape of Lucrece*, which was also dedicated to that nobleman. The first of these poems, *Venus and Adonis*, upon publication made a very good impression on the public, rapidly running into six or seven editions, the last of which appeared about 1602. We cannot say exactly when the great Poet actually wrote his first play but it was not much later than 1597 or thereabouts, for then the texts of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—were published.

Apparently Shakespeare himself had little, or even nothing, to do with the publication of his plays at any time. It has been remarked by many lovers of his works that they are astonished that he should have tolerated such harum-scarum methods as the publishers and printers of those days adopted. The following table gives roughly the various dates of publication of his plays as compiled by William M. Rossetti in a very old and precious edition in my possession:

In 1593 were published *Loves Labour Lost*, and *Henry IV*, Part I ; in 1600, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV*, Part II ; *Much Ado About Nothing*, and a second edition of *Titus Andronicus*. In 1602, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In 1603, *Hamlet*, an unauthorised edition, which was later followed in 1604 by a corrected edition. In 1608, *King Lear*, in 1609, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Pericles*. Other plays, not distinctly accounted for as to year of writing, publication, or presentation, are:—*As You Like It* (about 1600); *Julius Caesar*, and the *Twelfth Night* (about 1602), *Measure for Measure*, and *Othello* (about 1604), *Macbeth* (about 1610), *Winter's Tale* (about 1611), *Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry VI*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, *Cymbeline*, *Henry VIII*, and the *Tempest*. The last named play is regarded by many to be Shakespeare's last. Over and above the foregoing, previous to 1593, the following plays had been produced on the stage:—

The Two Gentlemen of Verona, *Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour Won* (probably identical to *All's Well that Ends Well*) and *King John*.

Shakespeare courted Royal favour ; that is obvious from his writings. During his life his sonnets and plays were spoken of by envious competitors as "his sugared sonnets for private friends." Who can blame Shakespeare for courting Royal favour? The only path to fame lay in that direction ; others had tried and failed, Shakespeare was more than successful. His plays were produced at Court under the delighted patronage of Queen Elizabeth, and her successor King James I. A vicar, named Ward, who lived in Stratford for some time, kept a Diary of the more important business of Stratford from 1648 to 1679, and in it is recorded the fact (of doubtful origin) that Shakespeare supplied the stage with two plays per year, and from this he received so large an allowance that he spent at the rate of a thousand pounds per annum.

The richness of Shakespeare's vocabulary was the secret of

his wonderful success in play-writing. It has been computed that he used no fewer than 15,000 words, whilst even as great a poetic successor as Milton used only about 8,000. It would appear that Shakespeare besides being well learned in surgery, medicine, navigation, war, chemistry, printing, necromancy and music, was also versed in French and Italian, for a number of his plays are founded on Italian originals of which no contemporary translation can be traced.

Shakespeare must have soon tired of London for we learn that after a few years spent there he began earnestly to prepare for an ultimate retirement in Stratford-on-Avon. We are told that in 1597 he bought the very best house in Stratford, a place called New Place, for the sum of £60, which, in comparison with the present value of money, must have been a very large sum in those days. In 1602 he bought for £320, some 107 acres of land in the Parish of Stratford, and in the same year some properties in the Town. He made his largest purchase of property in the year 1605, when he bought for the sum of £440 the remaining thirty-one years of lease of the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Welcombe, and Bishopton. Other facts of similar dealings, and one or two records of prosecutions for debt, in one case against a man named Rogers, and in another a man named Addenbrooke, proved that Shakespeare was a man of business looking sharply after his own interests.

Shakespeare wrote 154 sonnets, which have long been a source of argument on the part of sundry historians and others. A large number of people maintain that these sonnets contribute little or nothing towards Shakespeare's biography, whilst others argue that they display a different literary style in his writing, whilst yet another group have said that he wrote them as a form of literary satire. However, let his sonnets be what they may, we cannot help but notice that they failed to win the popularity of his plays.

To leave the sonnets and revert back to Shakespeare's life, it is probable that he was still resident in London in the year

1611, but knowing well the charm and health-giving properties of his native town he elected, in 1612, to change the glitter and glory of London for the peaceful quietude of Stratford-on-Avon, where he spent the remainder of his days.

He returned to his native heath a true man of the world, with a saner and broader outlook on life than he had ever entertained before leaving there. Already, all the eyes of literary England were centered on Shakespeare, and it was not long before he was lauded by his fellow townsmen as the greatest man in the whole world. His only son Hamnet died in 1596, his father in 1601, and his mother in 1608. Susanna Shakespeare, who, as I mentioned in the beginning of this article, lived in Halls Croft after her marriage to a Dr. Hall, a local physician of some eminence, and to them a daughter was born in 1608. Shakespeare's wife and his younger daughter Judith kept house with him, and in February 1616 he married this daughter to Thomas Quiney.

Some comment has been aroused by the Poet's will, in which he bequeathed all his lands, tenements, etc., to Susanna; a sum of £300 to Judith; and his second-best bed with its furniture, and a few trifling legacies to his wife. It is the insignificant bequest to his wife that has aroused the comments, for it appears to show the Poet held his wife in slight esteem, but it is almost certain that as the estates were freehold she was more than amply provided for by law in the form of dower. The Poet died worth no large sum of money, which he must have spent freely during his lifetime, and it is also noticeable that his theatrical properties are not featured in his will which goes to prove that these must have been disposed of some time previous to his death.

There are a few original portraits and busts of Shakespeare in existence, and also a number that supposed to represent him. Principal among them we have the Stratford bust adjacent to the Poet's grave, the Droeshout engraving, the Chandos painting, the Jansen painting, and the Felton Head; there is also a death-

mask, which, if it is accepted as authentic, is the only real likeness of them all. Both in Shakespeare's house at Stratford and in the Theatre Picture Gallery there are numberless papers, books, engravings, pictures, curios, and busts that form a never-ending source of delight to both the historian and the ordinary layman.

I fully realise how impossible it is for the majority of you to ever visit the Poet's birthplace and glory in the atmosphere of his indefinable charm ; so I have endeavoured to bring a little of it, through the medium of this article, to your own home, and thus knowing more of the Poet's inner life you will read his great works with a possible further enjoyment. To those of you who have not read Shakespeare I can only say, Do so at once, for you are missing the most beautiful gems of literary composition that we have ever had bequeathed to us. Remember Shakespeare went a long way to founding the present-day English style of prose. In the light of this, therefore, his works should hold a wealth of stimulated interest to all English-speaking people.

Shakespeare has been lionised by America. An offer was made some few years ago by that country for Shakespeare's house (the sum was colossal). The offer, needless to say, was refused by the English authorities, but if it had been accepted the Americans would have shipped the whole house over to America and re-built it, true to every detail, in some chosen spot. So much for America, but there are signs that India is recognising his great genius, for I see that in one or two instances plays have been given in native language by eminent Indian Actors and Actresses. It gives us great pleasure to observe this. Let us hope that his popularity will grow steadily year by year !

LOCAL BOARDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY: A STUDY IN THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Introductory.

The term "Local Boards" is used in the Madras Presidency in a restricted sense to denote the authorities exercising jurisdiction in matters of local government outside the municipalities formed under the District Municipalities Act and the City of Madras. They are institutions concerned with the affairs of rural parts as distinguished from urban centres. Their exact position can be better understood by an expression like "Rural Boards"; but in spite of the high authority of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation¹ this change in nomenclature has not found acceptance. Their power and responsibility extend over an area of 122,402 square miles with a population of about thirty-eight millions.² Their duties "cover most of the activities upon which the essential welfare of the country depends. They have the care of public health and all the circumstances upon which that health depends; they control elementary education; they construct and maintain local buildings and communications and they touch the life of the people at every point."³ The history of the local boards also serves as a mirror in which one can see reflected the course of the evolution of political ideas in this country during the last sixty years. It has a special interest for the student of political science who can see in it the working of an experiment which combines democracy and devolution at the bottom with bureaucracy and centralisation at the top and open for him a field of enquiry as to whether different parts of government can be really built on mutually antagonistic principles.

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, para. 732.

² Report on the Working of Local Boards, 1928-29 (the latest report available), p. 36.

³ Resolution of the Government of India on Local Self-Government, 1915.

The success of administration by local boards depends on a variety of factors and the most prominent of them are : (1) the areas created for the purpose; (2) the constitution of the boards; (3) the kind and degree of state control exercised over them; (4) the functions with which they are entrusted; (5) their financial resources; (6) the principles determining the grant of state aid to them; and (7) the general interest prevailing among the people in the working of all political institutions. With regard to every one of these the local boards in this Presidency have an interesting tale to tell. This chapter deals with administrative areas.

By an "administrative area" is meant the area or territory for which a separate local authority is set up. Each department of administration—Revenue, Judicial, Education, Forest, Public Works, etc.—has its areas which are in some cases small and in others big. They are sometimes amalgamated and made larger and sometimes divided and made smaller. The alteration of the limits of revenue districts and taluks from time to time,¹ of the areas within the jurisdiction of district munsiffs and sub-judges, and of those under the control of executive and superintending engineers is a common phenomenon. But the determination of the areas over which separate local boards should exercise authority has provoked more controversies than changes in the areas of other departments of government. The broad question was whether areas for purposes of local government should be the same as those for general administration and whether there was need in that sphere for the hierarchy of districts, revenue divisions, taluks and villages which is the feature characterising general administration.

2. Areas before 1871.

Although Local Boards were for the first time set up by the Local Funds Act of 1871, local taxes for being spent on local requirements were collected for some years previous to it. An

¹ There were 21 districts in 1881 and the number now is 25.

education rate was raised under the Education Act of 1863¹ and a road cess under the District Road Cess Act of 1866.² In administering these Acts the village was taken as the unit for purposes of education and the district for purposes of roads. Over each village in which the Education Act was in force a separate authority was established and all the proceeds of the education rate were spent by that authority in the village in which they were collected so that the rate-payers might have the satisfaction that they got a direct and immediate return for what they paid. As regards the road cess a much bigger unit—the district—was recognised as the proper area. The Collector was the authority that collected the tax and spent it and he was given power to utilise its proceeds in constructing and maintaining roads in any part of the district and not in the village, the revenue division or the taluk in which it was collected. This differentiation in respect of education and roads was based on the principle that there should be some connection between function and area.

In 1871 the Government introduced a Local Funds Bill into the legislature. It proposed to collect a number of taxes and tolls for being spent not merely on roads but also on education and public health. It also provided for the establishment of boards or committees to administer the funds instead of leaving everything in the hands of the Collector. The question therefore of the area for which such boards should be created became important. There was a school of thought which wanted to make the taluk the area on the ground that the district was too big to be a suitable unit. They pointed out that in the past the road cess was not spent equitably on the needs of all the taluks and that it was only the area in the neighbourhood of the district headquarters in which the collector was most interested that was benefited by the cess. They also

¹ Madras Act VI of 1863.

² „ „ of 1866.

apprehended that if the district continued to be the single administrative unit there would be the same kind of neglect of education and public health of the different taluks. The remedy for this state of affairs was to have a local board for each taluk so that there would be a guarantee that what was collected in the taluk would be spent on the needs of the taluk itself. This alone they contended would lead to a due and proper localisation of expenditure.¹

But this was opposed on administrative grounds. For, under the bill the Collector was to be the *ex-officio* president of all the local boards in the district. If each taluk had a separate local board the number of such boards in the district would be large and it would entail heavy work on the Collector and put him to much strain. There was also another consideration. The provincial government had to sanction the budget of each board, pass orders on the administration reports of all the boards separately and had also direct dealings with each of them on several other matters. It was felt that the establishment of a board for each taluk would require at the provincial headquarters a large staff and make the work of government rather irksome.

3. *The ' Circle ' under the Act of 1871.*

A compromise was therefore effected and an area called a ' circle ' was created. It was understood that it would be bigger than a taluk but smaller than the district. It meant that each district would be divided into a number of circles and each circle would have a board to exercise authority in the area. It was left to the discretion of the Governor-in-Council to fix from time to time the number and the limits of the circles in each district,² a discretion which has become the characteristic feature of all

¹ Report of the (Madras) Local Self-Government Committee.

² Section 3 of Act IV of 1871.

subsequent legislation on the subject. In addition to the circle the Act of 1871 contemplated the retention of the village as an area for education inasmuch as the house-tax for which it provided could be imposed only in villages in which a grant-in-aid school existed.¹ This part of the Act however became ineffective as the association of education with the house-tax made the latter unpopular and led to the tax itself being kept in abeyance from 1873-4.² With this disappeared for the time being the importance of the village as a separate area ; and until the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1884 the circle alone continued to be the one administrative area in the rural tracts. There were no other units higher or lower than this.

In accordance with the Act of 1871 the Government divided the Presidency into thirty-six circles and the idea was still further to increase their number and make each circle as small in size as would be consistent with administrative ease. Some districts were divided into two and some into three circles each. But the original policy gradually underwent a change and the number of circles was reduced to thirty by 1881-82.

In twelve out of the twenty-one districts the Circle was co-terminus with the district. It appeared as if this tendency would affect the other districts also thus making the district the sole administrative area. For, in the matter of dividing a district into circles the Government did not proceed on any intelligible principle. It was not based on the area or the population of the district or its revenue from local taxes. Everything was done in a haphazard manner. The whole of Nellore which was a big district in those days was within the jurisdiction of only one circle. Smaller districts like Tinnevely and Ganjam were divided into two circles each. Under those circumstances it would have been no wonder if ultimately the principle of 'one district one circle' had triumphed.

¹ Section 86 of Act IV of 1871.

² Report on the Administration of Madras Presidency, 1872-3.

4. *Lord Ripon's Resolution and Smaller Areas.*

The issue of the famous resolution on Local Self-Government by Lord Ripon¹ brought about a complete change in the situation. One of its central features was its advocacy of smaller administrative units in preference to the larger areas then existing. It suggested that the smallest administrative unit—the subdivision, taluk or tahsil—should ordinarily form the maximum area to be placed under a local board. This was the result of mature reflection as it was in modification of the views contained in an earlier circular² in favour of the larger area—the district. It was supported mainly on three grounds. It was pointed out that small areas alone would secure among the members of the local boards the necessary local knowledge and interest. There was much force in this contention in those days when the means of communication in a district were few and slow and when the inhabitants of one taluk had not opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with the needs of other taluks and of the district as a whole and speak on them with authority. The utmost that could be expected of them was familiarity with the requirements of their own taluk. The second ground was closely connected with the aim of Lord Ripon that Local Government should be transformed into local Self-Government and pave the way for national Self-Government later on. This object had greater chance of success if the unit of local administration was small in size. It would ensure that the electorate would choose their representatives wisely and deliberately and that they would be in a position to watch their work on the boards. The representatives also would under these circumstances discharge their duties with a greater sense of responsibility and with more interest. This argument proved to be a strong one in favour of small areas not only in the days of Lord Ripon but also in later years. A third ground was that

¹ Resolution, dated 18th May, 1882.

² Resolution, Financial, No. 3515 of October 10th, 1881.

the district (or the circle) committees were very badly attended by the members not actually residing in the vicinity of the headquarters and that in consequence undue importance was given to the requirements of the immediate neighbourhood of the district centre. It also resulted in the business falling entirely into the hands of the district officer who in the course of his tours obtained greater acquaintance with the district than the other members of the board who happened to be present at its meetings.

5. *The Recommendations of the Local Self-Government Committee.*

The resolution of Lord Ripon's Government was referred by the Madras Government to a committee of officials and non-officials for examination and report. This Committee—known as the 'Local Self-Government Committee'—agreed in principle with the suggestions put forward in Lord Ripon's resolution in regard to smaller areas and made three important recommendations which in some form or other became the basis of all subsequent legislation on the subject of local boards.

(1) Their first recommendation was that the training of the people in the art of self-government could be best brought about through the revival of the ancient village community and making the village the lowest administrative area for purpose of rural government. This would serve as the most effective means for the political and social education of the people. With this object the committee proposed that two kinds of "Village Unions"—Major unions in villages with a population of more than five thousand and Minor unions in smaller villages—might be formed and that the minor unions might be made to look after sanitation while the major ones looked after education and roads also. The term 'union' was made use of as the committee intended that in certain cases two or more villages should be grouped together in the interests of economy and

efficiency. This recognition of the need for restoring the village to the position of importance which it formerly occupied was a most welcome feature although, as will be pointed out in the next chapter, the committee lost sight of the element of 'Self-Government' in working out the details of its main recommendation.

(2) The second recommendation of the committee was that two or more taluks should be combined together to form the next (higher) administrative area. In this they went against the views embodied in Lord Ripon's resolution. They based this recommendation on a number of difficulties and complications that they thought would result if each taluk was made a separate area. Some of these difficulties were those pointed out during the discussions on the Local Funds Bill of 1871 to which reference has already been made. The others were more or less of a financial character. In every district there were several poor taluks and their individual resources would therefore be too inadequate to enable them to discharge their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner. Their budgets could never be balanced and many of them would have to face the danger of bankruptcy. In the next place the constitution of each taluk into a separate area would mean an unnecessary duplication of the managerial and the clerical staff and a wasteful expenditure on salaries and travelling allowances. There was also the possibility that the multiplication of local boards would increase the number of toll gates in each district—each taluk board competing with the other boards in getting as much revenue as possible from tolls—and unduly hamper all traffic. To prevent such risks the committee did not favour the taluk as a separate area but suggested the revenue division which consisted of a number of taluks as a more reasonable unit. It however proposed that this 'bigger area' should be known as the taluk, and the committee administering its affairs as the taluk committee. It meant—and this anomaly exists even now—that taluk for purposes of local government did not cover the same area as taluk for general administration.

(3) A third and a much more important recommendation was the recognition of the district also as an area in addition to the 'village' and the 'taluk' and the establishment of a 'district' committee over it. This was the introduction of a hierarchical system of local government as the committee wanted that the village union should be the agent of the taluk committee, and that this committee should be subject to the control of the district committee. In one sense this introduced certain complications into the whole scheme of local government, the evils of which are becoming clearer at present. The committee however had some justification for the course it took as the general trend of opinion was in favour of smaller jurisdictions proposed by Lord Ripon and as steps had to be taken to overcome the disadvantages if any of independent smaller areas. In the opinion of the committee the most important step in that direction was the constitution of a committee for the district as a whole. This committee would serve three important purposes necessary if the functions proposed for local boards were to be properly looked after. It would look after the constructions and maintenance of the main roads and undertakes other costly works which would be beyond the capacity of any single taluk committee. It would serve as an agency for distributing equitably the revenues from local taxation among the several taluk committees—rich and poor in the district—and co-ordinate their activities. It would also prevent the growth of differences in the rates of local taxation in the neighbouring areas of the same district as this committee was to be solely empowered to determine the levy of important taxes and fix the rates relating to them.

The Government of Madras agreed with the recommendations of the committee in respect of the village union and the district. With regard to the taluk it hesitated between sympathy for smaller areas advocated by the supreme Government and the practical objections put forward against the taluk by the committee. At the time of introducing the Local Boards Bill of 1884

it leaned more in the direction of smaller areas as was made clear by the Hon'ble Mr. Webster the member in charge of the bill in the following words. "The area over which a Taluk Board will ordinarily exercise jurisdiction will be co-terminous with the revenue taluk; but power has been reserved to the Governor-in-Council to alter this area if in any case it is found to be so extensive that every member of the board cannot reasonably be expected to be acquainted with and take personal interest in every part of it." The idea was evidently to have areas even smaller than the taluk.

6. *'Unions,' 'Taluks' and 'Districts' under the Act of 1884.*

The Local Boards Act of 1884 did not define rigidly the term "Taluk." It meant "any part of a district which may be declared to be a taluk by the Governor-in-Council." The meaning of the term "union" was also made equally elastic. A "union" was defined as "any revenue village or villages or any portion or portions thereof which may be declared to be a union, by the Governor-in-Council. The district was generally to be identical with the revenue district. In the thirty-six years during which this Act was in operation the area of local administration were thus the village union, the taluk and the district. The hierarchical system came to stay.

Although the Government originally thought of having taluks co-terminous with, or even smaller than, the revenue taluk in practice the policy adopted was in the opposite direction. The revenue division became the recognised unit and the twenty-one districts in the Presidency were at first divided into sixty-six taluks and this number was increased to only eighty-six by 1887-88. There was no strong desire on the part of the Government or agitation on the part of the public to increase their number and make them identical with revenue taluks. Things went on like this until the question was reopened with the publication in 1909 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation.

So much for the Taluk Boards. The story however of the Unions formed under the Act of 1884 proved to be a disappointing one. It was expected that with a view to revive the Ancient Indian village and train the people in the art of self-government, the Government would form a large number of unions. But their progress was slow and after a certain stage it was completely arrested. There were 136 unions in 1886-87; the number went up to 367 by 1896-97 and to only 382 by 1906-07. There was no prospect of further growth and the impression left on the Royal Commission was that the union as an administrative area had no future before it and that it deserved to be abolished. There were fifty-four thousand villages in the presidency and the fact that only four hundred unions were formed clearly demonstrated that even the fringe of the problem was not touched and that there was something inherently defective in it.

The causes of this slow growth were many. In the first place the unions were artificial units made up of a number of neighbouring villages, some small and some big. There was not any community of interest among them—the kind of interest which has always bound together the inhabitants living in a single Indian village. That in selecting administrative areas importance has to be attached to natural units was made clear by the failure of the unions to evoke any feeling of local patriotism. It happened in the next place that in several cases the interest of only the bigger village in the union were cared for and promoted while little heed was paid to the requirements of the smaller villages and the outlying hamlets although these contributed their share to the revenues of the union. In consequence of this the unions came to be regarded as mere tax-collecting agencies which did not bring any corresponding benefit to the tax-payers. People therefore were quite unwilling to have any further increase in the number of such unions. Even in cases where the union was co-terminous with a single village its financial resources were poor and it was not in a position to do much for the development of public health or education or

communications in the village. The number of permissible taxes was small and people were not disposed to pay any additional contributions as the general notion was that all taxes were irksome. Even now the idea that a properly devised system of taxation would promote public welfare and is one of the best instruments of social prosperity is too remote from the understanding of the public; and much worse was the situation at the beginning of this century. In addition to all this the unions were not sufficiently democratic and they had little freedom and independence. They were mere agents of the taluk board without any autonomy of their own. There is nothing strange that under such circumstances they ceased to command any popularity.

M. VENKATARANGAYA

THE BANKING PROBLEM IN INDIA

Critical Examination of the Banking Enquiry Committee's Report.

In the political turmoil in the midst of which the country now finds itself, in the evaluation of the consequences of the crisis that was precipitated in England resulting in the suspension of the gold standard, the Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee passed almost unnoticed. But the report is nevertheless a very comprehensive document, an interesting piece of literature and an elaborate recommendation and plea in favour of advancement in all directions in the banking sphere. The Committee was appointed in response to the wishes of the Central Legislature supplemented by the desires of the Indian and European commercial opinion with a view to find out what measures are necessary for extending banking facilities in the country and as presided over by Sir Bhupendranath Mitra. Ten Provincial Banking Committees were appointed to survey the problem with special reference to the needs of the agricultural industry, all of which have submitted very valuable reports which helped the Central Committee to arrive at far-reaching decisions. It was a unanimous report that the committee presented except in regard to Foreign Exchange Bank and the necessity for establishing an Indian Exchange Bank with state aid. There are separate notes as the one on Industrial Banks by Mr. N. R. Sirkar and another by Mr. Ramdoss Pantulu on the indigenous bankers, while Mr. Manu Subedar added a long minute of his own which differs in its main conclusions on many questions from the main report. Considering the essential and intimate connection that exists between the development of banking facilities and banking in general and the industrial and economic progress of the country, the recommendations of

the committee ought to receive the utmost and serious consideration both from the Government and the public and some of them have to be implemented immediately if the constitutional changes that may emerge from the deliberations of the Round Table Conference are to be carried out successfully in an atmosphere favourable to such success.

The Need for Regulation of Foreign Banks.

The two most outstanding requirements of the Indian situation are the provision of cheap, adequate and long-term credit to the agriculturists for financing permanent and profitable agricultural improvements and the supply of sufficient financial assistance to industries of an indigenous character. There is also a great and urgent demand for following a national policy in regard to currency and exchange questions and for the conservation in India's interests and for Indian enterprise, of the immense field of foreign exchange business carried on at present by the foreign exchange banks and the profits accruing to them therefrom. On all these matters, the Banking Committee's recommendations, as will be shown hereunder, run along lines advocated by Indian public opinion for a long time. It is true that the Foreign Banking experts attached to the committee, who by the way have been of immense help to the committee in the course of their deliberations, have demurred to some of the recommendations of that body especially to those relating to the financing of industries and the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank, though in regard to the first the committee have preferred to follow the dictates of their own experience supplemented by the unanimous decisions of the Indian Industrial Commission in recommending the establishment of State-aided Industrial Corporations and in regard to the second they have by a majority recommended the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank, to do the work now performed by the Foreign Exchange Banks.

If one considers the scant courtesy shown by the foreign exchange banks to Indian customers, the huge profits which they take away from India, the way in which they refuse to allow Indians to hold any responsible positions in them, the manner in which they do not discharge the obligations of letting the public into their confidence by periodical publication of their balance sheets, it will be realized how immense is the necessity for keeping them under proper check, for regulating their working and for making them conform to the provisions and requirements of the Indian Banking Law. Concurrently with devising measures for keeping the foreign banks under control, it is also necessary that an effort should be made to enable the indigenous banking institutions to take a longer and larger share in the financing of the country's foreign trade, which they are at present unable to do to the great detriment of the nation and handicap to the commercial community.

In this respect, the majority of the committee also have failed to grasp sufficiently the evils of a *laissez faire* policy in regard to foreign banking corporations, for they not only think that the facilities at present afforded by them are sufficient but also that a considerably long time must elapse before an institution with indigenous capital supplied by the State wherever and whenever necessary need be established. They however recognize that the agency now available for financing India's export trade is mainly foreign in character and that it cannot for ever continue to be so, but that if the Imperial Bank of India which, as has already been said, should be enabled to participate effectively in the promotion and financing of the foreign trade is unable to do so, then and then only should an Indian Exchange Bank with capital supplied by the Joint Stock Banks should be established. The majority also rule out of consideration the proposal that foreign exchange banks should be registered in India with rupee capital but recommended instead that local advisory committees should be established at each office of the foreign banks to make the management more sympathetic towards Indians.

But that these are all pious hopes and generous expectations which are bound to end in disappointment in the light of previous experience that we have of these banks is clear enough, and we have it on the authority of six members of the committee including Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Messrs. Khaitan, Ramdoss Pantulu, Shanmukham Chetty and Jamal Mohammad that the foreign exchange banks are in a very strong and entrenched position capable of out-competing any indigenous institutions working or that may work in the line, that the Joint Stock Banks with their limited resources and their intimate connection with the internal trade of the country are and would be unable to effectively participate in the finance of export trade also and that state support to any institution that may be started is absolutely essential if it is to be successful in its work and they have supported their arguments by summoning to their aid the expert opinion of Prof. J. M. Keynes. They therefore recommended the establishment immediately of an Exchange Bank with a capital of three crores of rupees, all to be taken up by the state. This bank according to them should do all the business now transacted by the foreign banks, its management should be in the hands of a Board of seven persons with Local Boards of five, all the Government remittance business should be transacted through the bank and finally in all matters where it operates in the open market it should act as an agent of the Reserve Bank which is to be established at the earliest possible moment. Side by side with the establishment of an exchange bank, steps should also be taken to regulate the operation and working of the foreign exchange banks on the line suggested by Mr. N. R. Sirkar in order to rectify the defects noted above and to reconstitute them in accordance with Indian Banking Law. Mr. Sirkar is also in favour of reserving the field of internal banking to Indian Joint Stock Banks, so as to prevent the Foreign Banks from encroaching into the legitimate sphere of these institutions; but an attempt to demarcate and sequester the essentially unified system of banking and the means of

financing the internal and export trade of the country is unwise and ill-advised and ought not to be encouraged. One of the evils of the present system which permits of such sequestration is that the Indian money market is split up into two distinct branches resulting in chaos in the money market, since these two branches—the “European” and the “native,” the first being identified with the foreign exchange banks and the second with the indigenous banking corporation—have remained in mutual ignorance of one another’s doings; and it ought to be a matter for serious consideration if, in the interests of the economic regeneration of India, and in the interests of enabling of Indian talent hitherto confined to local interests to have a larger and more extensive field for action, it is not essential that these two branches should be unified and brought into a state of mutual and harmonious co-operation with each other. For this purpose the starting of an Indian Exchange Bank and linking of it with the local money-lenders and Joint Stock Banks is a desideratum besides its being the only possible and necessary remedy.

Reserve Bank.

At the time of instituting the enquiry into Indian Banking conditions, it was stated by the Finance Member to the Government of India that the enquiry would be of value in throwing light on the banking requirements of the country and in designing the central banking organization to meet those requirements. This statement is reflected in the proposal of the committee that the only method of linking up the various indigenous banking institutions of extending the banking facilities in the country and of meeting its banking requirements is by the establishment of a Reserve Bank. They have accordingly recommended the immediate establishment of such an institution with capital provided by the state and under Indian control, but free from the interference of the Executive or the Legislature in its day-to-day administration. Though there may be difference of opinion as

to whether the Reserve Bank should be a state bank or a shareholder's bank, the overwhelming majority will be found to favour the former mode of constituting it ; and the foreign banking experts also have expressed the opinion that a Reserve Bank can function on sound lines whether it is formed as a state bank or a shareholder's bank provided it is kept free from interference by the Government in its ordinary administration. The functions of the Reserve Bank should be all-embracing in character, in its relationship to the banking system of the country; for while on the one hand it has to act as a bankers' bank co-ordinating the various banking institutions both private and joint stock, both indigenous and foreign, bringing them under a centralized control, it has on the other hand to look after the Government remittances in which it will function through the agency of the Exchange Bank, to take charge of the Government balances and act as the agent of the Government in the management and direction of the currency policy. The Reserve Bank should also make arrangements for safeguarding the interests of agriculturists by offering special facilities for the rediscounting of agricultural bills and by making advances on the security of agricultural produce.

While on the question of the Reserve Bank it is necessary to refer to another institution which plays a very important but unofficial part in the banking organization of the country and the proper mobilisation of which is essential for the economic progress of the country, viz., the institution of the indigenous bankers. The indigenous banker has hitherto occupied an extra-legal position in India, without however the responsibilities attaching to the practice of his profession, and with no legal status other than that which he has carved out for himself by the part he plays in the credit structure of the country. Mr. Ramdoss Pantulu, one of the members of the Central Banking Committee, writes as follows in a separate minute on indigenous bankers : " I have from the outset of the enquiry felt that something could be done to confer on the indigenous banker, who carries on pure

banking business, the legal status of a banker *quod*-banker with the privileges and responsibilities affecting to such status. I can see no difficulty from a legal or banking standpoint to bring family partnerships of indigenous bankers as well as individual bankers with requisite resources within the scope of the Bank Act recommended by the Committee. It should not be difficult to fix standards of eligibility for registration as bankers and frame a set of banking regulations which are suitable to the peculiar conditions of such partnerships and bankers... Transform the private banker into an indigenous banker functioning under the law governing banks and bankers in this land, create a recognized field for indigenous banking as an honourable profession and make it an integral part of the country's banking system. That should be part of our plan to build up our modern banking structure on indigenous foundations and to supplement the joint-stock and co-operative effort in the banking sphere." What is needed and needed urgently is not the elimination of the indigenous banker by any means but his preservation and the devising of measures to enable him to fit himself into his proper place in the banking organization of the country. In the financing of the internal trade of the land and in providing credit to the agriculturists for their long-term agricultural needs, the private money-lender, who may in many instances be identified with the indigenous banker plays a rôle which cannot be expected to be adequately filled for a long time to come, by any substituted institution, if it is allowed to continue in its present condition of unregulated privilege and irresponsibility.. The specific recommendations of the committee regarding indigenous bankers are highly commendable and deserve to be acted upon at the earliest possible moment, for they state that "all such indigenous bankers as are engaged in banking proper or are prepared to shed their business other than banking, should be eligible to be placed upon the approved list of the Reserve Bank in the same manner as joint-stock banks" and that "such indigenous bankers should also agree to have proper books of

accounts kept in the usual manner and to have them audited annually by recognized auditors." They further recommend that "institutions receiving rediscount facilities from the Reserve Bank should not charge the public rates which in the opinion of the Reserve Bank, are unduly high." The most fundamental thing in regard to these indigenous bankers which necessitate their being brought within the sphere of the regularized banking system is that they charge rates, both of discount and interest, which in so far as they are unsupportably heavy necessitate steps being taken to make them conform to the standard rate fixed by the central banks; and the recommendations of the Banking Committee quoted here adequately meet that contingency and are calculated to remedy the defect. There is one last point which has to be noted before concluding this discussion and that is that it will not do, as the Committee apparently think it would, to allow the indigenous bankers freedom to come into the banking system on their own initiative; they must, if necessary, be constrained to do so by pressure of legislation.

Banks and Industrial Financing.

As has been stated already, the two outstanding problems connected with banking development are those which relate to the financing of Indian agriculture and Indian industry, in regard to both of which the need is for the provision of facilities for long-term credit. While it is true that the Joint-Stock Banks in the case of industries and the Co-operative Societies in the case of agriculture are the most suitable and appropriate agencies for providing credit facilities, it is also equally true that these two categories of institutions cannot by the very nature of their work and opportunities give credit on a long-term basis. The special agencies therefore that have to finance the agricultural industry are Land Mortgage Banks and those that have to finance the manufacturing industries are Industrial Banks or Corporations specially set up for the purpose, and it is these

institutions that have to be established on a wide scale in the country.

Taking first the consideration of industrial financing we find that the majority of the Banking Enquiry Committee have recommended that "if Provincial Governments in the discharge of their responsibilities for the development of industries within their territories, find it necessary to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns, Provincial Industrial Corporations with branches if necessary should be established." Mr. Manu Subedar, one of the members of the Committee, has on the other hand recommended the immediate establishment of an All-India Industrial Bank with branches in the provinces; but if one bears in mind the experience of the Tata Industrial Bank and the unsuccessful career of some of the European Continental Banks designed solely to finance industrial undertakings one feels apprehensive regarding the success that may attend the working of such an institution in India. For instance the Central Bank of German industry founded in 1928 by different German State and private Banks for advancing long-term loans to industrial undertakings against mortgage is now in liquidation. At the same time, a significant change in the contrary direction has been evolving in England in which the pre-war banking practice had always been antagonistic to the principle of Banks accommodating industrial enterprises with long-term assistance, notwithstanding the fact that in orthodox financial and banking circles even in that country the traditional practice of aloofness from the business of industrial financing still persists to a certain extent. It is however even more significant of the change that is coming over England's outlook in the matter that even the Bank of England, the citadel of orthodoxy in the Banking organization of England, has now come to realise the essential imperativeness of a departure from its time-honoured practices, as witness the way in which the Governor of the Bank of England has taken the initiative in promoting the scheme known as the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, an ambitious project for the reorganization

of the American section of the Lancashire Cotton Industry. But in spite of the slow transformation that has been noticeable in England, and in spite of the widely prevalent practice on the European Continent for Banks to provide long-term credit facilities to industries, we in India have to move cautiously in the matter, a point of view which justifies to a certain extent the opinion of the Foreign Experts attached to the Banking Enquiry Committee who, as has already been noted, refused to support the ideal of starting an Institution or institutions for the sole purpose of financing Indian industrial development.

Even so, however, the scheme of Provincial Industrial Corporations recommended by the Committee stands on a different footing and deserves careful consideration, so that, if after experience of their working, it is discovered that they function satisfactorily they could then be linked into an All-India Industrial Corporation. The local Joint Stock Banks and other financing institutions might be enrolled as share holders of the Corporations, though according to the recommendations of the Committee, the Provincial Governments are to bear the main burden of running these institutions.

The German method of financing industries, which is the best organized and the most efficient now in existence, gives us many points as to how to proceed in this matter. In that country, the bigger banks do not supply long-term credit from their capital resources or from their short-term deposit amounts as that might lead to a locking-up of their financial assets and interfere with the discharge of their obligations in respect of their ordinary day-to-day banking business. But they issue debentures and take in long-term deposits, the former being saleable in the market as securities and the latter payable in two or three years; and it is the capital thus secured that is utilized to finance the economic development and industrial expansion of the country. It is invariably the practice for banks financing industrial undertakings to have a hand, either direct or indirect in the organization and management of the

businesses they assist by having one of their own directorate as a member of the supervisory boards of the latter or by acquiring considerable voting rights in them by holding a large number of their shares. This "interlocking of directorates" is a valuable bond binding together the banks and the industrial enterprises and gives the former a controlling influence over the working of the latter. The practice obtaining in Germany can be followed with advantage in India too and to ensure its successful working the first requisite is that the Provincial Governments which are to finance the Industrial corporations referred to above should have direct representation on the Board of Directors of the corporations and secondly the corporations' control over the Industries they finance should be ensured by their being represented in their turn on the directorates of the industries. The Central Committee's detailed recommendations in this connection are comprehensive and run along the lines outlined above, besides pointing out the direction which legislation should take to give effect to them. The fundamental points to bear in mind in this connection are firstly that India stands in need of a policy of rapid development of industries, secondly that to carry that policy to a successful consummation state aid is absolutely essential and reliance could not be placed upon private initiative alone; and lastly that any measure adopted must conform to these two vital requirements.

Financing of Agricultural Requirements.

The Central Committee's recommendations regarding provision of facilities for financing agriculture are particularly wide and all-embracing and accord mostly with the suggestions adumbrated ever so many times by Indian economists and statesmen for relieving the agriculturists of their indebtedness which according to the Banking Committee's Report is stated to be £675,000,000 and for putting them on a secure basis as regards the availability of funds to defray expenditure on permanent

improvements of land. The unconscionably high rates of interest charged by the local money-lenders which, according to the Agricultural and the Labour Commissions, are sometimes as high as 150%, tend to ruin the peasant and reduce him to pauperism within a short time, while the Co-operative Societies in the rural areas work with such limited resources that they can hardly be expected to compete with and much less to eliminate the money-lenders. The ordinary Co-operative Credit Society will therefore have to be allowed necessarily to confine itself to the dispensing of short-term and intermediate credit, and to provide long-term credit Land Mortgage Banks will have to be established. Many useful recommendations have been made by the Committee to serve as the basis for re-organizing the Co-operative Credit Societies as well as the Land Mortgage Banks so as to transform them into effective instruments for levelling up the financial and economic position of the Agriculturists. And though it is unnecessary to quote them *in extenso*, some of the more outstanding may be drawn attention to, so as to focus public opinion upon them. First as regards the Societies, the Committee declare that if a Society charges its members a higher rate than 12% per annum, it should form the subject of investigation by the Provincial Government and steps should be taken to reduce the rate of interest. Another recommendation which deserves notice is that which imposes an obligation upon the state to give temporary aid to co-operative societies in exceptional circumstances to tide over a financial crisis especially when the aid is necessitated by the requirements of the development of the agricultural industry, while a third one which also is important is that "in order to ensure the supply of cheap and adequate credit to agriculture, certain provisions should be made in the Reserve Bank Act for linking up the Co-operative Banks with the Central Bank of the country.

With regard to Land Mortgage Banks the committee suggest that—(1) No money should be advanced by Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks which is not economically profitable to the

borrower and loans should be devoted to the principal objects specified. (2) The amount and period of each loan should be fixed with due regard to the repaying capacity of the borrower and also the purpose for which the money is advanced. Loans might be granted for a stated purpose and for the period the maximum period should be 20 years. With sound management the Bank should be able to extend the period to 30 years, if necessary. (3) Until more experience is gained the amount of an individual loan should be limited to a maximum of Rs. 5,000 and in no case should the amount of the loan exceed 50 per cent. of the mortgaged property, and (4) the repayment of loans should be by a system of equated payments, but if local conditions permit, a system of graduated payments may be adopted."

If we consider the practice followed in other countries in this matter of according long-term credit to agriculture we find that what the Land Mortgage Banks are expected to do in India is being performed by the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation in England by the Credit Foncier de France in France and by the Federal Land Banks in the U. S. A. As in the matter of financing of industries, so also here, the English traditional opinion was against Government actively participating in the financing of agriculture ; but the adverse circumstances which confronted agriculture in Britain in the post-war era desiderated the adumbration of a scheme for removing those difficulties. Mr. R. R. Enfield was put in charge of a Committee of the Department of Agriculture to investigate the problem which produced a report consummating ultimately in the passing of the Agriculturists Credit Act of 1928, under the provisions of which was created the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation referred to above. Ten leading Banking Houses of England including the Bank of England, Barclay's Banks, Lloyd's Bank and the Westminster Bank, have purchased shares in the Corporation while the Government have advanced to it monies to the extent of £650,000 besides paying £10,000 per year for ten years towards the cost of the administration. The interests of the State in the

Agricultural Mortgage Corporation while its loans are outstanding is guaranteed by the appointment of a nominee of the Treasury as one of its Directors and by the provision that no alteration in the Memorandum of Association of the Corporation should be made without the consent of the Ministry of Agriculture. It obtains its funds, in addition to what is got by the purchase of shares and by the loan from the Government, by the sale of debentures which are guaranteed by the State and are made Trustee securities. The debentures are to be redeemed by a cumulative sinking fund and the intention of the Corporation is expressed in the Preamble to the Act as "being the lending of sums to agriculturists at rates of interest not higher than those required by its expenditure." In other words, the success of the Corporation is not to be judged by the profits which it distributes to its shareholding banks but by the amount of the advances which it makes at low rates of interest to agricultural holders. Any surplus profit left over after paying the dividend of 5 per cent. to the shareholders will be utilized in making further loans on terms most favourable to the borrowers and in reducing the interest rates on existing loans, while loans may be made on good security up to a period of 60 years.

This rather long reference to the working of the English Land Mortgage Corporation and the methods of financing agriculture in England is made with a view to indicating the lines on which Land Mortgage Banks in India might work. The recommendations of the Central Banking Committee are in consonance, for the most part, with the methods pursued in England and wherever they are not so, they may be suitably modified. In this connection, two points need to be emphasized, first that the part which the Governments and the bigger banks have been playing hitherto in India to finance agriculture is very meagre and secondly that no attempt has been made to establish a Central Land Mortgage Bank for the whole country, and it is imperative that methods of improvement in both these respects will have to be carefully and seriously considered in the near

future. Besides this, the following other reforms for improving the credit position of the agriculturists are also urgently required : (1) The proper and more liberal distribution of Takkavi loans by Government and loans under the Land Improvement Loans Act. (2) The limitation of the rates of interest chargeable by local money-lenders to a fixed maximum percentage, say 12 per cent. per annum, and the prevention of evasion of this provision by severely penalizing all defaulters. For this purpose the stricter interpretation and the administration of the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 and the adoption of legislation of the type of the Punjab Regulation of Account Act of 1930 by other Provincial Governments.

Before closing this discussion on the question of agricultural financing one last point remains to be touched upon, and that relates to the methods of agricultural improvement about which the Royal Commission on Agriculture made very commendable suggestions. The adoption of those suggestions will directly lead to the social, moral and material uplift of the agriculturists and make them better farmers than they have been till now and this uplift can be canvassed and exploited for improving their economic position. The propagation of rural education will result for example in the appreciation of the ideals of a better and hopeful life and in the promotion of habits of thrift and saving, and these habits in their turn can be organized into potential economic assets by the improvement of facilities for investment. Thus a general advancement of banking facilities will be called for and have to be provided, a work which again demands the initiative on the part of the Reserve Bank and the Government. Finally the constant and continuous study of the agricultural and industrial needs of the country should be undertaken by the Governments concerned by the establishment of bodies like the Economic Advisory Councils recommended by Sir Arthur Salter, Head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations Secretariate, and in a modified form by the Banking Enquiry Committee.

Banking Education.

If banking facilities in India are to be extended as it is stipulated they must be and if the banking institutions are to work successfully it is necessary to assure ourselves of a regular and adequate supply of properly trained men to man and run them on approved lines. To this end, there must be an increase in the provision for banking education in the Indian Universities, the co-operation of the Indian Institute of Bankers being sought to make it more consistent with the practical requirements of the Indian Banks and to give those studying for Commerce Degrees special opportunities for coming into contact with those who are in the practical field of banking by being afforded opportunities of listening to lectures on banking subjects from them and in other ways. Similarly, the committee recommend the formation of an All-India Bankers' Association to serve as a forum for the discussion of matters of common interest to banks and bankers and in which all Banking Corporations including indigenous bankers who enjoy rediscount facilities from the Reserve Bank should be entitled to full membership.

Conclusion.

Before concluding this already long review of the banking problems of India with special reference to the Report of the Banking Enquiry Committee, it has to be stated that there are several other matters relating to Indian Banking progress traversed by the Committee which it is not possible to discuss here owing to exigencies of space. The committee for example devote considerable attention to the problem of marketing and the movement of crops; and though only the financial aspects of the question concern them, they feel that improvement in other directions is essential in order to establish orderly marketing in India. In this connection they support the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission for the improvement of transport facilities the adjustment and lowering of Railway freight charges, the establishment of regulated markets, the

standardization of weights and measures, the provision of licensed warehouses and lastly the co-ordination of the activities of the Provincial Marketing Boards through the agency of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

In other matters also the committee's recommendations, as has already been seen, are highly progressive. We have in the course of the article observed the various improvements recommended by the committee to ameliorate the position of the agriculturists who form a vast bulk of the Indian population and to relieve them of the octopus grip of indebtedness, and the enforcement of compulsory settlement of the standing agricultural debts by means of legislative enactment if necessary and whenever it is found by Government that a voluntary scheme of debt-conciliation is not taken up with favour by the money-lenders is not the least useful or beneficial of the methods to be tried in this connection. The committee are, it may be stated, not also against the establishment of an All-India Industrial Corporation for financing large-scale industrial concerns whenever its need is established to the satisfaction of the Indian Legislature.

One last feature which deserves mention and on the appreciation of which the Committee are to be congratulated is that they have been able to visualize the early establishment of a fully responsible Central Government and an equally fully responsible system of Government in the provinces. They have, as they point out in their introductory remarks, based all their recommendations on this fundamental assumption. This point is important in so far as it amounts to imposing a moral obligation and responsibility on the future Government of India to implement as many of the recommendations of the committee at as early a date as possible after its establishment; and while it is to be expected that steps will be taken even by the present Government to put into practice some of the more outstanding suggestions made, it is to be hoped at the same time that the future Government will discharge their duty in the regard fully and wholly.

POEMS

LOVE AND DUTY.

I

O Duty stern, O joyous Love
Shall never cease your game ?
When one goes up, then other goes down
One's ash is other's flame,
O, end this game within and out
This see-saw has no worth,
It wrings the flesh, it burns the heart
Embrace to give Peace birth.

II

I bend my head, I lend my ear
The song unsound of Love to hear.

III

I'm Love at watch within thy heart
I'm Duty in thy mind
Impede not thou my joyous flow
O'er thee and all thy kiss.

IV

If thou with thee construct a dyke
To kill my gentle flow
I leap in flood, called Duty stern
For Peace serene to grow,
I find myself of Love the bier
I love sweet Love as Duty dear.

2

FAME AND LOVE.

O, what in me with pride I prize
 With silent claim for praise
From Thee are stolen. To hide thy name
 I'm lost in faithless image.
In silence if men pass me by
 Unlift admiring eye
I burn in fire of hate, contempt
 And sparks of ill-will fly.

II

By love forsaken what is life ?
The countless blades of poison-knife.

III

O, I pretend to have no care
 For praise of man or blame
I build and build a secret stair
 To glory-mount my name
 O, let me, let me die
To life's bewitching lie
Let me live or die in Thee
In love-sweet ecstasy.

THE INDUSTRIAL BANK OF JAPAN

The question of "Industrial Banks" has engaged the attention of the leading economists of our country, ever since the Industrial Commission recommended their establishment for the development of Indian industries. Some of them seem to have been carried away by the splendid results achieved by the German banks in the field of economic progress and have wanted in India banks modelled on their lines. Others believe that the methods of the German credit banks cannot be adapted to Indian conditions. The conditions of India, they think, are greatly similar to those of Japan. Hence they are of opinion that an institution closely following the lines of the Industrial Bank of Japan should be established to develop the industries of the country. In a recent paper Dr. J. C. Sinha has remarked that the best course for us will be to start an institution mainly on the lines of the Industrial Bank of Japan.¹

There seems to be a great deal of misconception as to the activities of the Industrial Bank of Japan with regard to industrial matters. Ideas are also widely current that the proud edifice of Japan's industrial progress was mainly built up by the Bank. In the present paper an attempt has been made to throw some light on the activities and working of this much talked-of institution. Incidentally, we shall investigate how far the bank has been responsible for the economic advance of the country and how far its working has been attended with success. It may also be necessary to destroy some prevalent illusions as regards the achievements of the Bank in the field of the country's industrial progress. The background of the paper has been

¹ See his paper on "Industrial Banking in India" in the "Indian Journal of Economics" Conference Number, 1931, p. 294.

gleaned from authoritative sources, as far as practicable. It is difficult to get access to much of the requisite material, for it is not available in the English language. The Consul for Japan very kindly furnished me with some valuable material obtained from authentic sources. In some cases information was sent for direct from the Head Office in Japan and in others certain things were translated into English from the original Japanese for my special benefit. My grateful thanks are due to him for all the trouble he has taken on my account.

II

The National banks were established in Japan in 1873 in pursuance of the National Bank regulations of 1872 which were closely patterned after the American system. A law passed in 1896 provided for the abolition of these national banks; and between 1896 and 1899 the 153 national banks scattered in various important cities were abolished and re-organised as ordinary banks. At the same time numerous ordinary banks were newly opened throughout the country. Though these were commercial in form and denomination, most of them were practically agricultural organs and were engaged in advancing money to the farmers on mortgages consisting of immovable property.

Prince Matsukata is the father of the present Japanese banking system.* He enunciated the principle that distinct groups of banks should be established to fulfil different functions. Accordingly, after founding a central bank and an exchange bank, he turned his attention to the starting of banking institutions to facilitate the grant of long-term loans to industry and agriculture. The industrial development of the country had not proceeded very far by the time of the Sino-Japanese War. But the victory over the Chinese gave a powerful stimulus to the economic life of the country. New enterprises came rapidly into existence and there arose on the part of their projectors a

great demand for long-term financial assistance. It was beyond the province of the ordinary deposit banks to render such assistance. There was also at the time no large investing public in Japan. The conservative people were reluctant to invest their savings in industry and preferred to invest in land even though the rate of return might be lower in the latter. To satisfy this new demand for long-term industrial capital, the Industrial Bank was established, modelled on the lines of the French 'credit mobilier.'

The Government enacted the law of the Japan Industrial Bank in 1900 and the Bank began business in April, 1902. It is a Joint Stock Company and its capital was at first 10 million yen. By a revision in the Law of the Industrial Bank in 1906, the capital was raised to 17,500,000 yen, which could be increased with the approval of the Government.¹ The capital was subsequently increased to 30,000,000 yen in 1917 and again to 50,000,000 yen in 1919. The capital was fully paid up in 1922.² The Government of Japan does not participate in the capital of the Bank but it lends to the Bank enormous funds at a moderate rate of interest out of the resources of the Deposits Bureau, the great repository for public funds. There is one peculiar characteristic of the Industrial Bank which distinguishes it from the other public institutions. Early in the history of the Industrial Bank, a considerable portion of its shares came to be held by foreigners.³ According to the Japan Year Book, 1924-1925, foreigners owned 7,500,000 yen of the Bank's capital.⁴

The Bank was established under Government control with a fifty-year charter, the renewal of the charter being at the

¹ Art. 2.

² The shares of the Industrial Bank have a par value of 50 yen. Prices have been declining since 1922. From 1918 to 1927 they ranged from 94 yen (1920) to 30.40 yen (1927). The Imperial Household Department held 22,725 shares in 1929.

³ See National Monetary Commission, 1910—Banking System of Japan, pp. 137 and pp. 156-57.

⁴ Japan Year Book, 1924-25, p. 455.

option of the Government. The President and the Vice-President are appointed by the Government from among share-holders owning more than 200 shares in the Bank. Their term of office is fixed at 5 years. The Directors are appointed by the Government from among the candidates who hold more than 100 shares in the Bank, elected at the General Meeting of the share-holders. The number of the candidates which the meeting recommends is twice the number of necessary Directors. Their tenure of office is fixed at 3 years.¹

The business of the Industrial Bank is as follows :—

(1) To make loans on the security of national bonds, prefectural or municipal loan bonds and companies' debentures and shares.

(2) To subscribe for and under write the issue of national and local bonds and companies' debentures.

(3) To receive deposits of money and accept articles of value for custody (the Bank receives deposits on fixed, current and special current account).

(4) To engage in trust business for mortgage debentures.

(5) To discount bills.

(6) To buy and sell clean and documentary bills of exchange.

(7) To make loans on security of mortgages created by virtue of special loans.

(8) To make *on mortgages of ships or ships under construction loans which shall be redeemable by annual instalments within a period not exceeding 15 years or a fixed term of not more than 5 years.² (Added by law No. 26, March, 1918.)

(9) To make loans on shipbuilding materials or equipments.

(10) To subscribe for or under write shares of companies approved by the Minister of State for Finance.

¹ Art. VII.

² According to Bye-Law, Art. 39 (3), ships accepted by the Bank as subjects of mortgages shall be only those which reckoning from the date of launching will be less than 25 years old at the date of payment of the last instalment of redemption and shall be covered by insurance.

(11) To float or subscribe for national loan bonds, prefectural and municipal bonds and companies' shares and debentures and to receive payments for the same and to effect the payment of principal and interest or dividends on the above.

(12) To make call loans or loans for a fixed term on security of sites and buildings belonging to factories or of residential land or buildings lying in localities where the City Planning Act is in force, provided that the total amount of such loans shall not exceed one-third¹ the amount of the Bank's paid-up capital.²

The mortgages accepted by the Bank shall be first mortgages, but this does not apply, if they may be converted into first mortgages in course of redeeming an old loan with a new loan furnished by the Bank or if additional mortgages are furnished to the Bank.³

To raise funds for the various operations enumerated above, the Industrial Bank was empowered to issue debentures not exceeding 10 times the paid-up capital. Such debentures including external and internal, it has been laid down, should not exceed the aggregate of the outstanding bank loans, discounted bills, national loan bonds, prefectural and municipal loan bonds, debentures and shares of companies owned and the gold and silver held by the Bank.⁴ (As amended by Law No. 49, 1905, and Law No. 28 March, 1911.) But the Bank may issue debentures in excess of the above limit with the permission of the Minister of State for Finance in the event of supplying capital to public utility undertakings abroad.

It was laid down that the Bank should put aside at the end of each business year 8% or more of its net profit as a reserve for making up any deficit in its capital and 2% or more of the said net profit to maintain an even rate of dividends.⁵

¹ Bye-Laws of the Bank (1930) put it at two-thirds.

² Financial and Economic Annual of Japan 1930, pp. 176-177.

³ Art. 39 (2).

⁴ Art. 12.

⁵ Art. 17.

The Bank was established under Government control and with Government subsidy. It was put under the direct superintendence of the Finance Minister who was to appoint a Comptroller to supervise the business management of the Bank.¹ As regards subsidy, the Government undertook to guarantee a 5% return on the Bank's shares for the first five years, provided the amount of the subsidy did not exceed 5% of the paid-up capital.

III

In the beginning the Industrial Bank was chiefly interested in the heavy industries. The shipping, iron and steel, engineering and chemical industries used to receive long-term advances from the Bank. The cotton industry, it will be noticed, is absent from this list and the remarkable progress of that industry owes nothing to the assistance from the Bank. The industry is controlled by powerful firms whose extraordinary financial strength renders them absolutely independent of Government banks. A considerable portion of the Bank's advances was made to the newly established and weaker industries in which the Government was keenly interested. Thus the Bank was closely associated with the shipbuilding industry of the country. The Government liberally helped the industry through it. The Kawasaki Shipbuilding Company, the Kokusai Steamship Company and other concerns received a considerable amount of financial assistance from the Bank. During the War, when the shipbuilding industry was on the highest wave of prosperity the Bank, along with the ordinary banks, invested heavily in the industry. But during the slump that followed in the wake of the boom, a large portion of the Bank's advances on security of ships became unrealizable, many shipping companies being unable to pay interest on their loans. Hence the Bank was compelled to discontinue its policy of making advances to shipping

¹ Art 19-24.

Art 26.

companies for several years. It was only in 1929 that the Bank was reported to resume the activity. A sum of 2,800,000 yen was advanced on the security of seven medium-sized vessels. The advances were for less than 15 years and bore interest at 8 or

The annual reports of the Bank show that it has rendered financial assistance to numerous public utility companies and important industrial enterprises such as (1) railways, (2) electric power, (3) paper, sugar and cement manufacturing, (4) water power and (5) motor bus concerns. The specific companies which received assistance from the Bank in recent years are the following :²—

1. The South Manchurian Railway
2. Ina Electric Company
3. Formosa Electric Power Company
4. Ibigawa Electrical Company.
5. Morioko Electric Light Company
6. Shinano Electric Company
7. Komatsu Electric Company
8. Tobu Electric Power Company
9. Ujigawa Electric Company.³
10. Fuji Paper Manufacturing Company.
11. Iwaki Cement Company.
12. Teikok Sugar Manufacturing Company.
13. Hakusan Water Power Company.
14. Tokio Rope Manufacturing Company.
15. Japan Fertilizer Company.
16. City of Tokio Motorbus Enterprise.
- 17, Nipon Yasuen Kaisha.

¹ Japan Advertiser, May, 1929.

² Herbert M. Bratter, Japanese Banking. U. S. Dept. of Commerce (1931), Trade Promotion Series No. 116.

³ The Industrial Bank helped it in the flotation of a 14 million dollar loan in the United States.

During the industrial crisis of 1930, the Industrial Bank generously came to the rescue of several big industrial companies who were in dire straits. Some of the most important industrial concerns were in great difficulties to meet not only their working expenses but also debentures and finance bills placed in the market which were due for repayment. When prices were rapidly falling and the market for securities was suffering a severe collapse, the ordinary banks naturally hesitated to finance the business concerns who were in such a plight. The Industrial Bank, with the tacit approval of the Minister of Finance and also of the Governor of the Bank of Japan, undertook to finance these companies and actually advanced them a lump sum of 70,000,000 yen.¹

IV

The special technical department of the Bank carries on very stringent investigations into its industrial undertakings, and loans are granted on the advice of that department. This technical department, we must hasten to point out, is not however, so highly organized as that of the German banks or the investment houses of America. In the former years, we have already seen, the policy of the Bank was to extend assistance mainly to the large industries. An application for a loan on their part was judged not so much on the merits of the security offered but by the potentialities of the industry in question and the business reports of the applying company. During the panic of 1927, the Bank found that it had to make readjustments in connection with large amounts of its advances and had to take over land and buildings worth half in value of what it had actually loaned.² Since that time, the Bank has considerably revised its loan policy. More attention is now

¹ The Times Trade and Eng. Supplement. Banking No, June 27, 1931, p. 27.

² Land and buildings valued at 1,250,000 yen were taken over by the Bank in 1928 in connection with a loan of 2,600,000 yen to Takata Shokai.

directed to security values. Besides, assistance is no longer confined to the larger industries only. Ever since the earthquake of 1923 the Government has followed the policy of extending financial assistance to small borrowers through the industrial bank. The difficulties of the smaller and medium-sized industries in securing financial accommodation have been engaging increasing attention from the Bank. In recent years, specially after the crisis of 1927, the Bank has adopted an active policy of assistance to such concerns; and its loans to such borrowers have been rapidly expanding. In the half-year ending December, 31, 1927, the Bank advanced 12,390,000 yen to smaller industries out of a total loan of 307,794,000 yen.¹ President Suzuki stated in the 54th Report of the Bank that in 1928 the Bank advanced 28,487,000 yen (in 1,764 accounts) to these out of a total loan balance of 323,824,000 yen at the end of the term.² In 1929 the Japan Advertiser reported that small and medium-sized industries received 35,972,000 yen (in 2,882 accounts).³ These advances were given on the security of factories, machineries and real estate. We give below a list of small industries which have received financial assistance from the Bank⁴:—

Small industries.		Total advances.	No. of accounts.
1. Machinery Manufacturing	...	6·0	217
2. Chemicals	...	4·9	299
3. Saw Milling	...	4·7	217
4. Printing and Book-binding	...	4·3	289
5. Spinning and Weaving	...	4·0	401
6. Foodstuffs	...	3·7	319

¹ Fifty-second Report of the Industrial Bank, pp. 5-6.

² Fifty fourth Report of the Industrial Bank, p.

³ Japan Advertiser, December 29, 1929.

⁴ H. M. Bratter, *Japanese Banking*, *op. cit.*, p. 181. The Industrial Bank maintains a separate account entitled "Special fund for petty merchants and manufacturers."

The Deposits Bureau of the Government decided after the panic of 1927 to loan 50 million yen to small borrowers through the Industrial Bank, the Hypothec Bank and the Co-operative Societies Central Bank. The rate of interest for these loans was 5 to 6½ and the maximum was limited to 3,000 yen. It was further reported in 1930 that the Industrial Bank was extending its branches in the rural districts and was considering the reduction of the minimum loan from 300 to 200 yen.¹ This policy of the Bank towards the smaller industries stands in marked contrast with that of the big credit banks of Germany. The latter have done very little for the German craftsmen and small manufacturers. Indeed their neglect of such types of industry has made them open to the criticism of favouring the annihilation of smaller enterprises in the interests of the greater monopolies. The assistance rendered by the Japan Industrial Bank to small industries after the earthquake and the crisis of 1927 has been very great. Emergency loans with a special lower rate of interest advanced by the Bank did much to rehabilitate the devastated areas. In view of all this, the information given by the foreign experts to the Indian Central Banking Committee that the Bank does not try to finance small industries is clearly incorrect.²

V

Let us now turn to the question of the resources of the Bank. Where does it get its volume of loanable funds? It depends for its loanable funds chiefly on the issue of debentures. The laws of incorporation empower the bank to raise its funds by issuing debentures up to 10 times its paid-up capital. It issues its own debentures both at home and abroad. As regards its loans floated in foreign countries, the Government guarantees

¹ Japan Advertiser, June 8, 1930.

² Report of the Foreign Experts, Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, p. 638 (Vol. I, Part I).

the capital redemption and interest payment of such debentures, whenever the occasion requires such a step.¹

The Bank issues not only its own external and internal debentures but also lends its assistance in the flotation of loans for Japanese industrial companies and for local bodies as well as on behalf of the Government both in the home and foreign markets. As regards its issue of foreign loans, it is evident that the bank was designed to introduce foreign capital into the country. Its first external loan was an issue of £2,000,000 floated in England and France in 1908 at 97.² During the first eleven years of the Bank's existence as much as 350 million yen (£35,000,000) was raised abroad for financing Japanese enterprises.³ This sum included :

50 million yen raised for Government

140 " " " " Municipalities for public works

185 " " " " South Manchurian Railway.

As further instances of loan issues in foreign markets for industrial companies and on behalf of local bodies we may mention the issue of sterling debentures in London of the South Manchurian Railway of 1907, 1908 and 1911⁴ and the issues of a £6,000,000 loan in London for the City of Tokio, of a \$22,000,000 loan in New York at 99½ to mature in 1927 and of a \$19,740,000 loan in New York for the City of Yokohama.⁵ The total amount of external debentures issued by the Bank still outstanding was 10,129,000 yen in 1928.⁶ The issue of own debentures of the Industrial Bank has been increasing from

¹ Source, The Consul of Japan.

² Twenty-fourth Semi-annual "Table of Bonds and Debentures compiled by the Industrial Bank."

³ G. C. Allen, *Modern Japan and its Problems*, p. 166.

⁴ *Financial and Economic Annual of Japan* 1928 pp. 50-51

⁵ *Financial and Economic Monthly*, February 1927, p. 19.

⁶ Bank of Japan's "Economic Statistics of Japan," 1928, p. 62. The External debentures outstanding (in millions of Yen) : 1923—10, 1924—54, 1925—54, 1926—54, 1927—10,

1905 towards the close of the last Great War. The highest point was reached in 1923, the year of the Earthquake. The enormous funds thus obtained by the Bank were utilised in restoring the vast areas devastated by the earthquake. We give below a list of the annual debentures issues of the Bank as well as the total amount outstanding at the end of each year.¹

Year.	Debentures issued.	Outstanding.
1905	1,000,000	...
1910	10,162,000	36,718,000
1914	5,000,000	56,889,460
1919	35,000,000	232,810,000
1920	35,000,000	307,000,000
1921	107,000,000	361,000,000
1922	34,000,000	289,000,000
1923	125,000,000	308,000,000
1924	120,600,000	322,000,000
1925	59,200,000	286,000,000
1926	36,600,000	271,000,000
1927	69,000,000	248,000,000
1928	89,000,000	273,000,000

VI

In the matter of underwriting and floating debentures, the Bank sometimes acts alone and sometimes in close co-operation with other banks. The formation of banking syndicates in underwriting operations is reminiscent of the practice of the German banks. But the banking syndicates of Japan are not so perfectly organized as their German rivals. There are at

¹ The Financial and Economic Annual of Japan (1915-1928). Also Economic Statistics of Japan, pp. 60 and 18-19.

present about fifteen banks¹ including the Industrial Bank, the Bank of Japan and the "Big Five," which usually act in close association for the floating of national, municipal and industrial securities. The Industrial Bank underwrote, among others, the following loans alone in recent years :

Azumi Electric Company second debentures 1 Million Yen
 Seibn Railway Company second debentures 8½ Million Yen
 Seibn Railway Company third debentures 3 Million Yen

The Syndicate operations of the Bank have been numerous. It has underwritten and floated a large number of loans in co-operation with 5, 8, 9 and even 15 banks on behalf of municipal and national governments of Japan as well as railway and other industrial companies. Thus it formed a syndicate with 9 other banks for the issue of South Manchurian Railway debentures, with 8 others for the issue of the debentures of the Oriental Development Company and with 5 others for the issue of Tokio Municipal Loans.² We give below some of the recent underwriting operations of the Industrial Bank in Syndicates with other Banks.

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| (1) City of Tokio Water Works and Drainage 3rd loan bonds | |
| | 12,286,000 yen |
| (2) South Manchurian Railway Company 27th debentures | |
| | 50,000,000 yen |
| (3) Daido Electric Power Company 7th debentures | 19,910,000 yen |
| (4) Hakusan Hydro Electric Power Company debentures | 4,000,000 yen |
| (5) Kokusai Steamship Company 2nd debentures | 2,500,000 yen. |

VII

We have already observed that the industrial Bank played in the earlier years of its inspection an important part in the introduction of foreign capital into the country. In more recent times the Bank has been instrumental in investing Japanese

¹ Yokohama, the Bank of Chosen, Dai-ichi, Mitsui, Yasuda, Kawasaki and one hundredth, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yamaguchi, Konioko, Nagoya, Aichie, Meijie and the Industrial Bank.

² Financial and Economic Monthly of Japan, December 1922, p. 3.

capital abroad, especially in China. The Government encouraged this policy of the Bank by guaranteeing its profits on foreign investments within a limit of 100 million yen. The Bank has also been the medium through which the deposits Bureau lent enormous sums to several Chinese enterprises. For example, 7,500,000 yen were advanced to the Nanjin Railway, 9,600,000 yen to the Ton Industrial Company, 2,051,000 yen to Han Yea Ping Company, etc., such investments of the Deposits Bureau through the Bank totalling 128,000,000 yen.¹ In association with the Bank of Taiwan, Bank of Chosen and other Japanese banks, the Industrial Bank has participated in numerous loans to Chinese Governments and enterprises. Between June and September 1918, the Bank advanced a 10 million yen loan to Kirin Hweing Railway, a 30 million yen mine and forestry loan and another loan to the Kaomi-Hsuchow Shunteful Tsinantu Railway. Several million yen have also been advanced to the following development companies formed to finance Sino-Japanese industrial enterprises in China, viz., the Toa Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha, the Chuicho Jitsugyo Kabushiki Kaisha and Niku Boshaku Kabushiki Kaisha. The Bank, in addition, participated in famous "Nishihara" and other loans to the Chinese Governments.

This policy of foreign investments pursued by the Industrial Bank since the War is somewhat similar to the participations of the German Banks in loans to foreign governments and enterprises. But in the case of the Japanese Bank, there is nowhere to be found the success achieved by the German banks nor their insistence for a *quid pro quo* for the interests of their associated industrial companies at home. A considerable portion of the Bank's loans to Chinese Governments and enterprises has become "frozen" and unrealisable.

SAROJKUMAR BASU.

(To be Continued)

¹ Herbert Bratter, *Japanese Banking*, p. 182, p. 288.

O TIBETANS, O NEPALESE

I love these folk whose honest eyes
Are amber pools of mysteries ;
What though in tattered rags they hold
Communion with dirt against the cold?
A regal rank, a kingly worth
Lurks in their comradeship with earth,
And though they bear in shine and cloud
Their gaunt want like a flapping shroud,
By mind acclaims with heart and lip
The bond of spirit comradeship.

O Tibetans, O Nepalese,
Brown voyagers on cloudy seas,
I, too, have known how bleak winds sweep
From sunrise peaks of frozen sleep ;
I, too, have peered where eagles scream
Beyond the farthest crag of dream ;
I, too, have heard in cloud and shine
The unseen pinions of the divine,
And in my rags shrank to behold
God's laughter on a peak of cold.

WADA OLIVER

Reviews

The Road Back, by Erich Maria Remarque. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 1931.

When Mr. Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" was published, it was hailed as a great warbook, giving the story of the World War, as experienced by a German soldier. The book was so universal in its appeal that even the French nationalist paper, "L'Action Francaise," spoke of it "as a book which surpasses all other war books in its cruel truth"; and "Monde" thought that the book contained such lessons that "it should be distributed by the million and read in every school." A careful reader will find that Mr. Remarque's new book "The Road Back" is far superior to his first work which attracted world attention.

"The Road Back" is not a mere description of varied experience of several German soldiers who, after the World War, tried "to find a road back" to normal life; but it is a great human document good for any and all countries. It is a descriptive sociology and psychology. It is a powerful indictment of our present-day social order; yet it is written without malice, and hatred. It is a vivid picture of misery—material as well as spiritual—of men after the World War. (This misery has not disappeared.) The author, without dogmatism, but with philosophic calm presents a programme for bringing about a better social order which can be accepted by all.

As a piece of literature, it is of priceless value, because it reveals the author's wonderful ability to give gripping word-pictures of the most delicate type of human experiences of heroism, passion and idealism, as well as communion with nature. Mr. Remarque, by this work, has enriched world literature. It should be recorded that Mr. Wheen who has translated the book into English from German is also a man of rare ability. If Mr. Remarque may be compared to a great singer, Mr. Wheen is a very great and accomplished accompanist. The book should be read by all to realise the full value and no review can give an adequate idea of its greatness.

"The Road Back" opens with the picture of the last engagement of the World War, in which a group of German soldiers participated; and in

which a farmer, who survived four years of war, and who was hoping to go home to meet his wife was killed, just before the fighting ceased. Before leaving the field the thought of the departed comrades overcame the surviving ones. They left the field like haunted beasts.

One of the scenes makes us believe that there was very little vindictiveness or hatred among the common soldiers of various nations who were, under peculiar circumstances, forced to kill one another. It is the "pen-pushing Napoleons" and arm-chair patriots who spread the venom of hate among nations. Sometimes they glorify war for their personal gain.

War and revolution did not bring any real and far reaching change in Germany. There was class hatred, there was racial hatred—a glimpse of an officer hating a common soldier, because he was a Jew. There was the heart-rending and sickening scene of civil-war—the civic guards mowing down the starving strikers and supposed revolutionists by machine-gun. The heroic efforts on the part of some of the ex-soldiers to stop this barbarous tragedy are beautifully described. In the midst of all these, the author gives us a few jewels of an idealist, a champion of the poor, an ex-soldier, a Jew who became a victim of the shot fired by his own former officer.

On reaching home, the soldiers found that they could not adjust themselves even to their old home-environments. Father, mother, sister, brother even sweetheart did not have the faintest idea of the changes wrought in them in four years in battlefields and trenches. They were absolutely misunderstood! They found although the "war was over," yet as if the whole society was waging a new and terrible war on them. After the war, or as a direct effect of the war, came an era of terrible excess—selfishness and abuse of every form—which crushed them. In many cases the comradeship of the battle front, possibly the most precious thing in their life, disappeared. This became apparent in the ex-soldiers' reunion, when the rich and well-to-do soldiers and officers did not feel the comradeship for the poor and those who could not adjust themselves.

"Those others here are still our comrades and yet no longer—that is what is so sad. All else went west in the war, but comradeship we did believe in; now only to find that what death could not do, life is achieving, it is driving us asunder." (P. 200.)

While ex-service men "war-heroes" were facing starvation, their relations were busy in profiteering. Murder, suicide among the ex-soldiers, some of the finest type of youngmen, became common; because they lost their nerves. They were victims of circumstances; they failed "to find a

road back to life." The author gives graphic account of society, in its ignorance and selfishness, dealing cruelly with those who deserved such treatment the least. Through the mouth of Lieutenant Ludwig Beyer, one of the finest characters of the book, the author gives expression of disappointment of many ex-soldiers, regarding the revolution and the terrible awakening.

"Look at the way they are at one another's throats—Social Democrats, Independents, Spartacists, Communists! And in the meantime the other fellows are quietly potting off what few real brains they have among them, and they don't even see it" (p. 212).

"And why is it, Georg? Why is it? Because we were duped, I tell you, duped as even yet we hardly realize; because we were misused, hideously misused. They told us it was for the Fatherland, and meant the schemes of annexation of a greedy industry.—They told us it was for Honour and meant the quarrels and the will to power of a handful of ambitious diplomats and princes.—They told us it was for the nation, and meant the need for activity on the part of out-of-work generals!...Can't you see? They stuffed out the word Patriotism with all the Twaddle of their fine phrases, with their desire for glory, their will to power, their false romanticism, their stupidity, their greed of business, and then paraded it before us as a shining ideal! And we thought they were sounding a bugle summoning us to a new, a more strenuous, a larger life. Can't you see, man? But we were making war against ourselves without knowing it! Every shot that home, struck one of us! Can't you see? Then listen and I will bawl it into your ears. The youth of the world rose up in every land, believing that it was fighting for freedom! And in every land they were duped and misused; and in every land they were shot down, they have exterminated each other! Don't you see now? There is only one fight, the fight against the lie, the half-truth, compromise against the old order. But we let ourselves be taken in by their phrases; instead of fighting against them, we fought for them. We thought it was for the Future. It was against the Future. Our future is dead; for the youth is dead that carried it.....A generation of hope, faith, of will, strength, ability, so hypnotised that they have shot down one another, though over the whole world they all had the same purpose(even here) the war still goes on—but a dirty, low-down war—every man against his fellow (pp. 213-215).

One of the ex-soldiers, to make a living, tries many professions and at last becomes a teacher. He finds the terrible waste in the so-called education which often kills personality, vitality and life in the "frank,

unspoiled and unsuspecting youth." This teacher's meditations are singularly powerful. To quote a few passages:—

"Here I stand before you, one of the hundreds of thousands of bankrupt men in whom the war destroyed every belief and almost every strength. Here I stand before you, and see how much more alive, how much more rooted in life you are than I. I stand and must now be your teacher and guide. What should I teach you? Should I tell you that in twenty years you will be dried-up and crippled, maimed in your freest impulses, all pressed mercilessly into the selfsame mould? Should I tell you that all learning, all culture, all science is nothing but hideous mockery, so long as mankind makes war in the name of God and humanity with gas, iron, explosive and fire? What should I teach you then, you little creatures who alone have remained unspotted by the terrible years?...Should I explain to you that the books you hold in your hands are but nets with which men design to snare your simple souls, to entangle you in the undergrowth of fine phrases, and in the barbed wire of falsified ideas? I stand here before you, a polluted, a guilty man and can only implore you ever to remain as you are, never to suffer the bright light of your childhood to be misused as a blow flame of hate..." (pp. 252-254).

The seventh part of the book is simply a masterpiece. Mr. Remarque rose to the very height of his ability to meditate and to be one with nature; it gives an inkling of the philosophy of his life. Ernst (through whom the author speaks), thinking of his dead friend says:—"Ah, Ludwig! we looked for a purpose, and tripped over ourselves; we did not find it.....But it is true that we do not yet know what surrender is; we have not felt its strength. We know only power" (p. 311). Another comrade says:—

"I've had a look at most things, Ernst—Professions, Ideals, Politics—but I don't fit into the show. What does it amount to? Everywhere profiteering, suspicion, indifference, utter selfishness.....Like spiders they lurk there in their offices, their shops, their professions, each one of them ready to suck the other man dry. And then the rest hanging over each one of them—families, societies, authorities, laws, the State! One spider's web over another! True, one may call that life, if one likes, and a man may pride himself on crawling about under it his forty years and more; but I learned at the Front that time is not the measure of Life..... (p. 314).

Mr. Remarque is by no means a pessimist or a man lost in his "road back to life" through despair and lack of strength to face the terrible

conditions. He has a constructive programme. The message of this great book is to instil hope and courage, after all trials and tribulations, for the sincere but despondent who must use his best efforts—however feeble—for a better social order. He writes:—

“I look quietly and composedly out into the darkness, for I am not afraid of the past no longer...I send my thoughts back into the dug-outs and shell holes—but when they return they bring back neither fear nor horror with them, but only strength and will. I have awaited a storm that should deliver me, pluck away and now it has come softly, even without my knowledge. But it is here. While I was despairing, thinking everything lost, it was already quietly growing.....Now I know that growth also is division. And growth means relinquishing. And growth has no end. One part of my life was given over to the service of destruction; it belonged to hate, to enmity, to killing. But life remained in me. And that in itself is enough, of itself almost a purpose and a way. *I will work in myself and be ready; I will bestir my hands and my thoughts. I will not take myself very seriously nor push on when sometime I should like to be stillNot every one need be a pioneer; there is employment for feebler hands, lesser powers.* It is there I mean to look for my place. Then the dead will be silenced and the past not pursue me any more; it will assist me instead... But to-day I know that all life is perhaps only a getting ready, a ferment in the individual, in many cells, in many channels, each for himself; and if the cells and channels of a tree but take up and carry further the onward urging sap, there will emerge at the last rustling and sunlit branches—crowns of leaves and freedom. I will begin now.....It will be a road like other roads, with stones and good stretches, with places torn up, with villages and fields—a road of toil. And I shall be alone. Perhaps sometimes I shall find some one to go with me a stage of the journey,—but for all of it, probably no one...” (pp. 341-343).

Sustained by this philosophy of work and toil we all must find the road back to life. In our dreary hours of existence, we must toil for a better life and social order. This message is for us all, specially those who have lost the road of life and those who have not yet experienced the bitter experience of life. The author has a living faith in a brighter world which will be the work of the youth—the new and future generation. Will they pay heed to this message of life, peace and freedom?

TARAKNATH DAS

The Central Authority in British India (1774-1784). By A. P. Das Gupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo. pp. 12 + 368, Calcutta University.

In this volume of about 350 pages, the author discusses the relations of the Presidency of Madras with that of Bengal which after the passing of the Regulating Act became the repository of the supreme authority in India vested in the Governor-General and his Council. The genius of Clive had turned a foreign trading company into the ruling authority of a rich and populous Province like Bengal. Transformed into a ruling power the officials of the English merchant company could not easily give up their mercantile outlook and the financial difficulties of the company made the British ministry intervene in its affairs. The Regulating Act was the first notable effort of the British Ministers to give a constitution to the Empire which had almost unconsciously fallen into the hands of the English people. They created a central authority and located it in Bengal and subordinated the two other Presidencies to it. But the measure which erected this authority did not define its powers and functions and the nature of its control was laid down in the vaguest possible terms. The result was a conflict between Bengal and the two Presidencies in which not only a tradition of local independence militated against the newly created authority but also there worked a natural desire for free hand justified by the circumstances of the period. The course of this conflict pointed out the defective organisation called into existence and not until the next important Act of Parliament, in 1784 a real and workable system came into existence.

Dr. Das Gupta, whose work is divided into seven chapters devotes himself mainly upon the relations between Calcutta and Madras. He gives us a detailed account of the dealings between Warren Hastings and the Governors and Council of Madras. In each chapter, he carefully analyses the evidence for his readers and sums up judicially the case presented by either side in these disputes. All the episodes in an almost permanent struggle—namely struggle between Hastings and Rumbold, the suspension of Whitehill and the temporary supremacy of Hastings and the reaction—are all carefully described and, in each chapter, we have the author's summing up as well as critical remarks. In the concluding chapter the learned author presents a case for stronger Central authority.

We hope that this volume will be appreciated by all students of the history of British India and its early problems. The young author must be given that credit for lucidity and impartiality which he possesses and we hope that his subsequent volumes will be equally interesting and well written.

N. C. B.

Growth and Tropic Movements of Plants. By Jagadish Chunder Bose, Longmans, Green and Co. 1929, pp. 447.

The book under review forms yet another valuable addition to the contributions already made by the distinguished author to the cause of science. The study of the physiology of plants, which the rare genius of Sir J. C. Bose has turned into a deeply instructive and interesting subject, has been followed up in this treatise in his usual inimitable way. The earlier chapters contain a brief description of the highly sensitive instruments employed by Sir Jagadish in his investigations. The High Magnification Crescograph and the Balanced Crescograph, as also the Electric Probe and such other essential appliances have been explained in detail, rendering reference to previous works unnecessary, for the purpose of following the line of thought contained in the present volume.

The influence of radiant heat on the rate of growth of plants has a deep significance in tropical countries. It is certain that quantitative measurements in this interesting study have only been made possible by the invention of such sensitive instruments, which can magnify movements 10,000 times. For different plants, optimum temperatures have been worked out but the list, for obvious reasons, is still incomplete, and we must look to the band of selfless workers under the guidance of their brilliant Director for its gradual expansion in course of time.

The effect of different chemicals on the growth of plants is likely to fascinate the chemist more than anything else. It is instructive to learn that different anæsthetics like chloroform, ether, etc., act on the plant tissues in much the same way as on animals, and in many cases, enhancement which immediately follows the administration of the drug in small quantities, quickly gives place to marked set-back and even to complete paralysis, when the doses are increased. It is not difficult to draw a similar analogy from the animal kingdom and thus to establish the essential unity of Life, which, after all, is the great message Sir Jagadish has to deliver to the scientific world. The effect of electric stimulus on growth is next investigated in detail. Plants, it seems, are far more sensitive to this sort of stimulus than animals and the effect of shock of an intensity, below the range of human perception will cause quite an appreciable effect on the plants.

The effect of light on growth, quite apart from photo-synthesis, forms an absorbingly interesting study. It is pleasing to contemplate that while physical chemists, all over the world, are trying to depict the mechanism of absorption of light by plants, Sir Jagadish is working at the visible physiological effects produced by actinic energy. Work of this description

would naturally hold forth the bright prospect of fusion of knowledge derived from biological investigations on the one hand and purely physical studies on the other, to the mutual advantage of both. It has all along been Sir Jagadish's endeavour to achieve this end, and posterity will judge how far he has succeeded in effecting this happy consummation. The rest of the book is devoted to a critical study of the various factors affecting the growth of plants. The section dealing with wireless waves will be found most interesting. It will be news to many that wireless waves not only excite our receiving sets but also affect the growth of plants coming in their way. The chapter on diurnal movements of plants is of especial interest. Such movement, the author explains, is the resultant effect of a number of factors, *viz.*, heat, light, gravity, etc. The case of the well-known Praying Palm of Faridpur has been aptly discussed in detail, and the conclusion arrived at by the author seems to indicate that the movement can be wholly attributed to fluctuation of temperature of the surrounding air. The movement of the mimosa leaf next receives its due share of attention. The remaining chapters deal with the interesting subject of geotropism in its various phases and the parts played by the organs in communicating stimulus from one point to another.

It is difficult to convey an idea about the worth of a book of this type in a few lines. The name of the distinguished author and his previous publications in the subject are themselves sufficient guarantee of its high standard of excellence. Written in a lucid language, free from scientific technicalities, the book is sure to appeal to a far wider circle than the limited group of people actually engaged in scientific investigation.

S. K. M.

Inorganic Chemistry, by T. Martin Lowry. Second Edition, 1931. Macmillan and Co., Limited, pp. 1101. 23 shillings net.

The appearance of a new edition of Dr. Lowry's book on Inorganic Chemistry is particularly welcome to students of chemistry. As the author rightly observes in the Introduction, the old idea of exclusiveness of any particular branch of chemistry has been exploded in recent years, and study of inorganic chemistry no longer constitutes mere memorising of dry facts concerning properties of a number of substances and their modes of manufacture. The book under review aims at filling the gap between elementary treatises studied in English schools on the one hand and the more comprehensive volumes which are admittedly books of reference on the

other. It may be said without hesitation that the volume has admirably served the purpose which the author had set before him.

A special feature of the book is the space devoted to consideration of physico-chemical problems having a direct bearing on inorganic chemistry, and the information given under these heads is invariably complete and up-to-date. The treatment of electrolytic dissociation, structure of atoms and crystals, radio-activity, etc., to quote only a few, leaves little to be desired. Proper justice has also been done to the orthodox inorganic chemistry, and subjects like fixation of nitrogen, glass and porcelain manufacture, extraction of metals have been exhaustively treated. All these features serve to make the book extremely useful to students preparing for the B.Sc. Honours examination of our universities.

S. K. M.

Jainism in North India—800 B.C.—526 A.D. by Chimanlal J. Shah M.A., Longmans, Green & Co. 1932, 292 pages. Price £2-2s.

The present book forms No. 6 of the Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It is a detailed history of the non-Brahmanical Sect of Jainism from its origin in 800 B.C. to the end of the Gupta period (526 A.D.). The book is divided into eight chapters dealing with Jainism before Mahavira, Mahavira and his Times, Jainism in Royal families, Jainism in Kalingadesa, Mathura Inscriptions, the state of Jainism during the Gupta period, Jaina literature of the North and last of all Jaina Art in the South.

The author in his Introduction justly regrets that of all Indological studies "Jainism has been particularly unfortunate in that the little that is done for it stands in vivid contrast with the vast undone." We have had practically no serious study on Jainism besides the penetrating analysis of the Jaina Siddhānta by Weber, the observations made by Jacobi in his introductions and editions of some of the Jaina texts and Bühler's paper on the Indian Sects of the Jainas.

Mr. Shah, we must admit, has made a serious attempt to bring together all available facts relating to the history of the Jaina Church from the time of its inception to that of the Council of Vallabhi when, according to tradition, the Jaina Siddhānta was collected for the first time. As such, the book will be of great use to the students of Jainism for some time to come though there are many points in it which are open to criticism.

Even if we admit that the Nirgrantha order was the ancient Jaina order, the only positive facts known about it are the references to that

order in the Inscriptions of Aśoka and Khāravēla and those coming from Mathura. The Jaina canon by itself cannot take us very far as its age has been determined by Jacobi only in relation to the Buddhist canonical literature, of which the date is far from certain. Besides the references to the Nirgranthas and to Nirgrantha Jñātrika-putra found in the Buddhist texts are so fragmentary that the early history of that sect is still shrouded in mist. Attempts have been made to establish the historicity of Pārśvanātha but the reasons that were adduced by Jacobi and repeated by others in its favour are not convincing. These are mostly the two allusions, one to the *cāturyāma-saṃvara* and the other to the conversation between Keśi and Gautama, the two disciples of the orders of Pārśvanātha and Jñātrikaputra respectively. But in the Uttarādhyaṃyana, in which this conversation is referred to, Pārśva is not yet the 23rd Tirthaṅkara who lived 250 years before Mahavira. So it is always a speculation to try to trace the history of a Jaina church from the 8th century B. C. Even as regards the history of Jainism during the subsequent periods we are still justified in being as sceptic as Auguste Barth had been in 1889 because we cannot conscientiously claim to have discovered any new and positive fact since those days.

Regarding Makkhali Gośāla Mr. Shah has tried to refute the theories formulated by Dr. Barua that Mahavira was to some extent indebted to the former. Mr. Shah believes that the Jaina traditions which condemn Makkhali are authentic and should be relied on. Makkhali should be, according to him, a disloyal disciple of Mahavira who created a schism in the church, lived in incontinency and spoilt "Mahavira's chances of founding an all-India religious movement." Mr. Shah would not admit for a moment that the traditions of one religious order are as a rule unfavourable to an antagonistic system. In any way there is no denying the fact that according to these very traditions Gośāla predeceased Mahavira by 16 years and had formulated before his death an original philosophy. The principal doctrines propounded by him were that of *pauttaparihāravāda*, i.e., doctrine of change through re-animation, *pariṇāma-vāda*, i.e., theory of natural transformation which explained the diversity of the organic world by the principles of *niyati-saṅgati-bhāva* and the doctrine of *saḍābhijāti* which divided mankind into six different types according to their spiritual aptitude and which seems to have anticipated the later Jaina doctrine of *leśyās*. These doctrines cannot be easily explained away as cheap adaptations of the doctrines of Mahavira made by one of his renegade disciples. As long as Jaina sources and traditions are not proved to be authentic, it is simply begging the question to say that Dr. Barua's

hypothesis "disregards the authentic Jaina sources and traditions." Besides it does not help in any way Mr. Shah's conclusions to say that the word Ājīvika was a term of contempt with the Jainas. Nothing can be more natural, considering the traditional antagonism between the two orders. But the word had certainly some other significance which we have lost sight of. Coming to positive facts the sects of the *Maṣkarina* is referred to in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, and in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Gośāla was called Maṣkariputra because he belonged to that sect just in the same way as Mahavira was called Nirgranthaputra. The sect of the Ājīvikas is referred to in the inscription of Aśoka and his successor Daśaratha, and in all probability the Ājīvikas who are associated with Gośāla, the Maṣkarin, in the Buddhist and Jaina texts formed a group of those wandering teachers. At any rate the arguments of Mr. Shah are not convincing enough to prove that the Jaina texts have depicted Gośāla in proper light.

Mr. Shah, however, has utilised the archeological data more thoroughly than anybody else and on this account his book is more useful than other compilations like the works of Mrs. Stevenson, Mr. Guerinot and others. He has tried with some success, we must say, to do away with the traditional evidence. But in the study of the history of Jainism positive facts are lacking to so great an extent that all workers in that field are compelled to have recourse to conjecture and unauthenticated tradition.

Numerous quotations from secondary works form the worst feature of the book. They have spoilt the lucidity of the exposition altogether and amongst them the author's own judgment, if any, is lost sight of. But still the book can be recommended to our students as it is by far the most serious attempt at compilation of the work done in the field.

The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired though we must say that it has been unnecessarily made too costly to be of easy reach to the common student.

P. C. BAGCHI

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1929. Printed at the Government Press, Bangalore (1931).

Very few of the Native States of India have cared as yet to organise a regular Department of Archaeology what to speak of establishing Universities of their own. Yet the treasures of antiquities—archaeological and artistic,—lying neglected in many of the Native States compel us to

think that the states have a definite duty to perform here. Mysore and Hyderabad can take legitimate pride in the fact of their being veritable pioneers in this field. Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), who gained international repute by discovering and editing the *Arthasāstra*, retired after nearly thirty years of active service out of which ten years were devoted to the directing of the Archaeological Department. His noble tradition in Indological research would be carried on by his able successor Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.), the present Director and Professor of History at the Mysore University. As an epigraphist he has already made a name by editing several important inscriptions and recently by his excavations at *Chandravalli* he seems to have taken back the history of South Indian Archaeology by centuries, nay claiming to have reached the stratum of the "Mahenjo Daro of South India." That chapter of excavation is promised us in the next Report of his department. Meanwhile Dr. Krishna in the present volume of Report under review has given us a graphic description of fruitful finds and conservation work in the Shimoga, Kadur, Hassan, Chitaldrug and other districts. The manuscripts, the coins and other finds enrich our knowledge of the famous South Indian Dynasties like the Gangas, the Chalukyas, the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara rulers. "The oldest and the most interesting of the epigraphical discoveries was a rock inscription of the Kadamba *Mayūrasarman*, in Prakrit language and *Brāhmi* characters which is said to have thrown new light on the condition of Deccan in the "3rd Century AD." King *Mayūrasarman*, the constructor of a big tank for public use is a champion of irrigation work like Rudradaman of the Junagadh inscription and the Kadamba chief is reputed to have defeated *Trekūta*, *Abhira*, *Pallava*, *Pāriyātrika*, *Sakasthāna*, *Sayindaka*, *Puṇāta* and *Mokari*. The facsimile plates of the coins and inscriptions as well as the illustrations of a beautiful Hoysala temple at Agrahara enrich this volume. We wish all success to the new Director and to the Archaeological Department of Mysore and hope that it will take up soon the publication of the photographs of the important bas-reliefs on Ramayana, Mahabharata, etc., on the Mysore temples, which, we pointed out in course of our lectures at the Mysore University, might throw some light on the Epic reliefs of Greater Indian temples.

KALIDAS NAG

The Antiquities of Sind with Historical outline. By Henry Cousins. Late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (1929). Price Rs. 44-14 or 68s. 9d.

Mr. Cousins through this volume richly illustrated with about one hundred plates tries to summarise the history of antiquities on Sind when by a strange irony of history his colleagues in the Archaeological Department, were preparing the monumental survey of the Mahenjo-Daro civilisation which will revolutionise not only the theories of all previous workers in Sind but in the whole range of Indian history. When one reads Mr. Cousins' account of the Sudheran-jo-Dhado Stupa and Prof. Bhandarkar's preliminary exploration of the site, one is bound to exclaim "How much of the unexplored remain beneath the explored!" Still we may read with profit the useful notes of Mr. Cousins on the arts and crafts of Sind which in the light of the recent discoveries at Harappa. Mahenjo-Daro and Nal might indicate to some line of continuity from the dim prehistoric past to the living present of Sind. The architectural remains from the early Kushan stupa to the Moslem tombs and mosques have been photographed and reproduced with the eye of an expert.

KALIDAS NAG

A School Geometry. By H. G. Forder, B.A. Published at the University Press, Cambridge.

This is a treatise on elementary geometry by H. G. Forder, the well-known author of *Foundations of Euclidean Geometry*. It has been written in accordance with the modern scientific idea of rigour and as such the plan adopted is somewhat similar to that of Halstead's *Rational Geometry*. The book is divided into three parts and contains all the important propositions of elementary geometry. The treatment is based upon a set of Geometrical axioms or as the author calls them assumptions. The assumptions include all the fundamental propositions of congruence and parallelism. Thus the fourth, fifth, sixth, and the eighth propositions of the first book of Euclid are all taken as assumptions. The so-called proofs of these propositions are given at the end of the book where their fallacious nature is exposed. The method is no doubt an ideally scientific one but we are afraid it will not be at all suitable for school boys. Average Indian students will be quite puzzled at the long array of assumptions and will fail to grasp the principle on which the book is based. A better plan would have been to start with the general axioms and to introduce the geometrical axioms (including the axiom of congruence) at suitable places so that the student will have no necessity to assume the truth of the fifth and sixth propositions. Though the book is not suitable for school boys it will be very useful for Indian teachers. The notes scattered throughout the book will enlarge their mental horizon and help

them to get a short but interesting glimpse at the vista of modern geometric concepts. Every school should have a copy of this book for the perusal of its teachers.

M. M. GHOSH

Trigonometry, Part IV. By A. W. Siddons, M.A., and R. T. Hughes, M.A. Published at the University Press, Cambridge, 3s. 6d.

This is the last volume of the Trigonometry by A. W. Siddons and R. T. Hughes and mainly deals with Infinite Series, Products and allied topics. The book is well written and covers the course generally prescribed for Honours students in Indian Universities. A special feature of the book is the inclusion of large number of worked-out examples illustrating the artifices to be used in solving trigonometrical problems. Several examples are worked out in more than one way to show the superiority of one method over another. This part of the book will be very useful for advanced students. The subjects of Infinite Product has been excellently treated in a very small compass. Though the proofs are not always complete, the inherent difficulties have been pointed out so that the student will not have to unlearn anything when he studies the treatises of Hobson and Chrystal.

M. M. GHOSH

A New Trigonometry, Vol. I. Numerical. By A. Clement Jones, M.A. Ph.D. and H. E. Newton, M.A. Published by A. & C. Black, Ltd., London.

This is a small treatise on elementary Trigonometry and covers the course prescribed for the Intermediate Examinations of Indian Universities. A special feature of the book is the omission of circular measure which generally presents difficulties to beginners. Though the book professes to be a numerical one, it contains all the theoretical part necessary for a clear understanding of Trigonometry. The subject of Logarithm has been excluded though a knowledge of it is assumed in working out numerical examples. This is rather unfortunate as it will greatly lessen the utility of the book for Indian students. The book contains numerous examples and it will be specially useful for students who wish to master the essentials of elementary Trigonometry in a short time.

M. M. GHOSH

Geometry, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 9d. net.

This is the third book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. Like its companion volumes on Arithmetic and Algebra this book will help the students who have taken up additional Mathematics for their Matriculation Examination. The subject of Loci is specially well-treated. A large part of the book is devoted to Trigonometry and Mensuration and this book will be specially useful for students who wish to get a good working knowledge of Trigonometry required for understanding elementary treatises on Mechanics.

M. M. GHOSH

Arithmetic, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 9d. net.

This is the first book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. A special feature of the book is the inclusion of Logarithm and Mensuration. The first chapter deals with approximations of various types and will be found very useful by advanced students. Students of Commercial Arithmetic will find all they need in the chapter devoted to percentages, discounts, stocks and shares. The last fifty pages consist mainly of examples chosen from the papers set in different examinations.

M. M. GHOSH

Algebra, Part II. By H. J. Larcombe, Ph.D., M.A., B.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 9d. net.

This is the second book of the Cambridge Intermediate Mathematics Series written by Dr. Larcombe. This part deals mainly with the subjects generally prescribed for additional Mathematics in the Matriculation Examinations of Indian Universities. Besides the ordinary topics one chapter is devoted to elementary Differential Calculus. There is a large number of well-chosen examples and the book will be useful for advanced students preparing for the Matriculation Examination.

M. M. GHOSH

Twentieth-Century Addresses—By E. C. Dickinson and D. C. Sharma. Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1931.

Anthologies of English prose consisting of short extracts are many in the market. They deal with the same old, hum-drum, commonplace subjects—short pieces chosen from English writers, which may well serve the purpose for which they are made, but it is true that such anthologies are extremely of a dry and monotonous nature. The young student simply manipulates and somehow manages to turn them to his own purpose and passes his examination. They never add to his information, neither do they reveal new vistas of thought and knowledge. He remains in the same old, sheltered and secure recesses of ignorance, neither forming any fresh habits of thought nor learning to cherish any new and noble ideals whether as man, citizen, or student. The present anthology consists of twelve important addresses delivered by such great orators and thinkers as Earl of Balfour, Earl of Rosebery, Viscount Morley, Viscount Haldane, Sir J. C. Bose, Rabindranath, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and others. The extracts have been chosen with the greatest possible care. Addresses, though famous, but marked with an extreme form of grandiloquent classical style and pompous deportment, and tainted with streaks of rancour and gloom, bitter ~~and~~ and morbid satire, grim banter and sullen whims and fancies, have found no place in this anthology. The compilers never forget their purpose in making these selections. It is meant for students and the subjects are all within the student's spheres of thoughts and ideas. Not a single piece indicates any considerable departure from this essential standpoint of view. The themes are all stimulating and thought-provoking and will undoubtedly increase the resources of the student's mind, broaden his outlook and foster his critical faculty. Such a publication will be highly appreciated.

R. C. DAS

The Modern World (1789-1931)—By S. A. Pakeman, M.C., M.A. (Cantab). Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited ; St. Martin's Street, London, 1931. Price. 3s. 6d. net.

Full and detailed works of a general nature on the subject of Modern World History are many, but there is hardly any suitable for young school-boys. Our modern life is so infinitely complex and wide that a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the present world situation is required by every one for the fullest and best possible realization of his individuality. Within the intervening space of one hundred and fifty years the world has seen great changes—changes which have affected nearly every human

being. To-day it is no longer possible, for instance, to speak of 'the unchanging East' or 'unknown Africa.' The purpose of this book is to indicate *how* and *why* these age-old conditions have changed and are changing under our very eyes, and to make us acquainted with the way in which the present world-situation has come into existence. It incidentally deals with the important events and main tendencies of European history since the later part of the eighteenth century. Thus within a brief space it has dealt with the progress of the free states of Europe from the epoch-making revolutions in France and Belgium and the Congress of Vienna down to the Great War of 1914-1918. It has also endeavoured to outline the main events of the East including China, Japan, Russia, India and Australia. The concluding chapters deal with the world since the signing of the peace-treaties and the progress towards recovery from the serious danger of economic collapse which threatened the whole of Central Europe.

The author has done a great service in writing this book. In it he has contrived with great success to give the general readers a well-balanced conspectus of the important events and tendencies of Modern World History. He has dealt with the subject with admirable economy of words and he has gained his object unerringly. This short but comprehensive synopsis will prepare the young students for bigger and more general works on the subject in their college courses.

R. C. DAS

Giti-Gunja—By S. J. Atulprasad Sen. Published by S. J. Harihar Chandra from 2, Chittaranjan Avenue, North. Pp. 216. Price Rs. 1-8.

This book, very elegantly printed on excellent paper, is a collection of about 200 songs by the well-known Bengali poet, S. J. Atulprasad Sen. This is his third book of songs, the first two being *Kayekti-Gān* and *Kākalī*.

Atulprasad is a well-known poet and composer and his songs have attained popularity next to Rabindranath's. The popularity of his songs rests chiefly on the simplicity of expression and note of sadness which permeate his poems through and through. Moreover there is a complete sense of resignation and deep pathos in both his devotional lyrics and love-poems combined with a peculiar grace and fascination they carry with them. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons for his wide popularity. This sad sense of resignation of the poet is splendidly conveyed in some exceptionally beautiful lines which seethe with genuine forcible passion. Atulprasad has himself set his songs in tunes, but some of the rhymes are rather uncouth and

the pauses imperfect. But inspite of all these his songs appeal to us greatly. That he is a fine and true singer none can question. His songs have all the quaintness, the naïve simplicity and delicate charm of Ramprasad's and this undoubtedly triumphs over all the slight technical defects.

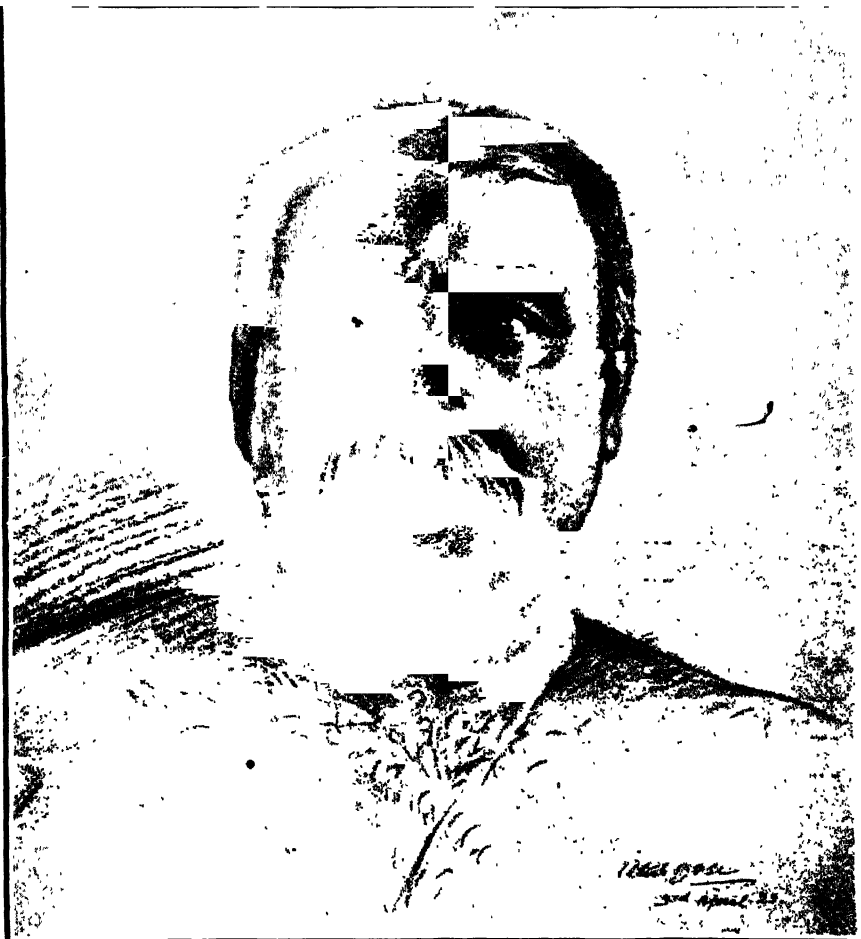
R. C. DAS

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI.

In the death of Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, the University Law College loses an able lecturer and the Bengali world of letters a prominent figure. Born some sixty years ago, after a brief period of Government service and professional work of a barrister Mr. Mukherji joined the Law College and devoted his spare time solely to literary work. His novels and short stories are familiar to all conversant with Bengali literature. He edited the now defunct *Mānasi o' Marmabāni* for a long period. Calm and sedate, a keen observer of human nature, he was an admirable teacher, an accomplished lawyer and a noble man of letters.

The Calcutta Review



“THE BENGAL TIGER”

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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RECENT ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY

I

The attacks on democracy began almost with the very beginning of democratic government. We find them in Aristotle who had not only a soft heart, but also a critical eye, for the claims of the many. Every age has however not been equally hostile to democracy. The nineteenth century, on the whole, accorded to it an enthusiastic reception. The outstanding fact of the political history of the last century, particularly in its latter half, was the rapid spread of democratic government not only in Europe, but over a large part of the world. No doubt a few well-known thinkers denounced the principles of popular government even when its conquering march was going on. Little heed was however paid to their isolated voices, which were so few that they simply serve to throw into bold relief the general enthusiasm for democracy during that period. A curious change has however come over the western nations in the post-war period. Dictatorship has replaced popular government in many countries. Bolshevik Russia and Fascist Italy have not only set up rival forms of government, but have denounced representative democracy as a colossal hoax. Even in countries like England and France which have maintained their democratic institutions more or less intact, the principles of popular government

no longer command the same general respect as before. In short, scepticism of democracy has become the characteristic of our age. It therefore seems as if the warnings of the anti-democratic writers before the war have been fulfilled. It is therefore more than ever necessary to examine the grounds of their attacks in order to ascertain how far the present crisis in democracy is due to an inherent weakness of democratic principles and how far it is due simply to accidental circumstances. In other words we shall attempt to discuss the theoretical validity of the principles of popular government.

It is necessary to begin by a survey of the arguments of some representative anti-democratic writers.

II

SOME ANTI-DEMOCRATIC WRITERS.

A. Sir James Stephen.

In a treatise called "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," published in 1873, Sir James Stephen carefully examines what he thinks to be the three dogmas of the democratic creed. Equality, according to him, is both unrealisable and undesirable. "Legislate how you will, establish universal suffrage, you are still as far as ever from equality." "The result of cutting it (political power) into little bits," he continues, "is simply that the man who can sweep the greatest number of them into one heap will govern the rest. The strongest men in some form or other will always rule." In a pure democracy the wire-pullers and their friends will be the ruling men. Universal suffrage "tends to invert what I should have regarded as the true and natural relation between wisdom and folly." Able and intelligent men are few while the government of a country requires a vast amount of special knowledge. Consequently Sir James Stephen regrets that the government of England should be vested

in a popular assembly like the House of Commons ruling as king through a committee which may be dismissed at a moment's notice. "Nothing can be done at all till the importance of doing it has been made obvious to the very lowest capacity." Nor is he very sympathetic to the system of party government "which makes every man who is out of office pick holes in the work of every man who is in office." The result is enormous waste of time and money.

So far Sir James Stephen is quite clear. But he gets on rather thin ice when he argues that popular consent is essential to taxation, for he is aware of the fact the House of Commons began by demanding the right to be consulted in matters of taxation and was then forced by the logic of circumstances to usurp more and more power from the Crown and the Lords until it has come to have the dominant voice in all governmental matters. Popular consent to taxation always proves to be the thin end of the wedge and inevitably brings in its wake full-fledged popular government. One suspects that Sir James Stephen was at least partially aware of this far-reaching implications of his concession for he suddenly softens his voice and adds that democracy, like other human institutions, has its advantages and disadvantages. He does not even mean to suggest that other institutions are or have been much better!

One can therefore hardly class Sir James Stephen with the uncompromising opponents of democracy. His first attitude is no doubt one of revolt, but it is gradually softened down as he enters deeper into the subject while he ends his discussion by an indirect admission that democracy is the best government in practice.

B. Sir Henry Maine.

A dozen years after the publication of Sir James Stephen's book Sir Henry Maine published his "Popular Government." He has marshalled a vast amount of historical facts to support his thesis that democracy is unstable. "Experience rather tends

to show that it is characterised by great fragility." Democracy, he thinks, is the enemy of progress. He endorses the Straussian doctrine that "History is a sound Aristocrat," or a similar statement of Renan, "*toute civilisation est d'origine aristocratique.*" Universal suffrage, Maine thinks, would certainly have prohibited the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the threshing-machine. Again where the ignorant rule, leadership degenerates. Besides all this Maine thinks there is a fundamental contradiction in the demands of democrats. The first effect of giving power to the mass is, as Hobbes said, to divide political power into fragments, and Sir Henry Maine agrees with Sir James Stephen, whom he quotes approvingly, that democracy simply gives power to "wire-pullers" so that liberty and equality are incompatible. Democracy, according to Maine, is a mere form of government and he does not simply understand why people should go mad over it. So long as the government of a country is satisfactorily performed, so long as the country is effectively protected and law and justice are properly administered, it does not matter at all whether the government is a monarchy or an aristocracy. Maine then examines Bentham's arguments for democracy but concludes that Bentham erred by taking for granted that the people would understand their own interests. They are, he urges, too ignorant to do that. In the face of all these weaknesses democracy is kept alive by party government and corruption. "Party is probably nothing more than a survival and a consequence of the primitive combativeness of mankind," and a party government consists in half the cleverest men in the country taking pains to prevent the other half from governing." The apparent success of democracy in U.S.A. does not invalidate what has been said above, for the American government, Maine insists, is not democratic as it operates with checks and constitutional provisions.

The historical method of Sir Henry Maine is often held responsible for his gloomy conclusions about the prospects of democracy. In fact these conclusions, as we shall see later, were due not to his use, but to his misuse, of the historical

method. Conservatism is not inherent in the historical method itself, but was rather rooted in Sir Henry Maine's own temperament and he simply supported his predilections by a fallacious selection of historical data.

C. William Lecky.

Both in his method and his general argument Lecky follows closely in the footsteps of Maine. Like Maine he cites historical facts to prove that democracies are unstable. He agrees with Maine that democracy is necessarily the rule of the ignorant, and that the mass would certainly have rejected the spinning-jenny, the power-loom and the threshing machine. The choice is, he says, "whether the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." Superiority lies with the few and not with the many, and success, he thinks, can only be attained by placing the guiding and the controlling power in the hands of the intelligent few. He regrets that England's progress was going on in the wrong direction, for increased ignorance in the elective body cannot, he argues, be converted into increased capacity for good government in the representative body. Democracy no doubt makes impossible the flattery of the monarch by the people and the nobles, but it introduces a new kind of sycophancy, that of the people by its leaders. Lecky is again at one with Maine in regarding the apparent success of the popular government in America as due to its disguised undemocratic nature, because the constitution operates only within limits. Lastly, he endorses the view of Sir James Stephen and Sir Henry Maine, that liberty and equality are incompatible. "Democracy is not liberty," "Equality," he continues, "is the idol of democracy, and in a society with infinitely various capacities equality can be attained only at the expense of liberty." Democracy means increased governmental power in the field of social regulation, it means an increase of

bureaucracy, and lastly, it means increased taxation which is nothing but veiled confiscation as one class votes the taxes which another class has to pay. As regards the last point, Lecky is most emphatic. The right to dispose of one's property as one pleases, the voting of taxation by the class which has to pay the taxes was, he says, rightly regarded as the cardinal principle of British freedom which however has been more and more abandoned with the widening of the franchise.

The greater part of Lecky's two volumes is devoted to substantiate his thesis that democracy instead of extending liberty actually curtails it through restrictive legislation. He cites the increase of taxation, the confiscation of Irish land by the Act of 1881, Sunday legislation, gambling legislation, regulatory marriage laws, factory laws, etc., as examples of popular restriction of liberty.

What then has Lecky to substitute for popular government? He is not against the representation of the masses, but he would not give them direct control. He declares himself emphatically against universal suffrage. Wherever democracy has been conspicuously successful, the representative body, says Lecky, has been returned on a restricted suffrage. Lecky would probably restrict franchise on the basis of property qualification as he condemns so emphatically the confiscation of property by democratic taxation.

D. Ludovici.

Ludovici is another staunch defender of aristocracy. His approach is however deductive and differs fundamentally from that of Lecky and Maine. He does not understand why both of them should have advanced so many minor arguments against democracy, and he marvels at the moderation of Lecky. He then boldly unfolds his thesis which is summarised in one single sentence: Aristocracy means Life while Democracy means

Death. The steps leading to this remarkable conclusion are somewhat as follows :—

1. Life is a process of choosing and discarding in matters of doctrine, diet, etc.

2. To choose rightly means Life, to choose wrongly means Death.

3. It is only the few, "the lucky strokes of Nature," who can choose rightly while the masses choose wrongly.

4. Ergo, to allow the mass any voice in the selection of doctrines, diet, etc., as democracy would necessarily allow, is the surest way to Death.

Admirable logic no doubt, if only there were no need to verify one's premises ! After all, it might be possible that the masses, in spite of their ignorance, could help in this vital process of selection. That is however to anticipate our criticism.

It is clear that Ludovici would not allow the mass any voice at all in the government of their country. The aristocracy has not only to govern but to tutor the mass. The English aristocracy, says this heroic defender of the aristocratic cause, has totally failed in the art of protecting and guiding the ruled. With remarkable meekness the House of Lords even assisted its opponents in 1911 in fleecing itself of its legitimate rights !

E. Emile Faguet.

It is refreshing to turn from Ludovici's cumbrous criticism which often lacks sobriety—he calls John Stuart Mill "philosophic demagogue"—to a modern French writer, Emile Faguet, whose criticism of democracy is attractive as much for his fascinating style as for his penetrating insight. The main

ideas of his "Cult of Incompetence," published in 1911, may be restated as follows :—

"That society," says Faguet, "stands highest in the scale, where the division of labour is greatest, where specialisation is most definite, and where the distribution of functions according to efficiency is most thoroughly carried out." Democracy obstructs all this. The people elect those who are intellectually and morally incompetent, and who are but replicas of mass mediocrity. The people next tries to impose on its delegates imperative mandates. Instead of relying on experts the representative government tries to do everything by itself so that experts are driven into other fields of activity. Corrupt appointment is another characteristic feature of democracy, and the consequent official incompetence permeates all branches of government which specially affects the judiciary. The desire to worship incompetence is, as it were, an infectious disease. It has already attacked the state at its very core, and is rapidly spreading to the customs and the morals of the country. "Rudeness," he says, "is democratic." The attempted remedies, such as the provision of a Senate and of competitive examinations have failed. A remedy might be expected from the schools, but the democratic school-master is himself a demagogue who simply confirms and strengthens democracy in its errors. He preaches the dogma of the unlimited sovereignty of the people and the pernicious doctrine of equality. "In a word.....the pure wine of democracy is poured out to the people as it was by the demagogues to the Athenians ; and from the quarter whence a remedy might have been expected come there only incitements to deeper intoxication."

What then is the remedy ? M. Faguet calls his solution a "Dream." It is a dream, says he, because here we have to do with an evil which can only be cured by itself so that the prospects of such a cure are meagre. M. Faguet thinks that two elements are necessary for a sound government. A

democratic element is essential. A government, if it is to govern well, must know the thoughts and feelings, sufferings and desires, hopes and fears of the people. The people must therefore have a voice which should be heard and considered.

An aristocratic element is also necessary. Technical, intellectual and moral competence should be allowed to play its part. Sometimes history has failed to give a nation an aristocracy, or that which history has made has disappeared as in the case of France. In such a case it is necessary to create one. What is wanted, argues M. Faguet, is a blending of both aristocracy and democracy, not a mere juxtaposition of the two. A reciprocity of devotion between aristocracy and democracy is required. A nation whose people is aristocratic and whose aristocracy is "demophil" is a healthy nation. The secret of Rome's success in the world was that for five hundred years she enjoyed this social health. The motto therefore is: "An aristocratic people and a people-loving aristocracy."

In another book published four years later and called "The Dread of Responsibility," M. Faguet repeats the same ideas with characteristic force. He laments at what he regards as the French habit of shirking responsibility, and Frenchmen, he thinks, have been fashioned into this by two centuries of brilliant despotism. Such a habit France must discard if she is not to deteriorate. In a brilliant paradox M. Faguet urges that "a democracy can live only on condition of producing aristocracies or permitting aristocracies to produce themselves. That seems strange, but nothing is more certain. The vitality of democracies is measured by the amount of power they have to generate aristocracies."

The main arguments of M. Faguet have been set above in some detail, because they show the grounds of attack on democracy while at the same time reveal their main weakness. Unlike Ludovici, M. Faguet would allow the people some kind of representation; their voices, as he says, are to be heard and considered. But why? The government being for the

people, their wants and desires have to be known. But if an aristocratic government in its own selfish interests ignores these wants and desires after they have been made known, what can the people do? They can either yield to the wishes of the aristocracy, in which case the government ceases to be for the people; or they can impose their will on the aristocracy, in which case the government becomes democratic. M. Faguet evades such a dilemma by "dreaming" of a "demophil" aristocracy and an aristocracy-loving people. He thus assumes a harmonious relationship between the two. In other words, he assumes the existence of what a democratic institution attempts to create. He thus magnificently begs the question. A government may not love the people, but it must not ignore their interests. That is the supreme problem of politics. Democracy, as we shall soon see, provides us with a workable solution of this problem.

The arguments of some well-known anti-democratic writers have been set forth in considerable detail. To turn to other critics of democracy is hardly necessary, as the same arguments are repeated in some form or other. What is needed is a critical examination of the arguments already stated rather than their multiplication. Such an examination is undertaken in the following section.

III

AN EXAMINATION OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ARGUMENTS.

A careful analysis of the anti-democratic arguments will show that most of them centre round one incontestable fact, namely, that the intelligent are few and the masses are ignorant. All other conclusions are drawn, rightly or wrongly, from this single major premise, and are sometimes supported by historical facts. Democracy, being a mass rule, is, it is urged, the rule of the ignorant; being the rule of the ignorant, it is incompetent

and unprogressive; being subject to the whims and passions of the mass, it is fragile; the intellectual few having to flatter the mass, leadership degenerates. Democracy is "the cult of incompetence."

Now it is true that the intelligent are few, but it is equally true that these few have not always come from the same group of men in the society. Intelligence is not the monopoly of the so-called social aristocracy. The masses have certainly produced many intelligent men. It might no doubt be argued that though intelligence is not the monopoly of the aristocratic class, still it is this class which produces the greatest number of capable men. This is a doubtful statement which requires statistical verification. Even if the statement were true, it would not follow that the upper class of society is inherently capable of producing abler men. The social aristocracy has always far greater opportunities than the poorer mass, and other things remaining equal, a greater percentage of intelligent people should come from it. Potential intelligence among the masses may be very considerable, and given proper opportunities, a far greater number of eminent men may come out of them than has hitherto been the case. In fact, the history of modern democracy lends force to this argument. With the development of democratic institutions opportunities have become at least less unequal while at the same time more and more men from the lower ranks of society have distinguished themselves in various fields of activities. The table thus seems to be completely turned. The intelligent are so few that society can ill afford to destroy any potential intelligence. It is then to the interest of the society to maintain such conditions that every individual may become what he is potentially capable of. Thus what at first sight seemed to be an overwhelming argument against democracy becomes the strongest argument in its favour if, following Lowell, we define democracy as that form of society in which every man has a chance and knows that he has it.

Implied in all this is an emphasis on the importance of environment and social conditions in developing human character and intelligence. No doubt, many, for example, the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, Condorcet and Owen, were wrong in regarding all people as born equal, all later differences being due to a defective social organisation. Nobody denies to-day that men are born unequal. None the less, it is necessary to guard oneself against the contrary danger of ignoring the importance of social environment and of attributing all differences in intelligence to differences in inherited gifts. Eugenics is unfortunately still at an incipient stage and cannot throw much light on this vital problem. We do not know to what extent genius is born and to what extent it is made. The relative importance of inherited gifts and of environment, of Nature and of Nurture, is not known. The most sensible solution of the problem would therefore be to throw "*carrière ouverte aux talents*," and to treat all men as potentially equal.

The Straussian doctrine that "History is a sound Aristocrat" is not therefore, when rightly interpreted, an argument against democracy. It can mean either of two things. It may mean that the intellectual and progressive people have always been very few. This is not only true, but a truism. It may also mean that these few have always constituted a closed class, the members of which inherited exceptional capacities from their ancestors and bequeathed such capacities to their descendants. This is certainly not true, and would be still less true if the unintelligent masses had greater opportunities for developing themselves. Social aristocracy is not the intellectual aristocracy. Neither logic nor experience justifies their identification. When M. Faguet speaks of creating an aristocracy he overlooks this very important consideration.

The doctrine of the struggle for existence has been glorified both by Ludovici and Maine. One of their arguments against democracy is that it hampers the process of automatic elimination of the weak. Maine fervently speaks of "the

struggle for existence, the beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another and remain there through the law of the survival of the fittest." But to regard life as a mere struggle for existence in which the strongest alone ought to survive may not be the most rational view of life. Even if it were so, it would not follow that the fittest alone would actually survive when social opportunities are so unequally distributed. Such a doctrine, to have any validity at all, presupposes the existence of equal opportunities.

So far the argument has been utilitarian. Equalisation of opportunities, it has been urged, is a condition of the maximum utilisation of potential capacities. One might however go a step further and argue that each individual is an end in himself so that the only reasonable objective of the social organisation is to ensure that each of its members will be in a position to develop himself to the utmost. Consequently, even if it were possible to mark out those who are potentially less capable, it would not be justifiable to sacrifice them for the sake of others. Even they should be provided with adequate opportunities. It might be argued that in such a society progress would be hampered. But that depends on what conception of progress one has. Progress, it might be urged, is for people, not people for progress. It was this truth which was insisted upon by Colonel Rainboro when, in that memorable debate at Putney in 1647 between the army officers on one side and Cromwell and Ireton on the other, he said that "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the richest he."

It has been seen that a rational social organisation must provide equal opportunities. Does this necessarily mean democracy? Is it not possible to equalise opportunities in a monarchy or an aristocracy? The inductive approach to this question is the most fruitful one and we shall begin by recapitulating certain historical facts.

In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries kings in many countries professed to rule by divine right so that the ruled had no right to question the justness of royal commands. Unquestioning obedience was their duty. This however became impossible when the interest of the ruler and of the ruled clashed at every step. It is a logical deduction from divine right that in all such conflicts the interests of the ruler alone should prevail. The people challenged a theory which justified the sacrifice of their interests. They successfully asserted that the true objective of government is social welfare and that a monarch forfeited his right to rule as soon as he forgot his obligations to the society. The downfall of the divine right monarchy was in fact the victory of this "social welfare theory" of government. But this solved only half the problem. The next question was: What sort of governmental institution should there be if this newly-asserted end of government was to be attained? The answer which Europe in the course of a long and bloody history has given to this institutional question is Democracy. In other words, if the end of government be social welfare, then that government must be democratic. Why? History has repeatedly shown that if governmental powers are concentrated in the hands of one or a few, that one or those few exercise these powers, not for the benefit of the society, but for their own benefit. Irresponsible power breeds selfishness in the ruler. Popular control is necessary if popular interests are to be safeguarded. All the important royal dynasties of Europe bear ample testimony to this truth.

Thus the cry for self-government which has been again and again heard in the course of the last hundred and fifty years is not a mere historical accident. It represents the crystallised political experience of centuries. It arose when all other alternative governments had already been tried and discredited. The supreme virtue of democracy is that it ensures that the government will not be oblivious of popular interests.

The mistake of the opponents of democracy is that they forget the inevitable tendency of absolute power to become selfish. Bentham, who was at first not a democrat, was forced to champion popular government when he was gradually convinced of the "sinister interests" of an irresponsible aristocracy. It is curious that even Maine and Lecky should have overlooked this supreme historical lesson. From their study of history they concluded that democracy was fragile. They failed to realise that the period, roughly from 1789 to 1875, was a period of transition from monarchy and aristocracy to democracy, that during this whole period there was a constant tug-of-war between the people and their rulers, that, broadly, what the people were trying to do was to bridle unrestricted and selfish power, and that, consequently, monarchies and aristocracies were again and again overthrown so that these latter rather than democracies were unstable.

The mistake of Maine and Lecky is however interesting as it provides us with the key to all anti-democratic writings. The opponents of democracy analyse monarchy and aristocracy not objectively, but subjectively. Their attacks on popular government proceed from a fundamental error: they compare democracy as it is with monarchy or aristocracy as it should be. In this connection it is interesting to refer to Aristotle. Aristotle justified the rule of one man when that man was wisdom incarnate so that his wisdom was greater than the collective wisdom of all the people. But he hastened to add that such a man it was almost impossible to find, and that even if such a man were found there would be no guarantee that his successor would be equally able and virtuous. Similarly in discussing his ideal state Aristotle, following in the footsteps of his illustrious master, came to the conclusion that aristocracy, that is to say, the disinterested rule of the enlightened few, was ideally the best form of government. But with that supreme practical genius which characterises the whole of his Politics, he at once realised that it was not sufficient to state what was ideally

the best. Politics, he insisted, has a practical problem to solve so that it must deal with realities and find out what is best in practice. In other words, he distinguished between what one might describe as the "ideal ideal" and the "practical ideal." The advocates of benevolent despotism and intellectual aristocracy generally concern themselves with the first and neglect the second, though it is the second which is by far the more important of the two.

Carlyle and Bismarck used to idealise benevolent despotism. But the Stuarts, the Bourbons, the Romanovs, even the Hohenzollerns have repeatedly shown how seldom a despot acts benevolently. The latter part of the eighteenth century was no doubt conspicuous for its remarkable array of benevolent despots. Lord Acton called it "the age of repentant monarchy." Yet such a despotism could not save the "*ancien regime*." The system had been rotten to the core. The eleventh-hour activities of some good-intentioned rulers could not atone for the prolonged indolence of their predecessors. The defects of benevolent despotism are manifestly two: it is a despotism so that too much reliance is placed on the capacities of one individual; and in any case it is impossible to guarantee that it will always remain benevolent.

The opponents of democracy have very often regarded aristocracy in Aristotle's sense as the best form of government. But it is neither fair nor sufficient to point out the practical defects of democracy and then to extol a kind of aristocracy which exists only in the realm of political speculation. Burke made that mistake all through his life by insisting that the revolutionary settlement of 1688 gave England the best form of government and then stoutly opposed all proposals for parliamentary reform. He never approached the British aristocracy objectively, and consequently, he confused the ideal with the real. Maine, Lecky, Ludovici also suffer from the same error. Faguet has seen the difficulty of finding an aristocracy after his heart and is "dreaming" that such an ideal

aristocracy will some day appear in France. A Utopian aristocracy is no cure for the ills of democracy.

Democratic government, then, is inevitable if social welfare is to be safeguarded. Must democracy be incompetent?

The antagonists of democracy have argued that in its attempt to establish equality democracy levels down all distinctions, and in its endeavour to give equal political power to all it inevitably makes the government incompetent. This is however an error based on two serious misconceptions: one refers to the real meaning of equality in this context, the other to the exact part assigned to the people in a democratic government.

Equality does not mean that all distinctions are to be abolished. As interpreted in the foregoing pages, it simply means equality of opportunities, or to use Mr. Tawney's expression, "equality simply means equal opportunities to be unequal." It aims not at the imposition of uniformity, but at the cultivation of diversity. It only insists that all inequalities should be explainable in terms of reason, that there should be some correlation between inequality and individual capacity. Such an interpretation of equality is not a new one and dates back to the days of Aristotle. "Equality means not that the recognition of the better man is equal to the recognition of the worse, but the ratio between recognition and merit in the one case is equal to the ratio in the other." (E. Barker—*Political Thoughts of Plato and Aristotle*, p. 356.)

Again, the electors elect their representatives, but these representatives are not merely the mouthpiece of the people. A member of Parliament, in Burke's words, owes his constituency not only to his industry but also his judgment. Indeed even these representatives are not to settle all the details of government. They must in their turn depend on experts. This is becoming all the more necessary when, with the development of science and the extension of governmental functions, the business of government is increasing in size, complexity and technicality. One of the most difficult political problems of our day is how

to divide the work between a legislative assembly and administrative experts. With this practical institutional question we are not concerned here. What is important is to note that democracy cannot dispense with experts ; nor does it want to do so. As John Stuart Mill has rightly remarked, there cannot be an expert well-managed democracy, if democracy will not allow the expert to do the work which he alone can do.

The actual part assigned to the voters in a modern democracy is thus far less significant than that played by the people in the direct democracies of old Greece. None the less, the principle of popular election is of vital importance even when the mere size of modern states and of the amount of governmental business necessarily involves a transfer of effective power from the people to administrative experts *via* the elected assembly. Such an election, as already stated, operates as a check on the government. The government being for the people, the former must know the wants and desires of the people in order to know how to serve them best. Again the people are also to judge whether or not they have been actually served well by the government. For this last function the people, as Aristotle pointed out, are admirably fitted. "The user is a better judge than the builder of the excellence of a house, the guest a better judge of a feast than the cook. The ruler should be placed in office and should be removable from office by those who benefit or suffer by their rule—by the wearers who know best where the shoe pinches." (E. D. Ross on Aristotle.) In other words, the election of representatives is necessary to make sure not only that the government will be willing to serve the community, but that it will actually serve it well.

IV

CONCLUSION.

The arguments of Sir James Stephen, Maine, Lecky, Ludovici and Faguet have been rejected above. Their mistake

was twofold: they overlooked the necessity of restraining political authority, and they exaggerated the virtues of monarchy and aristocracy. They championed an aristocracy in Aristotle's sense. But they failed to see that there must be an equal distribution of opportunities if a genuine intellectual aristocracy is to be created. A real democracy is the condition of Aristotelian aristocracy.

Nevertheless, it is clear that we are in agreement with anti-democrats on many important points. Thus equality is not to be absolute, but relative—equality is the equal opportunity to be unequal; the elected are not mere delegates, but representatives; and these representatives are equally to rely on experts. These are rather important compromises with the principles of aristocracy. To use Prof. Laski's startling epigram, "Popular franchise is not popular rule" and democracy is only an "aristocracy by delegation." We have, in fact, disarmed our opponents only because we have accepted some of their main contentions. The word democracy has in fact had a changing connotation. The same word is used to signify a substantially altered theory. It resembles a river which has maintained its name throughout its course, but which has assumed its present size only because other channels have emptied their waters into it.

S. SEN

A NEW WAR CLOUD LOOMS AFAR.....

(On Sino-Japanese Wrangle.)

Men and nations are again astir,
 A new war-cloud looms afar ;
 From the land of the Rising Sun
 Swells the sound of cannon and gun.
 Regardless of a war-weary world's frantic cries
 To respect the peace that between nations lies,
 Regardless of the bitter memories of the not-too distant years
 When the Earth was drenched with human blood and tears,—
 Defiant Japan with an arrogance unknown before
 Rattles her sword to terrorise a weak inoffensive foe ;
 When Peace is the need and cry of the hour
 Peace is wantonly destroyed by a swelled-headed power.
 The cup of China's humiliation is full
 The oldest nation on Earth be crushed or shall rule.

Not many years now—in the life-time of ours
 When Japan was but an insignificant power
 A nation of Europe, pampered and swelled
 With enormous power and wealth
 Hurled defiance at Japan, then little known
 Unprepared ; and scarce yet a nation born
 And Japan's answer was a great defensive war
 Fought by her gallant sons with epic valour ;
 Justice was upon her side and Justice won.
 A great day dawned in the Land of the Rising Sun.
 The first crushing blow by an Eastern upon a Western power,
 Japan redeemed Asia's honour in that fateful hour,
 And from that day and that day ever since
 Her name is honoured in the West and adored in the East.

How fresh the memory of the day, when an amazed
Admiring world, for her, a great cheer raised
At Japan's triumphant achievement of an hour—
Transformed from a petty into a mighty power
Throughout the lands of the East and West
Her name stood for all that in national life was best
Honour, chivalry, valour and military fame
The World acclaimed her and acclaimed her name.
A new life surged and pulsated thro' the East,
The Sun of New Asia struggled thro' the age-long mist,
New China was born on the lap of Japan's triumph
And every country in Asia, from Turkey to Siam
Looked to the Land of the Rising Sun
For help, for guidance and inspiration.

Cursed be the moment, when nations and men, drunk with
power
Forget their ancient woes in their triumphant hour !
The old Japan hath passed, that won the war
Patriotism is no longer the defence of the land of her sire.
A new patriotism, more aggressive, more ambitious, hath
seized her soul
Japan hath joined the old Guards, anxious to extend her goal;
A page borrowed from the Book of old Europe
New Japan is to-day, New Asia's shattered hope ;
One merely amongst the exploiting Powers of the World
From what moral eminence to what immoral depths, she is
hurled !

A gallant, proud, determined defender of her country's freedom
She is reduced to a wanton aggressor of others' kingdom
No longer the glorious "Rising Sun" struggling thro' the mist
New Japan is the New World's bugbear in the East.

Other bugbears who had gone before her and had their day
Others who are still in the field and hold their sway

Anxious to wound, afraid to strike
Feebly protest and protest alike.
The fate of four hundred million human lives
Hath become the sport of their wretched diplomatic strife ;
Seven Powers of the Earth have their spear-heads thrust
Into China's flesh, the day be cursed
When nation after nation cheated her of her right—
Lulled by narcotic fumes, lured into her present plight ;
The spell is broke, China hath awoke,
She hath regained her long-lost soul,
The merry game of the Foreigner be soon o'er !
New China shall reach her destined goal ! !

And hearken the wheel that turns for ever
Moulding Human Fates above Human endeavour ;
Hear, the voice that comes from its creaking loud
Bemoans the fate that shall befall the tyrant proud ;
The voice doth speak thro' myriad tongues
Planted in millions of oppressed, human breasts
Found in every land, in every sphere of life
In Religion, in Politics, in Society, there is a strife,
An organised tyranny, a bondage
Super-imposed on the weak and the meek ;
The weak seem to suffer as tho' to suffer they are born
The meek patiently submit, till the meekness be gone,
And until that day is reached, oh God
May I be alive to see what the Hand of Fate hath wrought ! !

K. P. RAY

THE INDUSTRIAL BANK OF JAPAN

VIII

With this brief survey of the activities of the Industrial Bank, let us now turn to the question how far the bank has financed the industrial development of the country. To answer that question, we have to find out, whether the Industrial Bank is the only institution which caters for the financial needs of industry. We find, however, that the Industrial Bank is not the only factor in Japanese industrial financing. The Hypothec Bank which was designed on the lines of the French 'Credit foncier' to make loans on immovable property engages actively in industrial financing. The Deposits Bureau of the Government lends considerable sums through the bank to smaller industries. In recent times the bank has begun to play an interesting part in underwriting debenture issues. In 1929 it was reported to have underwritten a 20 million yen Daido Electric Power Company issue. The part it took in the post-war financing of industry was remarkable. It is ever extending its activities and in 1929 it was announced that it would advance money on security of fire-proof and quake-proof buildings in Tokio and its vicinity.¹

The local Agricultural and Industrial Banks, which are in effect branches of the Hypothec Bank in different prefectures, play a part in the financing of industries because, besides making loans to agriculturists and public bodies, these extend their assistance to manufactures also. It must be pointed out that if extent of debenture issues is a measure of assistance to industrialists and other bodies, there has been an enormous increase of

¹ Japan Advertiser, April 9, 1929, p. 7.

Hypothec Bank debentures during 1918-1926. The debenture issues of the Industrial Bank have been overshadowed by them. The former have been declining since 1921, but half of the outstanding debentures of the special banks are those of the Hypothec Bank.

The extent of the assistance of the Industrial Bank in the industrial progress of the country cannot be measured without a reference to the activities of the ordinary commercial banks in the sphere of industrial financing. There is a persistent tendency on their part to make extensive loans by way of accommodation to industrial concerns. Either they put their funds on call or they are inclined to make long-term loans on industrial security and real estate. This practice of entangling their funds in long-period loans on immovable property and securities is manifest in the case of both the smaller and larger banks. Dr. Furuya in a recent publication observes that the so-called exchange banks of Japan are in the habit of locking up their assets in long-term investments in industries.² Mr. G. C. Allen has pointed out that in 1921 the advances of the ordinary and savings banks on immovable property were more than 1,000 million yen whereas those of the official industrial and agricultural banks were only 100 million yen.³ This tendency is inevitable in the case of a country where industrial development is progressing at rapid strides but where there is a shortage of capital for long-term investment. This practice of the ordinary banks indicates also the inability of the official industrial banks to meet the demand for industrial capital. In more recent times owing to an influx of deposits into the commercial banks, especially after the 1927 crisis, their tendency for security holdings has increased to a very considerable extent. Formerly there was a competition among them to attract deposits ; now they are competing with one

² S. Y. Furuya, *Japan's Foreign Exchange and her Balance of International Payments*, p. 162.

³ G. C. Allen—*Modern Japan and its problems*, *op. cit.*

another in underwriting the issue of debentures.⁴ The rush of deposits into the "Big Five" has been especially great and consequently there has taken place a considerable increase of their security holdings. The following figures give an idea of this increase in recent times.⁵

(In thousands of Yen)

	December 31, 1928.	Increase over oldings on 30th June, 1928.
Mitsui	234,598	82,769
Mitsubishi	322,893	89,130
Darichi	248,597	39,142
Samitome	235,691	89,130
Yasuda	278,308	61,976
Total	1,320,087	353,147

Besides, the commercial banks play an important part in industrial financing, as they are large holders of securities. At the end of June, 1921, they held 852,956,000 yen so invested, as compared with 3,277,732,000 yen held by ordinary banks and 754,657,000 yen held by the special banks. Judging from conditions of March 31, 1929, one half of the securities held by the savings banks consist of other than Government bonds. These savings banks are permitted to take up or purchase, with the approval of the Minister of Finance, debentures and stocks of companies and to make loans on pledge of the said securities and also on mortgage of real estate.⁶ This activity of the Japanese Savings banks is somewhat akin to that of their American rivals but the latter are invariably restricted to first class bonds only (and not shares also) in the matter of their investment.

⁴ The Times "Trade and Eng. Supplement, Banking Sections, June 29, 1929, p. 34 and June 28, 1930, p. 25.

H. M. Bratter, *The Big Five in Japanese Banking*, Trade Information Bulletin No. (U. S. Govt. Printing Office.)

Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1928.

The famous houses of the Mitsubishis, Mitsuis, Sumitomos and Yasudas have also been responsible for many of the new industries of Japan. These powerful bankers have extended their activities in the industrial field. There are probably few enterprises of importance in Japan in which at least one of the groups has no interests. The most powerful banking houses are primarily industrialists themselves.

It may also be noted in this connection that some industries of Japan have received a considerable portion of their capital from foreigners and international concerns. Some of the machine-manufacturing industries, such as the Nippon Denki Kabusiki Kaisha, manufacturing telegraphic and telephonic implements, have their capital partly held by foreigners. Some companies manufacturing electric supplies are connected in matters of capital with great International concerns such as the G. E. C. the Siemens Schukert, the Westing House Electric Company, etc.⁷

As regards investment banking, we have to point out that such business has not been developed to any very great extent. The Japanese Security Houses cannot in any way be compared to the highly organized investment banking houses in the United States. They are new in the field and their number at present is only 6. They work in close co-operation with the large banks. The banks hold the major part of the securities. They underwrite and occasionally sell a part of their holding to other banks. The public are not large buyers of securities. They are absorbed by banks, insurance and trust companies. These take 92% of all securities placed in the market, public participation in new issues being not more than 8%.⁸

⁷ Present-day Japan (Asahi, English Supplement), 1929, p. 187. The G. E. C. holds 6,000,000 yen worth of shares out of 20 million yen in the Shibaura; the Westing House Electric Company holds 1,500,000 yen out of 15 million yen in the Mitsubishi and the Siemens Schukert holds 3 million yen (out of 10 million yen) in the Fuji Denki Seizo Kabushiki Kaisha.

⁸ Industrial Japan To-day (Special English Supplement, June 1928, Tuesday).

The insurance companies play some part in the financing of industries. They usually work in syndicates with the banks. One such Syndicate of Banks and Insurance Companies underwrote 19 million yen issue of Toho Electric Power Company in September, 1929.⁹

IX

In estimating the share of the Industrial Bank in the industrial development of the country, the influence of all these factors must be taken into account. The activities of the Government in this direction must not also be forgotten. Whatever might be the part played by the bank, it must be frankly admitted that it is the active Government participation which has made possible the greater part of Japan's industrial progress. From the earliest times the Government has taken an active interest in the industrialization of the country. The Government had to take the lead; it could not do otherwise. The supply of capital was hopelessly inadequate for the new forms of production and for the material equipment of country; the merchant and the industrial classes were incapable of the great tasks before them. Hence the Government stepped in and took upon itself the task of shaping and initiating the industrial advance of the country. "It decided what enterprises should be inaugurated; it established them or furnished the capital for their establishment by private companies; it encouraged technical and scientific training; it imported instructors from abroad for the new industries."¹⁰ The Government has maintained that initiative even to the present day. It has not been able to withdraw from industry and is continuing to introduce and support new industries and assist old ones in difficulties.

⁹ Herbert Bratter, *Japanese Banking*, *op cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁰ *The New Economic Position of Japan*, John and Dorothy Orchard, p. 79 (1930).

Coming to specific industries, we find that the shipbuilding industry is one of the most important industries to receive Government assistance from the early times of the modern period. Prior to 1880, shipbuilding in Japan was entirely under Government management. In 1896 the famous Shipbuilding Encouragement Act was passed and in 1899 the Navigation Encouragement Amendment Act. The immediate effects of the subsidizing policy adopted by the Government under the Acts were the establishment of several new shipbuilding companies and a remarkable achievement of skill and technique. The amount of subsidy paid by the Government under the acts was 22,757,495 yen between 1896 and 1918.¹¹ During that period the total tonnage of Japanese Ships increased by 1,300,000 tons, an increase of 57·3% when compared with the year when the Act was passed. This rapid increase may not be wholly due to the Act; but it is quite true that this high record could not be so easily established without the subsidy.

The development of the Japanese Merchant Marine has also been largely due to the subsidies and encouragement of the Government. Financial assistance has been given to shipping companies since their establishment under the Navigation Encouragement Act and the Ocean Service Subvention Law of 1909.¹² A total of 207 million in bounties and subsidies was paid out to shipping companies during 1902-1926.¹³ Without Government assistance Japanese shipping would not have been able to make the progress it has made and "could have been operated only at a loss to the owners." (Orchard.)

The building of railways and encouragement of private railway companies has been a marked feature of Government activities, ever since the pioneer railway of Japan was

¹¹ Uyehara, *The Trade and Industry of Japan*, p. 285.

¹² The Nippon Yusen Kaisha received, for instance, a subsidy of 89,300,000 yen, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, 84,700,000 yen, Toyo Rishan Kaisha, 85,300,000 yen, Nanyo Kisen Kaisha, 1,500,000 yen, etc.

¹³ *Financial and Economic Annual of Japan (1900-1928)*.

constructed by the state during 1870-72. Loans were floated in London and at home to finance the building of Government railways private companies received Government subsidies and guarantees of dividend payments. By 1927-28 the Government was paying subsidies of over 6 million yen to 70 lines.¹⁴

The Iron and Steel industry is another industry which has received the earnest attention and liberal assistance of the Government, ever since the Imperial Steel Works was built at Yawata in 1892. In the beginning the results were meagre. But the Government persisted in its efforts and the World War brought about a spectacular expansion in the industry. Without the liberal use of Government funds in the earlier period and its continued assistance since, Japan could have no iron and steel industry to-day.

As regards the manufacturing industries it is the same story. The Government has pursued its active policy of encouragement here as elsewhere. The first arsenal, the first silk filature, the first glass factory, the first chemical works have been built by Government efforts. At one time or another Government has established or operated cotton spinning mills, wool spinning and weaving mills, cement, brick and soap plants, porcelain works, food factories and so on.¹⁵ In recent years the manufacture of air crafts and the dye stuffs industry have received great assistance from the Government.¹⁶ Indeed it will not be an exaggeration to say that almost all modern industries owe their existence to the Government initiative. In the case of industries started by private companies, Government assistance has been liberally extended in the form of loans and subsidies. Not only infant industries but old established industries in difficulties

¹⁴ Orchard, *op cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁵ Orchard, *op cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁶ Present-day Japan (Asahi English, Supplement), 1929, p. 118, p. 121. The Osaka Dye Stuffs Industry (established in 1915) received up to 1927, 7,500,000 yen in subsidies and bounties from the Government.

receive the aid and attention of the Government. Modern Japanese industry owes its development to the "efforts of a highly paternalistic central Government."

X

From the preceding discussion it is abundantly clear that the Industrial Bank cannot claim a large share in the industrial up-lift of the country. The part played by other factors has been equally great, if not greater. From 1868 to 1893 the industries were undertaken and nurtured by the State. In 1893 the paid-up capital of all companies in Japan was 231,966,000 yen, but ten years later it increased to 887,606,000 yen. This enormous progress had been achieved before the Bank became active in the field. During the period 1903-1913 the increase in the capital was 123% for at the end of 1913 the total paid-up capital amounted to 1,983,232,000 yen. This was undoubtedly a remarkable achievement but it cannot be said to be solely due to the Industrial Bank. The glorious victory over the Russians in 1905 gave a powerful impetus to the industrial progress of the country. The great European War gave a further stimulus and an unprecedented development followed in its wake. The total paid-up capital rose to 9,312,072,000 yen.¹⁷

An analysis of the items of the export and import trade of Japan between 1895 will also help us to understand the rapid strides at which her economic development has progressed. The following figures given by the Asahi English Supplement (1920) are highly significant as indicating the rapid change of Japan's industrial mainstay from agriculture to manufacture.¹⁸

¹⁷ Uyehara *op. cit.*, pp. 12-17.

¹⁸ Present-day Japan (Asahi, English Supplement), 1920, p. 136.

Percentage of the Goods Exported and Imported.

	1895	1910	1920	1928	
Foodstuffs	16'4	11'23	7'30	8'17	Percentage of exports
	17'10	9'69	9'52	13'61	„ imports
Raw materials	8'48	8'77	7'14	4'63	„ exports
	23'44	49'83	53'94	53'12	„ imports
Semi-manufactured	43'64	49'09	34'83	43'09	„ exports
	19'96	17'85	21'79	17'45	„ imports
Manufactured	23'00	29'96	49'42	42'52	„ exports
	35'58	22'08	14'06	15'16	„ imports
Miscellaneous	3'38	0'95	1'26	1'58	„ exports
	3'87	0'55	0'68	0'66	„ imports

In this amazing industrial progress, the Industrial Bank had surely a share. But we should be careful not to overestimate its influence. We should have to reckon the valuable services rendered by the other banks and by the State in the industrial sphere. The most important part played in the industrial development of the country has been undoubtedly the State's. The Industrial Bank would have found it difficult to function, if the Government did not take a keen interest in its affairs and did not help it with the immense resources of the Deposits Bureau. From the very early times the Government had large investments in the Bank through the Deposits Bureau. As late as in March 1929 we find that the Deposits Bureau invested in the Bank 32,500,000 yen the amount being advanced to the Kokusai Steamship Company, the Japan Paper Business Company and the Godo Glycerine Company.¹⁹

¹⁹ Harber Bratter, *Japanese Banking*, op. cit., p. 223.

XI

Before adopting the Japanese institution as the model for our future Industrial Bank, we should remember that it was not the main factor, not even an important factor, in promoting the industrial development of the country. It must also be recognized that the Government of Japan completely identified itself with the working of the bank. An Industrial Bank on the same model but without similar Government assistance will not solve the problem of industrial finance in India. The entry of other Banks into the investment field in Japan shows that even there the official Industrial Bank was unable to meet the ever-increasing demand for industrial capital. Any scheme for starting an institution on the same model should also take account of the fact, which it generally does not, that the Industrial Bank in Japan often worked in syndicates with other banks, thus distributing the risks in investments fairly widely. Lastly, we must not forget that the Bank incurred severe losses when real estate and security values depreciated and it found a considerable portion of its funds entangled in shipbuilding and other industries caught in the past war slump. A keen controversy arose as to the successful working of the Bank. Some bitter criticisms were levelled against the institution, and although the laws were not actually modified agitation was successfully carried on to bring it under greater and more detailed superintendence of the Finance Department of the State. In more recent times, it may be interesting to note, the Financial System Investigation Committee has under consideration new legislation aiming to overhaul the entire banking system of Japan on the lines of the pre-war English deposit banking.²⁰

SAROJKUMAR BASU

(Concluded.)

²⁰ A paper read before the Economic Association, University of Dacca, 16th December, 1931.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN CURRENCY AND THE FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON IT

Many of the European researchers in the field of the Indian Numismatics consider that the Indian coinage in its origin was not indigenous but exotic and learnt from the Babylonians or the Greeks. But this view was very early challenged by Cunningham, Edward, Rapson and others.¹

“In former days it was the general opinion of the classical scholars that the art of coinage had been introduced into India by the Bactrian Greeks...the types, the shapes and the standard of the earliest money...could not have from the Greek money”²
 “...the people of Hindustan in very early times, had independently achieved considerable progress in the art of coining ; even before the Greek civilisation reached them.”³

“Doubts have been entertained of the existence of a native Indian currency prior to the introduction of the art of coining by the Greeks of Bactria...There are some considerations however which militate against it...It seems likely that the Hindus had a system of stamped coin even before the Greek invasion.”⁴

“The most ancient coinage of India...developed independently of any foreign influence...follows the native system of weights...”⁵

“...had the Indians waited till the Macedonians came to teach them, they would...humbly have essayed to copy the perfect coins of Alexander now ready to their hands.”⁶

¹ Bhandarkar, p. 38.

² Cunningham, p. 53.

³ Prinsep, p. 69. (Useful Tables.)

⁴ Wilson, I. 195.

⁵ Rapson, p. 2.

⁶ N. Orientalis, p. 55.

The Indian system of counting by "fours" is another evidence of the independent origin of the Indian coinage. The Karshapana of 80 ratis, as distinct from the Satamana of 100 ratis, has been taken to indicate the purely Indian pre-Aryan method, while the latter coin has been regarded as constituted in accordance with the foreign Aryan method.¹

Discoveries in the Punjab by Bailey and Marshall establishes conclusively that the punch-marked coins are indigenous to India and dated prior to the existence of the independent Bactria.

According to Bhandarkar the technique of the Karshapana, admittedly a coin peculiar to India, as well as its antiquity, clearly points out its indigenous origin.

The controversy may not have been finally settled. But if the idea of the antiquity of the Indian coinage, as discussed above, be regarded as substantially accurate, its indigenous origin cannot be disputed. The evidence however of the existence of coined money in the country prior to the seventh century B. C. is meagre, and even if their circulation at that time is proved beyond any doubt, the origin is not conclusively proved as indigenous but become only probable.

The Indian international trade with Egypt and the western countries is very long standing. Its existence has been noted in history long before the birth of Buddha. So it may not be altogether improbable that the new Lydian devices of trade found their way into India in the seventh century B. C. as soon as they were invented.²

There is much to unsettle the theory that the Indian coinage originated in the Greek or any other foreign source. Many a historical evidence in favour of the indigenous origin of the Indian currency has been alluded to. In addition to these it may be argued that India is a country of most ancient

¹ N. Orientalia, p. 47, 7, 3.

² Universal History, XX, Ch. 31, p.

civilisation of an indigenous type. Much of its architecture and many of its arts and crafts have been finally found to be of original type. The Sanskrit nomenclature of the ancient Indian coins in contradistinction to the later ones under foreign influence, indicates their indigenous origin. The Indian currency has a distinct method of subdivision and measurement based upon an unit of a native seed-weight (*rati*) and calculated through "fours" mainly to a practical standard of eighty units *metre* or "*pana*" which is almost universal in its application to the measurement of weight, space, value, etc. All these taken together may be regarded as constituting a valid proof towards the indigenousness of the Indian coins. Perhaps it is reasonable to argue that the Indian coinage system was original at its initiation, but, was naturally affected by the foreign currencies even at the earliest date through the contact with the Greeks, the Babylonians and the other nations who came in touch with the ancient Hindus from time to time. Surely the system was much modified through foreign contacts in the later historical period.

The foreign influence on the Hindu currency is a well-ascertained fact. Several varieties of foreign coins were in circulation in ancient India *pari passu* with the indigenous coins. The foreign occupiers of the Indian provinces naturally introduced their own systems for political reasons. The international trade connections also made the country recipient of large quantities and numerous varieties of foreign coins of which the remnants still puzzle the brains of the numismatists and often lead them to mistaken calculations, such as the Indian coins at their beginning were of foreign origin, they were not very ancient, etc.

The chief varieties of foreign coins or coins under foreign influence were (1) the Persian, (2) the Athenian, (3) the Graeco-Bactrian, (4) the Parthian and (5) the Roman.

" During...the Achaemenid rule (B.C. 500-321) the Persian coins were circulated in the Punjab. Gold double staters

were...actually struck in India...Many of the silver Sigloi...have counter-marks so similar to the native punch-marks as to make it probable that the two classes of coins were in circulation together.”¹

“...The owls of Athens were carried in course of commerce to the east...imitations were made in N. India.”²

No doubt these and other foreign coins influenced the technique of the Indian coins, many varieties of which owed their origins to the direct imitation of the foreign ones which in their turn could not keep themselves altogether free from the Indian influence. An instance to the point may be found in “the adoption of the elephant as a type of the Selucid coins.”³

A. K. SARKAR

¹ Rapson, p. 4, 5.

² Prinsep, p. 2, Vol. 1.

³ Rapson. Prinsep, N. Orientalia.

COME NIGHTINGALE !

Come Nightingale ! and let us go,
To the world's farthest shore ;
There we will weep, our bosom's woe,
Of which we have a store. .
Thou loved a rose that drooped at noon,
And left thee pining here ;
And I, a maid, who died too soon ;
In her youth's budding year.
Alas ! He sent them for a time,
And took them soon away :
Why should a maid die in her prime,
And a flower in a day ?

GURDIAL SINGH WADALIA

THE CLASH IN THE FAR EAST ¹

I

CHINA *vs.* JAPAN

The Far Eastern question has loomed large before the public mind for the last six months. The present clash between Japan and China developed dramatically first in Manchuria and then at Shanghai—but even the average person realises that the conflict between the two Asiatic neighbours is a long-standing one. A study of the facts also gives a clear impression that for the last sixty years it is Japan that has been steadily pressing and encroaching upon China.

It is not difficult to see why Japan has so far been successful in her policy of aggrandisement and aggression towards China. Until very recently the military organisation of China was backward and pre-modern while ever since the Restoration of 1868-1869, Japan has made it her chief aim to master the Western methods of destruction and to keep abreast of all progress in the science of war. The Chinese civilisation was eminently pacific and contemptuous of militarism in great contrast to the martial tradition and the intense chauvinism of the Japanese. While the government of Japan became centralised, strong and efficient, the administrative system of China has failed as yet to reorganise itself on a modern basis. A glance at the map shows that strategically the empire of Japan dominates the whole of the Chinese coast except in the extreme south. This geographical position, coupled with the naval power natural to an island people, confers on Japan the choice of attack.

¹ A paper read at the History Association of the Dacca University.

In actual fighting the greater resources, the scientific organisation and the national qualities of the Japanese give them an advantage over the armed forces of the Chinese. Indeed Japan could have completely dominated China politically and economically but for her vast size, the presence of other interested Powers in the Pacific and the rising tide of national feeling in China since the awakening of 1919.

The story of Japanese pressure upon China is illuminating even in outline. Japanese aggression was occasionally brought about of course by Chinese failure to maintain order and the tendency to evade responsibility. But none the less Japanese action from the beginning showed that the lessons of Imperialism had been learned well by the rising power. As early as 1874, a punitive expedition was sent to Formosa. The Loochoo islands had been long tributary to both China and Japan but in 1875, they were seized by Japan on the familiar excuse of retaliation for the murder of certain people of Loochoo by the aborigines in Formosa. In 1876, Korea was compelled by a naval expedition to cut off her traditional ties with China. When China struggled to recover her old position in the Korean court, Japan went to war in 1894. As a result of victory, not only was Korea placed under Japanese control but Japan annexed Formosa and the Pescadores and above all the important peninsula of Liaotung in South Manchuria (1895). Liaotung was restored to China by the intervention of Russia, France and Germany and part of it was given in lease to Russia. After the Russo-Japanese War, fought on Chinese soil without China's permission, the leased area was however transferred to Japan together with railway concessions in South Manchuria. Meanwhile a Japanese "sphere of interest" was established in the province of Fukien opposite Formosa. Japan also came to share the extraterritorial and fiscal privileges of other foreign Powers in China and joined them in the financial exploitation of that country in the twentieth century, for example through economic concessions and the Reorganisation Loan of 1913. In 1914, the Great War

furnished Japan with the opportunity to seize the German lease of Kiaochow when the Japanese troops violated Chinese neutrality while the whole world was ringing with condemnation of Germany's crime against Belgium. Next year Japan served China with the notorious Twenty-one Demands taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the whole world with the War. Group V of these Demands which would have established the effective control of Japan over the administration and military organisation of China was dropped but extensive concessions were secured from the helpless Chinese Government by the 1915 treaties in Manchuria, Shantung and elsewhere. The Treaty of Versailles left Japan in possession of her gains thereby provoking fierce anti-Japanese feeling among all sections of the Chinese. The Washington Conference of 1922 thought it prudent to restore Shantung to China but Japan managed to retain the rest of her privileges intact. Moreover the prohibition to fortify the Pacific islands in future together with the new naval ratio made it impracticable for the United States and England to attack Japan whose position was thereby strengthened in Chinese waters. Since then Japan has maintained her position in a determined fashion as the sending of troops to Shantung in 1927 and the occupation of the same province in 1928-1929 conclusively demonstrate. The present aggression of Japan on China is therefore no isolated phenomenon but part of a consistent and settled policy.

II

JAPAN'S STAKE IN CHINA.

The territorial expansion of modern Japan has not been very remarkable, for on the continent of Asia she possesses only Korea (annexed in 1910) and part of Liaotung peninsula (held on a 99 years' lease) together with the Railway Zone in South Manchuria. Her imperialism might partly be explained

by the desire to rank as one of the Great Powers. The methods employed by her copy the highhandedness of the European states in China and recall the treatment meted out to Japan herself in 1863 when foreign warships bombarded the seats of the Satsuma and the Choshu clans as acts of reprisal. But Japan's policy is based upon more fundamental reasons—mainly economic in character. China is at once her greatest market and the most important region for industrial and financial exploitation. Indeed Japan's existence as a Great Power on the basis of a capitalist economy depends upon her control over China so long as she is shut out from other regions of like importance. This explains the Japanese tenacity in holding fast to their privileges in China.

The region in China most vital for Japan is of course Manchuria which, it has been said, is more important to her than India is to Britain. Prof. Vinacke describes Manchuria as a Far Eastern Alsace-Lorraine. The Japanese dominate in Manchuria and have established themselves by the treaties of 1905 and 1915. But Manchuria has always been regarded as part of China in spite of racial and geographical differences and legally the three provinces are still Chinese territory. China naturally aspires to recover control of Manchuria—at least to check Japan's economic empire over the region. While Japan might claim that the development of Manchuria is due to Japanese capital and enterprise and prohibition of civil wars, China is not ready to surrender her sovereignty and attributes Manchurian prosperity to the settlement of Chinese workers there. The situation is complicated by the Russian right to control the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria but the Soviet Power seems to have abandoned the Tsarist policy of penetration while resolutely maintaining its hold on the Railway which links Vladivostok with the West. Yet another factor is provided by the semi-autonomous character of Manchuria under the son of the war-lord Chang Tso-lin which seems to be at present on the point of being transformed into independence

under the Manchu dynasty—a process bound to be very welcome to Japan.

Economically, Manchuria is too valuable for Japan to relax her hold.¹ The vast plains are designed to be her granary with their great agricultural resources. Manchuria has not been used as a region for colonisation but she is both an all-important source of raw materials and an expending market for Japan's industries which are solving her population problem. The mineral wealth of the country is being exploited by what is in effect Japan's biggest foreign investment. The phenomenal growth of the Soya bean which can be utilised as food and fodder, oil and fertiliser and the rich supply of timber increase the volume of trade year by year. The Manchurian regions are the hinterland of the great Japanese modern ice-free ports of Dairen and Antung. Manchuria is developing under Japanese control and for Japan's benefit, the guidance of the whole process being in the hands of the latest example of a giant chartered company²—the South Manchurian Railway. The Railway and the Railway Zone are part of the Japanese lease but the activities of the corporation stretch like nerves through the length and breadth of South Manchuria. It possesses military guards under treaty right who patrol the lines and district agencies. Its "Subsidiary establishments and collateral privileges" include running of mines, factories, docks, shipping, hotels and educational institutions. The Railway is the chief instrument of Japanese penetration in Manchuria and it is therefore not difficult to see why the proposal in 1910 of Secretary Knox of America to neutralise the Manchurian railroads proved unacceptable to Japan.

A fruitful source of discord between China and Japan has arisen over the interpretation of the Manchurian treaties

¹ See the article on Manchuria by W. L. Smyser in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1931.

² See Prof. Zimmern's article on Manchuria in the *Political Quarterly*, Vol. III.

together with their secret protocols. They mean according to Japan for example the restriction of the entry of non-Japanese capital in Manchuria and the prohibition of the construction of railroads competing with the South Manchurian Railway. Recently China has been threatening Japan's economic ascendancy. Based on cheap labour Chinese cotton is ousting Japanese mill-products. China is constructing an ice-free port of her own in Manchurian waters—Hulutao, which is to be completed by next year. She is credited with a plan of building railways parallel to the South Manchurian lines. The real origin of the recent trouble therefore can be traced to the natural desire of China to regain economic control of her Manchurian provinces which Japan is in no mood to tolerate—intent on preserving her present prosperity.

III

A CHRONICLE OF EVENTS.

The actual events of the present crisis can now be summarised briefly. In last summer friction between the two countries was constant. In July, there was a clash between the Korean subjects of Japan resident in Manchuria (aided by the Japanese police) and the Chinese, at Wanpaoshan, followed by outrages in Korea against Chinese residents and attacks on Koreans in Manchuria. China and Japan demanded from each other formal apology, indemnity and the punishment of offenders. The news of the murder of Captain Nakamura of the Japanese General Staff on the borders of Mongolia and Manchuria further excited Japanese feelings and early in September the Press and the War Office were urging the Government to take action. On the 18th September there was an attack on the South Manchurian Railway north of Mukden and on the next day the Japanese troops occupied all the key positions in South Manchuria. The movement of troops was carried out in a few hours evidently according to pre-arranged plans. The occupation of towns beyond the Railway

Zone constituted a violation of Chinese territory but full responsibility for the step was taken by General Honjo, the Japanese commander of the Liaotung lease. The Tokyo cabinet was faced with an accomplished fact and in face of the feelings of the Army and the people, it had no option but to approve. Students of Japanese constitution know that the War Office is directly under the Emperor. The higher commands of the Army and the Navy are monopolised by the two great clans—Choshu and Satsuma. This peculiar independence of the military organisation is vividly illustrated by General Honjo's decision on the 18th September last, by his later refusal to withdraw from the "security occupation" of Manchuria to please the League Council and by the action of the Japanese Admiral off Shanghai at the beginning of the present year. Popular clamour forced the Japanese Government to back the armed forces in the present crisis at every successive step. Meanwhile the Japanese occupation of Manchuria aroused intense agitation in China against Japan for all factions equally resent Japan's high-handed actions. There were riots and demonstrations at Hongkong, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow and other centres. The students were furious against the inactivity of the Nanking Government and compelled by physical force the resignation of C. T. Wang, the Foreign Minister. As the League failed to secure Japanese withdrawal from Manchuria, the Chinese people resorted to the boycott which was beyond the power of the Government to relax as Nanking informed Tokyo in response to protests. Constant practice has perfected the weapon of the organised boycott in China and Japanese trade suffered immensely as a result when goods from Japanese ships could not even be landed in the various ports. Meanwhile the extension of Japanese military control in Manchuria led to fighting like that on the Nonni bridge near Tsitsihar early in November. One month later the bombing and occupation of Chinchow completed Japan's sway over Manchuria. But the persistence of the boycott and the fall of the moderate government of Chiang Kaishek were ominous for Japan. The

attack upon certain Japanese monks in the Chinese city of Shanghai in the middle of January served as a pretext for the presentation of an ultimatum by the Japanese Admiral to the Mayor of Shanghai, demanding the dissolution of the boycott associations. The reply being considered unsatisfactory, troops were landed by Japan and the armed conflict began near Shanghai which is in progress at the time of writing.

IV

THE FAILURE OF PEACE EFFORTS

The part played by Japan in the recent crisis to protect her economic empire is in keeping with her traditional policy, but the most disquieting feature of the situation is the failure to stop hostilities in the Far East. Three treaties have proved unavailing—the League Covenant of 1919, the Nine Powers Treaty of 1922 regarding China and the Kellogg Pact of 1928. One of the parties—China—restrained its forces for a long time and repeatedly appealed to the League for protection. Japan's conduct was not upheld by a single member of the League Council besides herself. No wonder that the failure to stop Japan in spite of all this is commonly regarded as the greatest blow to the prestige of the League of Nations in its whole career.

It is however easy to blame the League of Nations and easier still to overlook its great difficulties. Nor must it be forgotten that the League has hampered Japan's freedom of action in the last six months to a certain extent. A formal war would have left the whole of China at the mercy of Japanese militarism but Japan has not dared to go to war. In a war China would have lost by this time most probably her legal ownership of Manchuria and her economic freedom so far as it exists. Moreover, it is doubtful whether Japan would be after all allowed to secure any new concessions in China now which she might naturally have acquired by a treaty through the stress of war. League obligations have also enabled the Chinese Government to hold

in check the clamorous war party and thus to avoid a declaration of war by China which would have been most welcome to Japan.

China appealed to the League on September 20, under Article 11 of the Covenant which declares any war or threat of war to be a matter of concern for the whole League. In reply to the request of the Council, China undertook to protect foreign residents adequately and Japan promised withdrawal of troops as soon as the situation improved. A unanimous resolution of the Council on September 30, recorded both the pledges. This resolution though legally binding has not yet been carried out in Manchuria.

The Council met again on October 13, and by special invitation the United States sent a representative to attend the Council meetings but not as a full member.¹ Japan maintained that the boycott movement constituted the chief obstacle to withdrawal and that five "fundamental points" (including suppression of organised boycott, respect for Japan's treaty-rights and effective protection of Japanese nationals) must be accepted by China before evacuation. The Tokyo Government was thus making a stand to cover the action of the Japanese Higher Command. The resolution of the Council on October 24, requiring Japanese withdrawal by November 16, from Manchuria, was blocked by the single vote of Japan for it must be remembered that Article 5 says that unless otherwise expressly provided the rule of unanimity is required for a valid decision of the League.

China's offer of settling the dispute by arbitration or judicial settlement under Article 13 proving unacceptable to Japan, the Council met again on November 16. The fighting in Manchuria and the extension of occupation were explained by Japan as defensive operations provoked by the activity of bandits. Finally the Council unanimously accepted the Japanese proposal for sending out a neutral commission of five to study the situation in Manchuria but with no power to stop military movements.

¹ See *League of Nations Monthly Summary* for October, 1931.

The outcome was the Lytton Commission which is moving so leisurely that the work does not seem to have started yet.

On the extension of the conflict to Shanghai, the League ordered an enquiry by the local foreign officials and unsuccessfully appealed to Japan to observe her treaty obligations. Actions taken by the United States and Britain however produced more effect on Japan and a settlement in the Far East might yet be effected by this new development together with the summoning of the League Assembly in March to consider China's appeal under Article 15 which provides for reference of disputes to the League for decision and leads on to Article 16 with its threat of economic blockade and other sanctions against a violator of the Covenant.

The policy of masterly inactivity of the League is partly explained by its great difficulties. The rule of unanimity is a serious handicap but if the League had been empowered by the Covenant to act upon a majority decision in all cases what would have become of national independence—the cherished ideal of all peoples? Articles 15 and 16 of course allow the League to exclude the disputants under certain circumstances from voting and then impose the decision of the rest by various sanctions. But then coercion is a method from which naturally there is a shrinking—the League's proper function being persuasion. Article 10 guarantees the territorial integrity of member states but that is interpreted to mean merely the prevention of forcible *transfer* of the possessions of one country to another. The League is weak also because two Great Powers—Russia and the United States—are still outside and finally a hectoring attitude towards Japan might lead to her resignation from the League and non-co-operation with the Disarmament Conference.

Yet the League even with its limited powers could have done much more. The issue in September and October was simple and an insistence on immediate withdrawal of the Japanese would have had far-reaching moral effects. A

threat to suspend diplomatic relation would have brought Japan to reason. The boldness of Japan increased in proportion to the hesitation of the League which missed the golden opportunity of demanding an evacuation of Manchuria before discussing anything extraneous to the main point. The Manchurian Commission should not have been allowed to dawdle and waste time. Landing of troops at Shanghai should have been forbidden unequivocally. It was quite within the power of the League Council to maintain clearly that Japan might have had any number of grievances but the proper way to settle them was appeal to the League itself and not military invasion. It was fear of the consequences which held the Council back but obviously this is the worst kind of caution, for the example of Japan constitutes a dangerous precedent for any Great Power whose interests are threatened in any part of the world. Even if Japan had withdrawn from the League on the adoption of a strong attitude by the Council—such resignation would not have had immediate effect (Article 1, para. 3 of the Covenant) and in the interval the League's prestige would have been saved. The real reason for the weakness of the Council is the attitude of the Great Powers on the question. Apparently the suggestion of Mr. William Martin (*The Spectator*, December 19, 1931) is correct that at the London Conference of 1929, a free hand was given to Japan in Manchuria by secret understandings between herself and the other naval powers which however cannot legally bind the League of Nations. Again, the minor states on the League Council ought to have asserted themselves—and Spain, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Irish Free State, Guatemala, Panama and Peru cannot escape their share of responsibility for meekly following the lead of the Great Powers in a critical moment in the fortunes of the League. In the present crisis, nation states, big and small, have all failed to uphold the honour of the international organisation ushered in with such hopes after the horrors of the World War. The result is that Japan has been

allowed to treat no less than three treaties as mere "scraps of paper." As Prof. Zimmern drily remarks in the *Political Quarterly* (Vol. III, No. I) Bethmann-Hollweg in 1914 made a slight miscalculation. He should have violated three treaties and not one only.

V

THE THEORY OF REPRISAL.

Japan to-day stands before the bar of world opinion charged with breach of International Law but she has tried to justify her conduct on grounds which deserve serious consideration. There are two chief arguments which can be put forward on her behalf—namely that the military operations undertaken so far do not constitute war but are merely reprisals which have never been prohibited ; and that China in her present disorganised condition is not a state at all. The contentions are plausible to a certain extent but not fully convincing.

It is true that War is distinguished from Reprisals in International Law. Both consist of violent operations, the difference being in the degree. Yet the legal consequences are clearly different. For example War means cessation of mutual diplomatic relations, restrictions on and legal disabilities of enemy subjects within a state, enforcement of the right of search and even of capture occasionally of neutral merchantmen and the abrogation or suspension of many kinds of treaties to which the disputants are parties. In a war again, a belligerent has the right to continue the struggle as long as he likes. Reprisals fall short of all these characteristics of War. Past history abounds in illustrations of acts of reprisals which have been held to be no war at all.

Now it may be argued that the League Covenant did not prohibit reprisals for the terms used in the relevant Articles are—"war or threat of war" and "disputes likely to lead to a rupture."

At the time of the bombardment of Corfu in 1923, Italy took exactly this line and the Committee of Jurists partially upheld this view. Similarly, the Paris Pact may be said to have renounced War but not Reprisals. The danger of such arguments was perceived by Westlake as early as 1909 when he drew attention to the fact that the Hague Convention III of 1907 by prohibiting declarations of war in the absence of notice would encourage military action in the guise of reprisals.¹ His warning was unheeded in the drafting of the Covenant and the anti-war Pact. In one respect matters have become worse. Formerly there was a natural check to reprisals in the probability that any high-spirited state would declare war rather than submit to reprisals. But now a declaration of war would be a clear violation of treaties in most cases while reprisals might be argued to be well within the limits of legal right.

Significantly enough, recent Chinese history provides many examples of the use of force without resort to war so that Japan might point out precedents for her conduct—if that is any excuse. Even if we consider the Shanghai shootings of May-June, 1925, as within the competence of the authorities of the International Settlement, the British firing at Cantonese demonstrations in the same year, the bombardment of Wahnsein in 1926 and the Nanking barrage in 1927 illustrate the above point. Military raids were carried out by Russia to protect the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929 and Japan kept troops in Shantung without much protest during 1927-1928. Japan might be forgiven in her consequent belief that International Law did not apply to China.

But the fact is that there is a common-sense distinction between Reprisals and War and Japan has transgressed the limit between the two. It is not permissible to carry on the latter in the garb of the former. International Law distinguishes between the two but it emphatically asserts that the extent of reprisals must be proportionate to the injury sustained. It is equally

1 See Westlake's *Collected Papers* (War and Reprisals).

clear that reprisals must cease as soon as the other party offers negotiation or arbitration. In any case, when reprisals are resisted and there is the risk of large-scale fighting, a condition of war arises even if there is no formal declaration of it. These are as much rules of International Law as the subtle distinction between War and Reprisals. It is a sophistry to admit a convenient rule and ignore awkward ones.

VI

THE STATUS OF CHINA.

The argument upon which however Japan seems to have relied most is the contention that China at present is not a state at all but a region in anarchy—that it has reverted as it were to a “state of nature.” The rule of the Nanking Government is a fiction and there is no central control over bandit-groups and mobs for example. Yet in the same breath Japan demands from the same government the suppression of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Again in reply to the protest of the United States under the Paris Pact, Japan insisted that the toleration of the boycott by the Chinese Government was a violation of its responsibility incurred under Article 2 of the document which requires pacific solution of all disputes. One may be tempted to ask how is it possible to reconcile the two attitudes mentioned above but obviously logic is foreign to the great art of diplomacy.

There arises the further question as to when China ceased to be a distinct state according to the Japanese theory. In 1922 at the Washington Conference China was treated as an organised state by Japan and yet her Government then was less well-established than the present Kuo-Min Tang regime. Even in the early stages of the present conflict, Japan proclaimed her preference for direct negotiations with China regarding the so-called “fundamental principles” to the interference of the League of Nations. Once again it must be pointed out that a case is spoiled by flagrant inconsistency.

Finally it is worth stressing that a serious problem like the status of a country in International Law cannot be assumed to have been settled by the isolated decision of one state. That freedom would mean the end of all law between nations. Such action is all the more reprehensible in the present case for the Nine Powers Treaty contains a clear pledge on their part to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. If this does not mean the prohibition of action such as taken recently by Japan, there cannot be any talk in future about any "treaty rights" at all.

VII.

THE FUTURE.

There is therefore an almost conclusive case against Japan and in favour of the contention that she has violated not only the spirit of her solemn undertakings but also the letter according to any reasonable interpretation of terms. It is impossible to know how far matters would drift in the Far East though already there are signs that Japan having upset the balance, Anglo-American co-operation of the pre-war type might succeed where the League has not ventured to interfere. It remains however to point out a few lessons for the future.

The failure of the League to-day ought not to mean the rejection of the League idea and the League method for that would worsen the situation. What is wanted is rather to put pressure upon the League machinery by creating a formidable public opinion in different countries. It is a difficult task but more profitable than crying down the League of Nations. There must be an insistent demand everywhere for the observance of the Covenant even with its limited possibilities. The only consistent alternative to the League organisation is the Communist world revolution in which most people have no great faith.

The aims of the League might be furthered in spite of the Government members of the League by organised private action

under centralised control. Unions might be built up for example which would boycott and put pressure upon any country which breaks the Covenant.

There is a necessity of agitation for the revision of the Covenant also. It is certainly desirable to prohibit any kind of military action even if it is an act of reprisal before the League is given a chance to settle the dispute. Theoretically this cannot be a greater interference with state sovereignty than the existing restrictions on the right of war. The use of violence under certain circumstances was prohibited as early as 1907 when Hague Convention II made it illegal to employ force to recover contract debts between nations.

Experience has also shown the correctness of Oppenheim's belief that the League Council being a political body is highly unsuited to act as conciliator. A separate Council of Conciliation functioning for the purposes of Article 15 might after all be an improvement on the present condition.

Much can be accomplished in these directions if public opinion is aroused and directed to definite proposals and if a number of small States of the World resolutely assert their legal right to demand a reform of the League of Nations. If anything of this nature comes out of it even the Far Eastern crisis would have its good results.

But the Far Eastern Question can never be completely set at rest until economic imperialism as a system is replaced all over the world by some other kind of organisation which ensures the prosperity of all peoples. It is unfair to expect that Japan alone would surrender her prospects while other Powers continue their merry career of exploitation in different parts of the world. None of the Great Powers have a clean record in this respect and that explains the latitude given to Japan in the Far East. Japan has placed herself in a false position but the troubles in China are merely part of a much wider problem—that of capitalist imperialism.

WHY THE IMPORT OF RAW COTTON SHOULD NOT BE DISCOURAGED

Since the last year we are witnessing a very keen controversy in the country in regard to the advisability or otherwise of the import of raw cotton from foreign countries for use in the mills situated in India for the purpose of manufacture of cloth. The present Swadeshi movement is a great help to the cotton mill industry of India and but for the Swadeshi propaganda the cotton mill industry would have been in a languishing state at the present time. This being so, a certain section of the people put forward the argument that in appreciation of the several benefits that the propaganda for Swadeshi and Khaddar has brought to the mill industry, the mill-owners should not betray the interests of the country by importing cotton from other countries when there is enough cotton available inside the country. The reason that are put forward against the importation of raw cotton from foreign countries are that the price of Indian cotton undergoes a considerable fall, that the demand for Indian cotton is reduced, and it is urged that the goods manufactured from such imported cotton cannot be called purely Swadeshi and should not therefore receive the patronage of the people.

On a little consideration it will be found that these arguments are not very cogent and convincing. In the first place, it ought to be remembered that a great bulk of the cotton grown in India is suitable only for coarse spinning, whereas the cotton imported from Kenya, Egypt and the United States of America is of long staple suited for spinning high counts of yarn for the manufacture of fine fabrics. The quality of the raw cotton imported from abroad being thus different from the cotton produced in the country (except perhaps in the case of American cotton which is of a little shorter staple than that imported from Egypt, etc.), it is hardly correct to say that the consumption of Indian cotton in India is reduced by such imports. I am not unaware

that in reply to this it would be urged that to the extent that foreign cotton is imported the use of Indian cotton is reduced because if foreign cotton was not imported, Indian cotton would have been used in its place, even though it was of inferior quality and suitable for only coarse spinning. This, however, cannot convince anyone because the foreign cotton does not in any sense replace Indian cotton. The importation of foreign cotton being of long-stapled quality, the like of which is not produced in the country, it is not true to say that it substitutes Indian cotton; it only supplements it.

Cotton Consumption Statistic.

Let us now see the statistics of the production, consumption and export and import of cotton in India. The total Indian crop for the season 1928-29 was 57 lakhs of bales and the estimated crop for the season 1929-30 was 52 lakhs of bales. The estimated yield of cotton for the season 1930-31 is according to the supplementary official memorandum of Indian crop issued on the 23rd April, 1931, 48 lakhs of bales. Out of this the mill consumption of Indian cotton in the year 1928-29 was 17 lakhs of bales and in the year 1929-30, 22 lakhs of bales. During the year 1930-31 the mills are consuming about 2 lakhs of bales per month. It also appears that the Indian mills will continue to take at least this quantity of raw cotton in the future, if not more, to comply with the increasing demand of cloth made inside the country. The consumption of Indian cotton on the hand-spinning wheels is also decidedly on the increase, and shows signs of increasing still more. The export of Indian cotton during the year 1928-29 was 37 lakhs of bales, during the year 1929-30, 40 lakhs of bales, and during the year 1930-31, 39 lakhs of bales. The export of Indian cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931, amounted to 14 lakhs of bales as compared with 18 lakhs of bales for a similar period during the year 1930. The import of raw cotton from outside India in 1928-29 was 162,000 bales, in 1929-30, 134,000 bales

and in 1930-31 370,000 bales (approximately). The import of raw cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931 amounted to 311,000 bales as compared with 140,000 bales for a similar period during the year 1930, *i.e.*, roughly double the quantity. The value of imports of raw cotton during 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31 amounted to Rs. 390 lakhs, Rs. 342 lakhs and Rs. 638 lakhs respectively. The value of the imports of raw cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931, amounted to Rs. 467 lakhs as compared with Rs. 281 lakhs for a similar period during the year 1930. The value of the exports of raw cotton from India during the years 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31 amounted to Rs. 66 crores, Rs. 65 crores and Rs. 46 crores. The value of the export of Indian cotton during the six months ended 30th September, 1931 amounted to Rs. 14 crores as compared with Rs. 24 crores for a similar period during the year 1930. The reduction in the value of the exports is due to the low price of cotton consequent on the prevalent trade depression all over the world. It is a very encouraging feature that the quantity of the cotton exported from India has now undergone any appreciable fall in spite of the fact that there is a diminished consumption of cotton throughout the whole world. This is due to the fact that many manufacturers especially, in Lancashire, are adapting their spindles to the use of Indian cotton in substitution of American cotton, due largely to the cheapness of Indian cotton as compared with American cotton. Japan has similarly increased its consumption of Indian cotton, and although the mill activities in Japan and Lancashire were restricted during the past several months due to the boycott movement in India and the prevalent trade depression all the world over, the consumption of Indian cotton has been considerable in both the countries.

From the figures given above, it is easy to see that the quantity of cotton imported during the last three years varies between 3 per cent. to 6 per cent. of the total Indian crop, and amounts to only about 7 per cent. to 14 per cent. of the total

consumption of Indian cotton by the Indian mills. It would therefore be hardly correct to say that the consumption of foreign cotton in India by the mills appreciably affects the price of Indian cotton which depends largely on the price of American cotton. A large part of the Indian crop of cotton is exported to foreign countries and the price which the entire cotton crop can secure is the price which the Indian cotton can realise in the world's market for its exportable surplus. The argument that the importation of foreign cotton reduces to a considerable extent the price of the Indian crop of cotton is hardly tenable, particularly because the cotton that is imported, does not directly compete with Indian cotton. While the best Indian cotton like Navsari and Cambodia can be made use of for spinning up to 30's only, much of the raw cotton imported from abroad is used for spinning counts from 40's and upwards. The price of Indian cotton as pointed out above is determined by the world factor and can hardly be said to be affected to any appreciable extent by the importation of foreign cotton in India.

The Indian National Congress has been approached recently with a request that the goods manufactured by mills from foreign raw cotton should not receive the patronage of the people as they cannot be called purely Swadeshi. This contention is so absurd that it has to be mentioned only to be rejected. There would be some point in a contention of this character, if it could be proved that imported cotton is of a quality similar to the quality of cotton available from inside the country and is such as can substitute Indian cotton, thereby decreasing the internal demand of such cotton inside the country. That, however, is not the case.

It may then be enquired why it is necessary for India to import long-stapled foreign cotton and why the mills cannot consume all Indian cotton in preference to foreign imported cotton, even though long-stapled cotton is not available inside the country. India can have two goals before her, *viz.*, either (1) to consume Indian cotton inside the country by manufacturing cloth out of it and exporting the surplus manufactured

cloth outside India, or (2) to manufacture the quality and quantity of cloth required by her from such raw cotton as is produced inside the country, and to import the balance of the desired quality of raw cotton from foreign countries. It is too well-known that we do not produce enough long-stapled cotton for meeting the requirements of the country for fine cloth. Further, it will be conceded by every one that at the present time at any rate, it is not possible for India to consume all the raw cotton produced by her and to export manufactured cotton goods to other countries, due largely to the fact that we cannot stand competition with advanced countries like Lancashire, Japan, etc., ; we are, therefore, left to producing the necessary cloth required by the country from cotton produced inside the country, and cotton imported from outside for special purposes. The most cogent argument against banning the import of long-stapled cotton from other countries is furnished by the necessity and the desirability of manufacturing fine fabrics in India in order to replace similar fabrics imported at present from Lancashire, Japan, Italy and other countries. The Indian cotton is of too short a staple to produce yarn of very high counts necessary for the weaving of fine and delicate fabrics. The imported long-stapled cotton is meant only for spinning high counts and it is too expensive to be used for the manufacture of coarse goods (it cannot thus in any way be said to compete with Indian short-stapled cotton). If the object of the nation in undertaking the propaganda of Swadeshi is to be fully achieved, that is, if the requirements of cloth in India are to be produced internally by the mills as well as the hand-looms no ban should be imposed on the importation of long-stapled cotton from foreign countries, it should not be banned or discouraged in any way, till such time as sufficient long-stapled cotton is available inside the country, for turning out fine yarn necessary for manufacturing goods of a quality similar to that of imported ones with a view to replace them, or till such time as the taste of the people is revolutionised as a result of the propaganda for Khaddar and the

necessity of producing fine yarn and fine fabrics is completely obviated. We are all aware that it is not possible to induce all the people in the country to give up the use of finer varieties of cloth all of a sudden and to accept coarse cloth woven from, say, 20's. We have not been able to induce all the people even to wear Khaddar in preference to mill-cloth, because the former is a little coarser than the latter. It is, therefore, too much to expect the whole nation to turn suddenly to the use of such garments as can be made from the short-stapled cotton that is grown inside the country. If we are to depend on this sudden change coming and, with that end in view, if we put a ban on the importation of raw cotton from abroad, this object of making India independent of foreign sources for the supply of the cloth needed by her, will be delayed or made impossible of achievement and we will thus be doing a great disservice to the country. In order to enable us to reach our goal as quickly as possible, we ought to encourage the use of imported raw long-stapled cotton so that the demands of the people who cannot give us at once the use of fine cloth, can be met by the cloth manufactured inside the country from such raw long-stapled cotton. If we ban the use of imported cotton, its effect will be that the Indian demand for finer fabrics will have to be met by imports from foreign countries. If we increase the cost of imported raw cotton by imposing a duty on it, we will be virtually increasing the cost of raw materials for spinning 40's and upwards and the effect of this will be that our mills will be handicapped in competing with foreign countries in their finer goods. Thus while not discouraging the import of long-stapled raw cotton from foreign countries, on the one hand, we must make an endeavour, on the other hand, to produce more and more long-stapled cotton in substitution for the present short-stapled cotton inside the country. The Indian Central Cotton Committee informed the Tariff Board in the year 1927, that of the total Indian crop of 60 lakhs of bales, there would be about 20 lakhs of bales of long-stapled cotton of which 320,000 bales or 16 per cent. may be taken as

suitable for warp yarn of 30/36 counts and an additional 50,000 or 3 per cent. for weft yarn of 30/36 counts (*vide* page 259 of the Tariff Board's Report). I may state, however, that these figures are not reliable according to several authorities intimately connected with the Indian Cotton Textile Industry. It is likely that the experiments in spinning may have been carried out in the Matunga Library of the Indian Central Cotton Committee under ideal conditions. But ordinarily it is not possible to manufacture such high counts of yarn from Indian cotton. Several persons connected with the Indian cotton industry are of the opinion that the quantity of Indian cotton producing above 18's would be roughly about 10 lakhs of bales. Be this as it may, there is no doubt, that India is capable of growing a larger quantity of long-stapled cotton in order to supply the requirements of the Indian mills and hand-looms for such cotton. But it is doubtful whether the premium paid to the grower of long-stapled cotton would be sufficient to compensate him for the loss in out-turn, and ginning percentage which he is bound to suffer. As far as the mills are concerned, they would find it is their interest to obtain such long-stapled cotton in India at their doors rather than have to import the same. The Indian Central Cotton Committee and the Agriculture Departments of the Provincial Governments, should render all help to the cultivators in the problem of growth of long-stapled cotton in India, by providing necessary facilities, *e.g.*, seeds, irrigation, research, specific investigation, etc., and should make it worth the while for the cultivators to grow long-stapled cotton for the requirements of the Indian Cotton Industry.

Competition with Lancashire.

Until, however, we can produce inside the country an adequate supply of long-stapled raw cotton, there ought not to be any objection to importing such cotton from foreign countries, because it is the desire of the nation that we should exclude foreign cloth as quickly and as much as possible, and as

observed above, this cannot be done to a great extent if we put a ban on the import of long-stapled cotton from abroad for the purpose of manufacturing cloth of a fine quality. Further, there ought not to be ordinarily any objection in purchasing raw materials from other countries of the world for the purpose of manufacturing goods from them, and thus ousting the imports of cloth manufactured from the same material by other countries. Besides, we ought not to forget that raw cotton is not a manufactured or even a semi-manufactured product like yarn, and therefore there ought to be no objection or hesitation in importing raw cotton, which is only a raw material, till such time, at any rate, as similar long-stapled cotton can be had inside the country, and till such time as the requirements of fine cloth which can only be manufactured from such cotton exist inside the country.

In this connection, it would be of interest to note that in the year 1875, it was the Government of India that imposed a 5 per cent. duty at the behest of Lancashire, on the import of Egyptian and American cotton in India, in order to prevent India from importing such superior cotton and competing with Manchester in her fine goods (*vide* Landmarks of the Policy of the British Government in India or in Great Britain, in regard to the cotton industry of India, given in author's book on "How to compete with Foreign Cloth"). The country and the Congress ought therefore to be careful and should reject this short-sighted policy of banning the import of raw cotton or of making it dearer by imposition of a duty, as by so doing we will be only helping Manchester to retain her position in the supply of cloth and yarn to this country, because it will not be possible for India to stop completely the import of fine varieties of cloth and higher counts of yarn till cloth of a similar superior quality can be manufactured inside the country. What is more, it should not be forgotten that having accepted the goal of making India self-sufficient in regard to cloth, and of eliminating the foreign cloth, and yarn evil, we should not

at all hesitate in importing long-stapled raw cotton from foreign countries in order to crown the efforts made by the Congress under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, with the success which it may deserve.

It is a matter of great regret that in order to meet the deficit caused in the Budget the Government of India have imposed in their Supplementary Budget a duty of half an anna per lb. on all imports of raw cotton from foreign countries with effect from September, 1931. The import duty of half anna per lb. works out to about Rs. 24-8 per candy. This will directly handicap the Indian textile industry particularly in competition with finer Lancashire goods for the manufacture of which such long-stapled raw cotton is imported by the cotton Mills in India. The Indian Fiscal Commission also definitely laid down that the raw materials of an industry should not be taxed, but the Government of India have been totally indifferent to these observations of the Fiscal Commission, although they have generally accepted that principle. The imposition of this duty has also adversely affected cotton growing in Uganda where Indians have invested crores of rupees for the growing of cotton.

India should be made self-sufficient in the manufacture of Cloth.

I hope every unbiased person will agree with me when I say that the whole nation will not be prepared to turn at once to the use of coarse cloth that can be made from Indian cotton of short staple and that it is therefore necessary to initiate them into the use of finer cloth made inside the country (even after importing long-stapled cotton from foreign countries) by making the cloth as attractive and as similar in texture, fineness, etc., as possible to the imported cloth to the use of which the people may have been accustomed for a long time and which they may find it difficult to give up all of a sudden. I also trust that the short-sighted policy of banning the import of raw cotton or of increasing its cost by imposing a duty on it, will not be advocated

from any reasonable quarter after consideration of all the various factors enumerated above, and I cherish the hope that such a policy will in no case be accepted by the Congress, especially because it is fraught with the danger of retarding the goal of self-sufficiency in the matter of supply of cloth from internal sources.

Mahatma Gandhi's Views.

In the end, I might state for the information of the reader that I have had an opportunity of consulting Mahatma Gandhi on this subject on two occasions only recently. He said that he personally believed that India can take the necessary raw cotton from other countries. While Mahatma Gandhi would desire the whole country to be clad in coarse hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar, he has taken this businesslike view of not banning the import of raw cotton in appreciation of the various circumstances enumerated above, *e.g.*, (1) that cotton is only a raw material, and that there should be nothing wrong in importing raw material for the purpose of manufacturing cloth from it, particularly when it does not compete directly with Indian cotton which is of a shorter staple, (2) that it will not be possible for the whole nation to take to khaddar, or for the matter of that to even coarse mill-made cloth all of a sudden, and (3) that if encouragement is not given for the manufacture of fine cloth from superior quality of cotton, and if the mills are thus handicapped in competing with foreign countries, it will virtually mean the postponement of the day when foreign cloth can be completely excluded from the country. A note may also be taken of the fact that of the import of raw cotton from foreign countries, nearly half the quantity is from Kenya Colony where the interest of Indians in growing cotton is predominant.

M. P. GANDHI

NEGATION.

Before trying to discover what negation *is*, let us first try to ascertain what negation is *not*, and since I wish to maintain the objectivity of negation against those who condemn it as merely subjective, or at any rate more abstract and reflective than affirmation, I intend to employ negation as the method of my definition, implying in this very employment that negation is both real and significant. And even the severest of my critics—however much he might differ from some of the positions I wish to take up—cannot do so without necessarily accepting in principle my contention of the objectivity of negation. His most vehement denials will only strengthen my case.

We can start by saying that negation is not subjective. Even if it were, it would tell us nothing about negation, for to call it subjective merely means that there is no existent fact to correspond to our assertion, but that would be to explain negation in terms of itself. On the other hand, what is subjective, *i.e.*, the state of our mind, is itself an objective fact, but cannot explain in any way what negation is. The attempt to explain negation by calling it subjective therefore fails, whether we refer to the statement made or to the state of our mind in making it.

And this is obvious even if we take examples like 'Virtue is not square' or 'Truth is not to the left of the Pyramids' which in the arbitrary choice of predicates almost approximate to the ludicrous and nonsensical and tend to lose their character as judgments. For even here, so far as we *mean* anything at all and do not merely join words or ideas arbitrarily, *i.e.*, so far as there is a judgment at all, it is controlled not by our

predilections, but by something in the nature of the object about which we judge. Even in these extreme examples, it is not *we* who exclude the predicate from the subject, but merely come to apprehend that the predicate is excluded by the nature of the subject.

Nor can we deny reality to negation on the ground that it depends upon our ignorance or doubt. Those who attack it on that ground do so because they assume that the real ground of negation is a corresponding affirmative which however we do not know, for, if we knew the positive basis of the statement, why should we ever make a negative judgment? We shall examine later whether the ground of negation is always, or can ever be, a corresponding affirmation and we shall find that negation and affirmation involve one another and cannot therefore be regarded as the presupposition of one another. But even if we granted the critic his contention, we could still say that a negative judgment may express a real fact and one which is both knowable and worth knowing. The predicate may be denied, not as a result of ignorance or doubt, but as the result of knowledge of the difference between subject and predicate within the whole of the judgment. No critic can deny the difference between 'I *do not know* A is B' and 'I *know* A is not B,' and the recognition of the teleological negative as real is an implicit acceptance of this distinction. Also, though the ground of the negation 'A is not C' may be the affirmative 'A is B,' the two assertions are by no means identical and require the further judgment 'B is not C.' Hence even if the ground of our negation is an affirmative, it cannot be the same as the negative, and there is no *prima facie* reason that we should necessarily give up the negation on the discovery of its ground.

There is another line of attack on negation which condemns it as subjective because it attributes disjunctive character to a particular. The argument runs: 'A negative judgment is possible only where the predicate is one of a set of alternatives judged true of a universal of which the subject

is a particular case. Since the whole force of genuine negation is thus eliminative, it rests on a true disjunction but the disjunctive character cannot belong to a particular. Any A cannot be B-or-C, but must be B or must be C, and as soon as we know it to be B, we also know it cannot be C, and therefore 'A is B or C' becomes false. Any particular triangle cannot be isosceles or scalene, because as a particular it must have a determinate character and cannot be left indeterminate: to attribute indeterminateness of existence to a particular is to deny its existence altogether.

Postponing for the moment the discussion whether disjunctive character belongs to a particular or a universal, we may first question whether the whole force of the negative judgment is merely eliminative, and secondly, whether the negation depends on a previous disjunction. We have seen that even these critics of negation admit that the teleological negative is not a case of mere elimination, and I am for the moment content to rest with this concession, and also to urge that we have already pointed out that the ground of negation, if any, is not identical with the negation itself, and cannot explain away the negative character since it involves a negative element. If a disjunction is indeed involved in the negation, and the whole force of the negative is eliminative, yet that cannot explain by itself the character of the negation, for the very good reason that negation is equally involved in disjunction, and that the passage from disjunction to eliminative negation cannot be made without an independent negative premise. Further a disjunction may precede an affirmation as well, and in many scientific discoveries, a disjunctive of the alternative possibilities has preceded and indeed made possible the final affirmation. If we analyse a disjunctive judgment, we find it invariably includes one or more negative propositions, and hence to speak of disjunction as the basis or presupposition of negation cannot be defended. Nor are they necessarily eliminative, for that would involve an infinite series of

disjunctions and negations, and would in fact be no explanation of negation at all, since it would merely push back the enquiry indefinitely.

Resuming the discussion whether disjunctive characters belong to the particular or the universal, we may say that the disjunctive character cannot characterise the universal as such. As has been pointed out, colour or colouredness cannot be red, and cannot be green : it cannot be identical *with* redness or greenness because it is identical *in* them. Similarly, triangularity cannot be scalene or isosceles, it is a particular triangle that is the one or the other. A particular can, it therefore seems, possess disjunctive characters, because to predicate one of a set of alternatives of a subject is not to ascribe indeterminateness to its character, but to determine it as being member of a certain class. At the same time however it must be admitted that notwithstanding the objective validity of generic characters, they do not, for us, characterise the particular directly, and do not therefore contribute to the individuality of the particular before us. Since the urge of knowledge is to continually differentiate and individuate its objects, the generic characters become uninteresting as soon as we have discovered specific characters, and the specific characters in turn lose interest when we have succeeded in fixing its individuality and finally developed it from an individuality to an individual. Of this we can find an example from our everyday experience in that we never think of a friend as belonging to a particular nation or country, but always as the individual that he is. But to admit this is not to deny the objective validity of generic characters, and no increase in our knowledge of a wealth of specific details can falsify our knowledge of the generic characters of any particular. No increase of knowledge can make previous knowledge false and generic characters can and do belong to particulars. The denial of this is due to a prevailing habit of thought by which the particular and the universal are sharply separated, forgetful of the fact that the universal exists only in

its particulars just as the particulars exist only as the particulars of a universal.

It seems equally a mistake to regard negation as more abstract or reflective as expressing '*characters of characters of things*,' and not directly *characters of things*. It is said that when a predicate is denied of a subject, that predicate must always be thought of as one of a set of alternatives of which another, whether specified or not, is thought of as the predicate : that when we deny green of a subject, it is because we imply the presence of some colour other than green, and thus the real subject of the judgment is not the ostensible subject, but some, perhaps unidentified, quality of the ostensible subject, in this case colour. Even if this analysis of negation were true, and we will soon see that it is not, it would tell us nothing about the character of negation, because a like analysis would prove that in an affirmative judgment the real subject is a similar unspecified quality of the ostensible subject. To say that 'A is not green' means that 'the colour of A is not green' is no more and no less true than to interpret 'A is green' as 'the colour of A is green,' and in any case affirmation and negation stand or fall together. The real distinction seems to be between generic and attribute universals, and not between negation and affirmation as suggested by the view discussed above. The success of the analysis with a judgment like 'This hat is not green' and its failure when applied to one like 'This colour is not green' seem to confirm the truth of our contention. The plausibility of the explanation is gained from the fact that generic characters do not suffice in individuating an object but only describe it as member of a class, and since this view regards negation as merely eliminative within a scheme of disjunction, it regards negative judgments, as ascribing disjunctive characters to the subject, to be more abstract than affirmation which on this view is independent of a prior disjunction.

The tendency to regard negation as more abstract or emerging at a higher level is probably due to the fact that

the inferential character is often more easily discernible in a negative than in an affirmative judgment. Since however any judgment is inferential to a degree, this distinction, even if valid, would be one only of degree, and I do not think the distinction is valid as between negation and affirmation. There is no point at which facts can be infallibly perceived as rooted in experience, and hence any theory which regards affirmation as 'coalescence of perception and conception' is in principle false. The judgment emerges only when the immediacy of feeling has been transcended and this is true of affirmation and negation alike. No doubt there are different levels of judgment, but even at the limit where the judgment has barely transformed, felt immediacy, affirmation and negation are equally to be found, and they occur co-ordinately throughout all the levels of judgment.

All judgment is essentially selective and in this we find the combination of negative and positive elements which all judgments exhibit. There is no doubt a positive basis of negation but there is equally a negative basis to all affirmation, and it is this synthesis of these two characters that makes any judgment significant. At the two extremes we have tautologies and infinite judgments where 'the difference or the identity is at a minimum, for we must insist that so far as a judgment is at all made, the two elements are present even there. Even a seeming tautology if it is made as judgment and not merely a combination of meaningless sounds, intends to convey some distinction between subject and predicate, and this fact of difference is the negative element in the judgment, since it can be expressed only by a negation. A real tautology like 'A is A' is no statement at all, and equally, an infinite judgment like 'A is not B,' where only the fact of otherness or difference is emphasised, possesses significance only so far as some positive character of the subject is suggested. We may agree that not-B is no true universal and cannot be specified in any particular, and hence to qualify any subject by not-B, if that

were merely expressive of otherness from B, is to leave it indeterminate and so far not qualified at all. It is only because in language not-B takes no meaning and character with reference to B that expressions of the form 'A is not-B' can be treated as judgments at all.

To say that there is no such thing as *mere* difference is not however to deny the fact of difference, just as to deny that there are mere negative facts is not equal to denying negative facts altogether. Difference is too stubborn a fact to be refined away and can be expressed only by a negation, but we must at the same time admit that the negative judgment often rests by expressing the difference of the subject from the predicate within the judgment, and though, this may, no doubt, in the ideal case where the character of the whole within which the judgment is true, has been defined up to the limit of dichotomous division, express the nature of the subject, this is generally not so, and for the very simple reason that neither the whole nor its characteristics are completely known to us at any actual point of time. Negation therefore distinguishes elements in the presupposed whole from the whole itself and from one another by stressing their aspect of otherness or difference, but since this incompatibility of elements is due, not to our subjective conditions, but to the nature of the whole, we cannot deny that negation does directly determine reality.

The attempt to confine negation within the category of subject-attribute also fails, because even if it were true, as is contended, that the denial of a relation is no relation, it is equally true, in the same sense, that the denial of a quality is not itself a quality. To treat difference of quality as itself a quality is possible only if we treat the relation between two qualities as a quality, but one who is prepared thus to identify in effect relation and quality should not hesitate to regard absence of relation as itself a relation, and in a sense this is no doubt true. We accept the first but shudder at the second.

because our habits of thought always force us to seek the subject-attribute relation. The absence of quality leaves us uncomfortable till we can in some way smuggle back the idea of substance qualified by attributes. Even in the case of relations, we seek to find some quality in the subject in virtue of which the relation holds, nor does the denial of relation trouble us if we can postulate some quality in the subject that makes the relation incompatible. This is however to overlook the fact that relations and qualities are further irreducible to one another and absence or presence of the one is not identical with the presence or absence of the other. Absence of relation can be no more reduced to an ultimate incompatible attribute than a present relation be explained in terms of the qualities between which it holds.

We have criticised by implication the view which says that when we deny something, we really assert something else, some unknown quality in the real, which is incompatible with what we deny. Apart from the criticism that it is based on an undue extension of the category of subject-attribute beyond its legitimate field of employment we may dismiss this view with the mere comment that it says nothing at all. For what is incompatibility but difference and to explain negation by incompatibility is to explain it in terms of itself. Also, this explanation overlooks the obvious distinction between ground and consequent,—a point we have already laboured.

The question of the triviality of negation is irrelevant, and as we have already suggested before, all judgment being selective connection of content must depend to that extent upon the interest of the judging subject. All our cognata as our cognata are related, and the denial of relation between them means no more than that the terms fail to exhibit the particular type of inter-relation which at the moment we are interested to establish. This is a question of subjective interest and has nothing to do with the character of affirmation or negation, for we may just as well emphasise a trivial and superficial difference

as we may such similarity, and in any case the difference would be, not between affirmation and negation, but between judgments at different levels of significance and development. Difference *quâd* difference is the basis of abstract negation and is merely an empty concept, for *differentes* are not embodiments of mere abstract negation, but to say this is not to say that negation emerges on the recognition of the positive characters of the *differentes* in affirmations about them. No doubt we may make a number of negations without giving any further information about the subject, but the same is true of affirmation and depends, as we have suggested, not on some difference between affirmation and negation, but on the point of view or subjective interest we may bring to bear upon the subject. Denial of the generic universal entitles us to denial of the specific universal as well with regard to the subject of our judgment, but this does not add to our knowledge because the nature of the particular is exhausted by that of the universal of which it is an instance. Within colour the difference of red and blue is significant, but to deny red or blue of a thing of which we have already denied colour is just as superfluous as it is to predicate generic characters of a subject which we have already known in its concrete individuality. In denying the universal we have *pari passu* denied all its specifications and individuations, just as in attributing specific characters we have necessarily attributed the generic characters as well. Hence to say that 'The soul is not a frying pan' is true but useless, but no more useless than to say that 'An Englishman is something.' This line of thought with regard to the character of negation seems to me to be due to the superstition that only specific characters are given to us directly in immediate presentation from which we come to know of generic characters only inferentially,—a superstition due to the illegitimate separation of universals and particulars against which we have already protested. The universal is given only in the particulars which are its instances just as particulars are given only as particulars of that universal, and it is useless to say that the

nature of the particular is not exhausted by that of the universal because it has existence which the universal has not. For this is to perpetuate the very mistake we have been discussing : to regard the universal as some entity independent of the particulars in which it is. The truth is that neither universals nor particulars in their abstraction have existence : they are not even conceivable as existing in separation from one another and hence whenever we have any actual entity, it exists both as particular and universal, *i.e.*, as a particularised instance of a universal. In other words, there are no mere particulars nor mere universals; all existents are individual in their distinguishable but inseparable and unseparated particularity and universality.

Most of the fallacies with regard to negation are due to that mistaken theory which regards judgment as the reference of an ideal content to a reality beyond the act, and it is strange that even critics of that theory have so often in their treatment of negation succumbed to its charms. For once we accept that theory, we cannot help regarding negation as more abstract, since it involves the qualification of the Real by the predicate in thought, and the rejection by the real Reality of this ideal content so qualified. But judgment is *not* the reference to reality of an ideal content : a truer description would be that, in the reality, we recognise or become aware of distinctions and differences within the identity of the whole which is present in awareness, and thus from the very beginning, affirmation and negation are involved in one another. After Kant's analysis of the interdependence of the knowing self and the object known, it seems futile to deny that affirmation and denial arise at the same time in the same act of thought, for consciousness starts from the distinction of the self and the not-self, and this distinction or otherness is the germinal base of negation. All judgment, as we have seen, is selective, and hence even the affirmative judgment must contain a negative element within itself, not merely in the exclusion of those elements of the whole which are not expressed in the judgment, but also in the distinction between

the subject and the predicate within the judgment, because if the subject and the predicate were merely identical, it would be a meaningless tautology and therefore no judgment.

The fact of difference is a stubborn fact and nothing but negation can express it : hence the negative judgment is no less objective than the affirmative. No doubt at the level of developed thought, negation has both positive and disjunctive elements, but it is equally true that negative elements are present in both affirmation and disjunction. It cannot therefore be said that any one of these is logically prior to the others, for they are all involved in one another and must necessarily be so, for these different forms of statement are but different aspects of the same act of judgment by which the mind becomes conscious both of itself and its object and their co-presence in the world of its experience. In other words, judgment is the concrete act by which we are aware of implications within a system, and this involves affirmative, negative and disjunctive elements necessarily and equally, though for purposes of our interest we may emphasise any one of these moments and express it in our proposition which as expressed is but the mutilated judgment. So expressed, the differential of negation is that it is the expression of otherness or difference, which though not merely a negative relation, can be expressed only by means of it. Since differentiation can be no more reduced to identity than identity to difference without the annihilation of knowledge or even its possibility, negation has been, is and will remain as real and as independent as affirmation.

HUMAYUN J. A. KABIR

POEMS

I

MY ENEMY I :

I

I know I am my greatest foe,
 From others what harm can come to me?
 They can but rob me of my wealth,
 My life, my fame or liberty.
 Myself a drop of love of love
 By hate of hate of Brother man,
 The harm I do to joyless me
 No mind can weigh nor count nor scan.
 My pride of life exiles from me
 My loving hope beyond all time,
 My lust of world but deafens heart
 'Gainst Joy-abounding love's life chime.
 My silent hate of brother man
 Can do him not the slightest harm,
 It burns my heart, it smothers love
 And yet I love its loathsome charm.
 O kill me as I know myself
 And make me live in Love alone,
 O, wake me from this dream-torment
 And rest in Thee O Love Thine own :

II

O, I shall give Thee naked mind
 Love, give Thy self to me,
 That I enjoy Thee, sweetest one
 Above all that there be,
 O how can Thou paintest horror dear
 By smile inspirest life in Dead,
 If I and thou are not one, dear,
 The sun is left for shade

III

I know Thou mine as I am Thine
The human one to one divine,
A word of mine that thee-ward sent
Like up-thrown spittle on me is spent.

2

ALMS OF LOVE.

I am a beggar at Thy door
O, send me not away,
Bestow on me the alms of love
And kick me night and day.
Thy kick is sweeter ever far
Than kiss of self-lived care,
And fast with love is danger far
Than feast of worlds rich fare,
And death in love freer far
Than life's fixt prideful stare,
Life and death may quench in love
But I am ever there.
In thought I live, I fear to die
'Tis thoughts that change but I am I,
In slumber deep all thought is lost
And when awake I feel thought-tossed,
In thought I live, in thought I die
But thought unthought I am but I.

3

AH ! WHAT AM I ?

I

I glorify in admiration
Of myself when awake;
My will when hurt is dire complaint
Against attack I make.
Why others might in aught rejoice
That I long for in vain,
Why I should lose what I have clinched
In self tormenting pain?
Ah ! why shall I lose game-some youth
And flounder in decay?
Why not for ev'r this beauteous frame
What takes life's joys away?
Ah ! am I their's and they not mine,
Is life's unending drone and whine?

II

Ah ! what am I on lap of sleep,
When I to me forgot,
I fly to sky, I dive in sea
I live in joy unthought ?
The burden of this body's over
The mind is joy not care,
In sudden fall I open eyes
And lie on bed in glare.
Now I think of care-clothed day
On priceless love of dream, dreamed joy ?

III

I be in pain above, below
And pain is flesh, pain mind
And is hope that was before
And pain is all behind.
The smell now comes from hand of help
And I with pain am done
Nor I, nor pain nor life nor death
None knows if all or one.
Returns that I, again will thrust
To drink of joy and grief accurst ;
The joy bring grief, the grief mock joy
Of mad, mad life I the toy ;
I wish, I wish I cannot tie
O, tell me, tell me what am I.

IV

The voice of silence beats on heart—
“ Now, look within, see what thou art ;
If grief and joy thou art the test
They come, they go but thou there rest ;
Grief and joy are pictures thine
Some dark, some harsh, some sweet, some shine.
They all may live and all may die
There joy and life, then “ I and I.”

4

SECRET LOVE.

My heart by law is wed to life
Of fleshly lust and prideful life.
Her secret love is but for One
Whose name is nameless, dumb joy-cry.
Her sweetest love if any name
She's maze of love-dipt joy-lit shame.
She works so hard for lawful spouse
There's none a fault with her to find,
She sweeps the floor, she cooks the meals
She works and works all tears to hide.
When toilsome day in night finds rest
She lies down by her husband's side,
To kiss in love the One unseen
Of whom she is the lawless bride.
In dream called soul her work all done
Law, love, work, joy—all, all in one
That One is Sentience, Being, Joy
No time can sweeten That nor cloy ;
That One is neither gem 'nor toy
For ev'r and ev'r peace and joy ;
All death is life all life is death
All wisdom's fool, words die in faith ;
And peace profound in nights and days
And silence is the highest praise.

FRANCIS THOMPSON

Contemporary life in England has profoundly influenced the outlook of modern English poets. The sensitive nature of these imaginative persons cannot ignore the different aspects of life with which they come into intimate contact. Their poetry seldom seeks to soar far above the earth, the scene of our mortal joys and sorrows. If they were idealists their idealism gathers its sustenance from actual experience; if they are mystics their ecstasies are, more or less, due to a reaction against the materialism of the common man and the positive cocksure attitude of the common scientist. In the background of their visions lies a criticism, conscious or unconscious, of the life that surges around them. With the modern poet, as with the modern man, life is too earnest to be brushed aside, too real to be regarded with absolute indifference.

Many of them had, indeed, to drink the bitter draught of life to its very lees. Theirs was an existence of strenuous struggles against adverse circumstances a life which not only made them think out its problems anew, but also left an indelible impression upon the future development of their soul. Such a life was Francis Thompson's. Sorrow was his companion from his early days, misery was his preceptor in youth. He knew life in its most desolate aspects—nobody knew it more. Alone, in the streets of London, without any encouragement of example and emulation, this brave youth struggled on, upheld by the strength of his convictions, illuminated by visions of glory. He witnessed the "vile, terrible and disconcerting spectacle of degraded poverty" and lived in an environment 'where flowers are sold and women; where men wither and the stars.' He sought to unveil the hidden significance of human

misery, to diagnose from a hundred occult signs the disease which perturbs their populous pulses." Misery called out to him from the kerb-stone, despair passed him by on his ways. "This life which is not a life, to which food is as the fuel of hunger, sleep, our common sleep, precious, costly and fallible as water in a wilderness; in which men rob and women vend themselves"¹—this life had for him a significance which it had for few else.

It was only natural that the experience which the poet had gathered from his intimate association, in his days of poverty, with the darkest side of his environment should instil into his mind a bitter hatred of the world around him. The huge wastage of human materials which modern society entails, the injustice and inequality which characterise its economic life, the false glitter of culture and the effeminate manners of its upper classes—had their lessons to teach. He had trod "as on thorns amidst the sordidness and ugliness, the sordid ugliness and the ugly sordidness, the dull materiality and the weariness of this old age of the world;"² and consequently he was bitter in his resentment against the materialistic outlook of the modern age. Materialism is, according to him, a canker which is eating into the very vitals of human society. It makes of man a grovelling creature more intent on "the beaten gold" than "aught else in beatific vision found." The worship of wealth and power, its mad pursuit of economic supremacy blurs the vision of men and stunts the growth of their spirit. And, time and again, did this poet of mystic vision, warn his countrymen against the dangers of insensate commercialism. After the terrible suspense of the Boer War when England was enjoying a welcome respite from her long-drawn agonies, the voice of Thompson was heard reminding his motherland of the significance of such a victory. It was a baptism of fire through which she had been passing

¹ In *Darkest England*, Thompson.
Thompson's *Work*, Vol. III, p. 39.

during her days of travail and distress, yet such a purifying experience was absolutely necessary for the regeneration of her soul. It cured her of her lethargy—"this long endeavour of the land;" and fondly the poet hoped that these cleansing flames of war might

.....Thus purge away
The inveterate stains of too long ease,
And yield us back our empire's clay
Into one shoreless state
Compact and hardened for its uses.¹

But if England did not learn the lessons of her bitter experience, if after this awakening, she went to sleep again hugging to herself her "false Delilah gold," she was doomed to spiritual death

.....If thou
England, incapable of proffered fate
See in such deaths as these
But purchased pledges of unhindered mart,

For some spaces longer now
Thou mayest add gain to gain, and take thine ease;—
God has made hard thy heart;
Thou hast but bought thee respite but not surceasey.²

He had, indeed, with the almost uncanny vision of a seer, clearly discerned the hidden springs of action in the Boer War. Piercing through the outward veil of patriotic enthusiasm, he could, with an accuracy born of intuitive knowledge, lay his finger on the festering wound. This bitter struggle for economic supremacy was brought home to him with startling vividness, and with a prophet's vision the poet could warn his countrymen that they had brought no lasting peace, only a partial respite if they still cherished, in their heart of hearts,

¹ Peace, Thompson's Works, Vol. II, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

an all-consuming passion for overlordship in the world of trade.

In fact, the whole basis of this materialistic civilisation is, according to Thompson, absolutely vicious. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest, with its complement the struggle for existence, has brutalised man. It has hardened his heart and made him callous to suffering. The distressed and the outcast are no longer objects of compassion; they are mere castaways of the life-force as it surges onward to perfection. They deserve to be what they are and should be ruthlessly put down in favour of the supermen. Such are the pernicious effects of Darwinism or such they appear to be to the idealistic thinkers of the modern age. The policy of *laissez-faire* again does not leave things alone; it is assuredly not a policy of non-interference; on the contrary, it perpetuates the *status quo*—the *status quo* of injustice and inequity. Modern man, Thompson is careful to point out, has this, and this alone in common with heaven—he helps only those who are perfectly able to help themselves. Out of this ideal, practised, consciously or unconsciously, by the entire world of culture and civilisation has developed the doctrine of individualism. Individual effort, they say, is at the root of all progress in human society. Ambition urges man to strenuous endeavour; it makes him strike out new paths of progress; it brings out the powers that lie dormant in his personality. It is a precept of self-help which, Thompson admits, 'is true indeed; but true only "within rigid limitations and safeguards."¹ In practice, however, it has become the "script of selfishness." It has come to mean the "devil take the hindmost." Against such a selfish outlook on life, the poet protests with all the emphasis he can command. "Diabolical this doctrine of individualism is; for it is the outcome of the proud teaching which declares it despicable for men to bow before their fellowmen. It has meant, not that a man should be individual but that he should be

¹ In *Darkest England Works*, Vol. III, p. 62.

independent. A man *should* be individual, but not independent. The very laws of nature forbid independence, which have made man, in a thousand ways, inevitably dependent on his fellows.”¹

Nor is he blind to the paradox of modern civilisation—a civilisation which waxes eloquent on struggles for existence, yet enervates the physical powers of man. In his discourse on “*Health and Holiness*,” the poet wistfully looks back to the heroic age of the Renaissance when men “flew in the face of the east wind.” The robust system of a robust time when men were *real* men with redounding vitality had a strange fascination for his poetic mind especially when it was contrasted with the “too untimely spent and forewearied” powers of the modern man. “The pride of life is no more; to live itself is an ascetic exercise; we require spurs to being, not a snaffle to rein back the ardour of being. Man is his own mortification. . Hamlet has increased and multiplied and his seed fill the land.”²

Naturally Thompson revolts against his age. He will not bend his knees before the gods whom his contemporaries worship. His might be a voice crying in the wilderness yet he has the courage to raise a solitary note of protest against the soul-killing tendencies of modern civilisation. With a superb gesture of defiance does he denounce the shibboleths of modern society. “To the idols of the Gentiles,” he passionately exclaims,

“to the idols of the Gentiles I
Will never make me an hierophant:—
Their false-fair gods of gold and ivory,
Which have a mouth, nor any speech thereby,
Save such as soundeth from the throat of Hell
The aboriginal lie;
And eyes, nor any seeing in the light,—
•Gods of the obscene night,
To whom the darkness is for diadem.”³

¹ In *Darkest England*, Works, Vol. III, p. 63.

² *Health and Holiness*, Works, Vol. IIT, p. 254.

³ *Ad Castitatum*, Works, II, p. 62.

Isolated from the currents of thought and action prevalent in his own age, Thompson finds in contemporary life, little with which he can sympathise. He lives "detached days," "deaf to the world's tongue." He never seeks popularity. He scorns the "loud shout of the crowd" knowing full well what all this popular fame is worth. He has no part in "time's braggart way, and its loud bruit" and finds little joy in the much-vaunted illumination of modern thought.¹ He can scarcely speak the speech of his fellow-men or love their love—a veritable

Sunflower's spirit which by luckless chance
Has mournfully its tenement mistook.²

Yet Thompson had an intimate knowledge of the development of scientific thought which is, in modern times, conjuring up new visions of undiscovered regions before the eyes of men. Like many other scientific thinkers of his age he can discover the progress of creative evolution in the domain of nature. The vast panorama of ordered progress which science has revealed to the imagination of man influences him strangely and in his magnificent *Anthem of Earth* he gives us a poetic vision of this eternal process of evolution in nature. He looks at the "red sun" dropping slowly behind the hills and all at once his imagination wafts him back to the dim ages of the past, to the days of the primæval forests. And with bated breath and an awe-struck countenance, the poet enquires

Who lit the furnace of the mammoth's heart ?
Who shagged him like Pilaters' ribbed flanks ?
Who raised the column'd ranks
Of that old pre-deluvian forestry,
Which like a continent torn oppressed the sea
When the ancient heavens did in rains depart
While the high-danced whirls
Of the tossed scud made hist thy drenched curls? "

¹ Cf. *The Night of Forebeing*, Works, Vol. II, p. 43.

² *Sister Songs*, Part II, Works, Vol. I, p. 40.

His poetic eye seems to create anew the mighty cataclysms of the geologic ages, those tremendous upheavals which submerged whole worlds and engulfed entire continents. "The mountainous wrack of a creation hurled" and "the dead bones of a perished world"—all seem to revive in his magnificent poem. He hears the distant rumble of the "thunders volcanic" and witnesses the titanic forces "rock like a cradle the girth of the ether-hung world."¹ He looks at man and man is transformed. He is no longer a mere ripple in the ocean of Eternity. He is the inheritor of the past. His undying thoughts, his very physical frame are all derived from an earlier world. The human body, Thompson never forgets, is

Subject to ancient and ancestral shadows
 Descended passions sway it, it is distraught
 With ghostly usurpations, dinned and fretted
 With the still-tyrannous dead; a haunted tenement
 Peopled from borrowed and out-worn ossuaries.²

It is only natural that a poet so inspired by the glorious visions revealed by the scientific investigations of his age should appreciate the patient endeavours of these seekers after truth. Scientists, in his opinion, can never be ignored; they are a band of earnest workers

.....who pushed back the ocean of the unknown,
 And fenced some strand of knowledge for our own
 Against the out-going sea
 Off ebbing mystery.³

Thompson has, indeed, nothing but unstinted praise for the progress of scientific thought in his age. It is science which changes "the old face of the wonted earth." Her patient investigations alone can bring out, from their hidden depths, the

¹ Ode to the Setting Sun, Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

² Anthem of Earth, Works, Vol. II, p. 115.

³ The Victorian Ode, Vol. II, p. 140.

secrets of nature's mysteries. She alone can show to the astonished gaze of man

The secret ladder where-through all things climb
Upward from the primeval slime ; ¹

or,

The multitudinous diminutive
Recessed in virtual right
Below the surface-sea of sight. ¹

She breaks "the dusty toils of Death, tracks him to his obscurest fastnesses and foils his fell designs" thus rendering immense services to the cause of humanity. Nay more, her achievements change our entire outlook on life. The discovery of "life in putridity" and "vigour in decay" gives to our perishable elements their proper imperishability. It makes even fools recognise the hand of Providence in the universe. Thus,

Dissolution even and disintegration
Which in our dull thoughts symbolise disorder
Finds in god's thought irrefragable order
And admirable the manner of our corruption
As of our health.

Science should not, however, presume too much. She must not brag "All's bare" and "There's naught beyond." Can man know himself that he should seek to fathom the mysterious workings of Divine Providence? In his own personality man finds many a mystery which he cannot solve. Underneath the threshold of his conscious life there are innumerable regions which man knows not, where he gropes blindly. Who can, asks the poet triumphantly, "draw a full chart

Of the strange courts and vaulty labyrinths
The spacious tenements and wide pleasancess
Innumerable corridors far withdrawn
Where he wanders darkling? "

Who can explore those dim caverns of his mind where memory "makes its burrows"? If man, then, cannot fully explore the depths of his personality with which he comes into contact almost daily in his life, is it not sheer presumption on his part to "clap his foot-rule to the walls of the world" and say "A goodly house but something ancient and I find no master"? Is not the attempt of man to explain the universe by reference to material forces alone, foolhardiness, pure and simple? It is against this presumption of the human understanding that the poet raises his voice of protest. His is the attitude of an humble seeker after truth who knows full well the limitations of his own powers. Before the inscrutable mysteries of Providence his human intellect stands baffled. In the depths of the universe there are principles which human reason, so the poet feels, cannot fully explain or discover. But this very failure of the human intellect gives man a far truer knowledge of the ultimate reality than the over-confident assertions of science ;

By baffled seeing, something I divine
Which baffles, and a seeing set beyond
And so with strenuous gazes sounding down
Like to the daylong porer on a stream
Whose last look is his deepest, I beside
This slow perpetual time stand patiently
In a little light.

Thompson's standpoint is the standpoint of one of the foremost poets of the Victorian Age. Like Tennyson he was conscious of the inadequacy of the human reason to solve the ultimate problems of life. Our little systems have, indeed, their day and then they perish. And we, poor mortals, are veritable

Children crying in the night, yea—
Children crying for the light
With nothing stronger than a cry.

The greatest influence on Thompson's mind was the doctrines and observances of the Roman Catholic Church. Very early in life when he was residing in the Unshaw College, the solemn and picturesque ritual of the Roman Catholic Church greatly impressed his poetic imagination. Moreover, from his very childhood, it had been arranged that he should enter the church and his first few years at college had given entire satisfaction to his preceptors ; although later in life his ghostly advisers found him unfit for the sacred calling, yet his early training itself instilled into his mind and established there, for all time to come, ideas and principles more in consonance with the Roman Catholic faith than with the all-pervading atmosphere of contemporary thought. His ideals are Roman Catholic, his sympathies are always with the tenets of its faith. Time and again, Thompson had to defend its ideals and practices against the attacks of modern thinkers. His defence of *Form and Formalism*, of the efficacy of prayer and his warm eulogy of contemplative mysticism are all significant of the trend of his thoughts. The poet analysed the "decided tendency of what are called 'popular leaders' towards federation with the minimum of Government and no religion" and concluded that "when it comes, it can only be federation in both Government and religion of plenary and ordered dominance." "Only two religions are constant enough to effect this : each based upon the past—which is stability; each growing according to some interior law—which is strength. Paganism and Christianity ; the religion of the Queen of Heaven who is Astarte and the religion of the Queen of Heaven who is Mary."¹ The cry of distress in darkest England reaches his heart; he looks at the Salvation Army and is at once reminded of the Franciscan Tertiaries. General Booth, the poet suspects, "has but studied St. Francis."² He appeals to *his* Church and its monastic orders to come to the rescue of these moral derelicts.

¹ *Form and Formalism, Works, Vol. III, p. 76.*

"One army is in the midst of us, enrolled under the banner of the stigmata, quartered throughout the kingdom ;" a monastic order the spiritual ideals of which are superior to all else. The Salvationists may be strong yet the Franciscans are stronger still. "What sword have they but you have a keener ? For blood and fire, a gentle humility; for the joy of religious alcoholism, the joy of that peace which passeth understanding, for the tumults, the depths of the spirit ; for the discipline of the trumpets, the discipline of the sacraments."¹

Thompson's mysticism takes its colouring from the same faith. Its symbolism and the very nature of its experiences, are the outcome of his religious convictions. The mystic visions of man cannot be directly portrayed. So long as he communes with Eternity he lives in a world apart. Yet there is, always, in his heart of hearts, a yearning to break forth into songs of praise, a desire to express the inexpressible. He cannot, indeed, give an exact representation of what he feels but must shadow forth the vague and elusive experiences of his mystic life. And so man speaks in symbols which "always suggest but never fill the truth." A good symbolism is not mere allegory. It is something more; for it uses, "to the utmost, the resources of beauty and passion, brings with it hints of mystery and wonder, bewitches with dreamy periods the mind to which it is addressed. Its appeal is not to the clever brain but to the desirous heart and the intuitive sense of man."² In fact this imagery is so far removed from mere fancy that the deepest truths, as Thompson points out, even in the natural or physical order, are often "adumbrated only by images familiar yet conceived to be purely fanciful analogies."³ It is through images and visions that the subconscious experiences of our self are communicated to our consciousness. The mysterious contact between "the

¹ In *Darkest England*, Works, Vol. III, p. 60.

² *Mysticism*, Underhill, p. 126.

³ Cf. *Life of Francis Thompson*, E. Meynell, p. 162.

visionary and a transcendental truth and beauty " often visualises itself before the surface-mind of man. The vision is, consequently, " the paint and canvass picture " which " tries to show the surface-consciousness that ineffable sight, that ecstatic perception of good or evil to which the deeper, the more real soul has attained."¹ The visionary experiences of mystics, however, differ according to the peculiar nature of their beliefs and traditions. The atmosphere of thoughts and ideas in the midst of which they live, the symbols which they treasure up in their memory—all determine the nature of their visions. Profound meditation takes a visual form; symbols are objectivised. They are what their imagination longs for. It is very significant that Thompson's mystic visions are, almost all of them, closely associated with the principles of the Roman Catholic faith. In moments of ecstatic vision—

The woman I behold, whose vision seek
 All eyes and know not; t'ward whom climb
 The steps o' the world and beats all wings of rhyme
 And knows not; 'twixt the sun and moon
 Her inexpressible front unstarred
 Tempers the wrangling spheres to tune;
 Their divergent harmonies
 Concluded in the concord of her eyes
 And vestal dances of her glad regard." ²

She is Virgin Mary who leads men to their salvation. She identifies herself with the sinning soul of man and brings redemption unto him. Her influence works in the universe and is manifest in God's creation.

She in us and we in her are
 Beating Godward; all that pine—
 Lo ! a wander and a terror—
 The sun hath blushed the sea to wine.

¹ *Mysticism*, Underhill, p. 271.

² *Nights of Forebeing*, Thompson, Works, Vol. II, p. 48.

He, the Anteros and Eros
 She, the bride and spirit; for
 Now the day of promise near us
 And the sea shall be no more.¹

It is in *her* that man is "saturate with God." Through *her* alone is revealed the manifest presence of transcending truth and beauty.

Like Cynewulf, this poet, living though he did in the modern age of positive knowledge, could draw inspiration from the *Vision of the Rood*. In fact, the Cross was, to his imagination, a symbol expressive of the deepest truths of spiritual experience. The glorious spectacle of the setting sun "empurpling" the west as it sinks down beneath the horizon brings up before his mind's eye the vision of the Christ. The sun itself is an image of Divinity.

Thou dost image, thou dost follow
 That King-maker of Creation,
 Who ere Hellas hailed Apollo
 Gave thee, Angel-god thy station
 Thou art of Him, a type memorial.

For,

Like him thou hapest in dreadful pomp of blood
 Upon thy Western rood;
 And his stained brow did veil like thine to-night
 • Yet lift once more Its light
 And risen, again departed from our ball,
 But when It set on earth arose in heaven
 • Thus hath He unto death His beauty given.²

And so this hymn to the Setting Sun becomes a hymn to the Cross. The Cross, hence-forward, inspires him with the deepest spiritual experiences of his life. It stands "gaunt and long" between the poet and the universe of his being; yielding alike

¹ Assuathpta Maria, Thompson, Works, Vol. II, p. 55.

² Ode to the Setting Sun, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 126.

the brightness of joy and the shadow of misery. It often symbolises the sufferings which man must endure before he enjoys perfect bliss. In his mystic ecstasy Thompson feels—

Of reaped joys thou art the heavy sheaf
Which must be lifted though the reaper groan;
Yet we may cry till heaven's great ear be deaf
But we must bear thee, and bear alone:
Yet woe to him that from his burden flees
Crushed in the fall of what he casts away.¹

The very contemplation of this great symbol takes him away from the World of Becoming. He becomes rapt in the Divine. And in this mood,

.....While soul, sky and music bleed
Let me give thanks even for those griefs in me,
The restless windward stirrings of whose feather
Prove them the brood of immortality.
My soul is quitted of death-neighbouring swoon
Who shall not slake her immitigable scars,
Until she hear, ' My sister ' from the moon
And take the kindred kisses from the stars.²

Well might Coventry Patmore say, " He is of all men I have known most naturally a Catholic. My Catholicism was acquired, his inherent."

To a man, so gifted and so nurtured, poetry is the outcome of inspiration, pure and simple. The poet, like any other creator of beauty, must live a life of solitary meditation. " Both saint and poet must undergo a preparation for their work; and in both, a notable feature of this preparation is a period of preliminary retirement. Even the poets, most in and of the world, experience it in some form; though in their case it may be an inward process only leaving no trace on their outward life."³ During this

Poetry—an inspiration.

¹ *Ibid*, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 127.

² *Ibid*, After-strain, Thompson, Works, Vol. I, p. 128.

³ Health and Holiness, Thompson.

period of retirement, the poet has to pass through the throes of creation. He has to realise himself and discover the laws of aesthetic expression. Nay more, he must identify himself with them; it is after such identification alone, that he becomes a true poet, a *maker* in the real sense of the term. "In poet, as in saint, it is always a process of pain and struggle. For it is nothing else than a gradual conformation to artistic law. He absorbs the law into himself, or rather, he is himself absorbed into the law, moulded to it, until he become sensitively respondent to its faintest motion. Thenceforth he needs no guidance from formal rule, having a more delicate rule within him. He is a law to himself or indeed he is the law." Thus trained and developed the poet's spirit becomes a fit instrument for the expression of divine harmonies. In passive receptivity, the poet opens his soul to the spiritual influences that throng around him. They penetrate into the utmost depths of his being and transmute his entire self. To outward appearance he becomes a solitary, a veritable "desolation,"

He scarcely frets the atmosphere
With breathing and his body shares
The immobility of rocks.
His heart's a deep-will of tranquillity
His mind still is than the limbs of fear.¹

Yet underneath this apparent tranquillity there goes on an intense activity of creation. His whole personality is aflame with poetic enthusiasm; he hears in "prevenient winnowings" the pinions of "coming songs that lift his hair and stir it."² He wanders in a realm of vision and ecstasy. He soars to the highest regions of spiritual experience; "gleaming multitudes" float before his mind's eye and sweet melodies enthrall him.³

This inspiration, like the wind, bloweth where it listeth; it recks of no control. Thoughts crowd into the poet's mind, he

¹ Contemplation, Thompson.

² Contemplation, Thompson.

³ Cf. Sister Songs, Thompson.

knows not whence or why, yet he must express them ; he must blend them together and harmonise them in his melodious verses. Like Plato ¹ Thompson also is acutely conscious of the spontaneous nature of poetic inspiration. Like him again, the poet admits that his songs often have a greater significance for his hearers than for himself—

Where he sows he doth not reap ;
He reapeth where he doth not sow ;
He sleeps, and dreams forsake his sleep
To meet him on his waking way.
Vision will mate him not by law and vow :
Disguised in life's most hoddenn-gray
She waits him unsuspected and unknown.²

The poet's inspiration, so Thompson feels, comes to him from Divinity Itself. God breathes into him the breath of life and an entire world of beauty at once unrolls itself before his imaginative vision. The life of everyday experience is his, not however the visionary hours of poetic ecstasy.

Thou gav'st the weed and wreath of song * the weed and wreath are
solely thine

And this dishonest vesture * is the only vesture that is mine ;
The life I textured, thou the song *—my handicraft is not Divine ! ³

To receive this inspiration from God the poet must transcend the humdrum everyday experiences of common men. “ Life's familiar, penetrable levels ” lie on the surface. They are for the common man. The poet must go beyond them ; he must penetrate to the very depths of real existence. He must dwell there in an ideal world where truth reveals herself to his loving gaze. In fact, he is—

.....Beauty's eremite
In antre of this lowly body set,
Girt with a thirsty solitude of soul ; ⁴

¹ Ion.

² Sister Songs.

³ A Judgment in Heaven.

⁴ Sister Songs.

Smitten from his very youth with the enchanting grace of poetry, living a dedicated life unmindful of the praises or blame of society,

He liveth detachèd days;
 He serveth not for praise;
 For gold
 He is not sold;
 Deaf is he to world's tongue;
 He scorneth for his song
 The loud
 Shouts of the crowd.¹

He does not care whether this worship of beauty has its reward. He is satisfied with his own efforts for self-expression; his life is not one of common joys and cares "simply felt as all men feel" nor is it "lived purely out to his soul's weal."² On the contrary, his personality has, by its very nature, imbedded in its own self, conflicting tendencies of thought and action. He lives a "double life"—the life of flesh and the life of song—and has, accordingly, to suffer the twofold sorrows of his peculiar existence. The pangs that flesh is heir to, oppress him and added to them come the travails of spiritual experience. The inadequacy of his physical powers to express his spiritual aspirations and aesthetic visions overburden his soul. The unfortunate poet, by the very nature of his being,

Immortal knew and mortal pain,
 Who in two worlds could lose and gain
 And found immortal fruits must be,
 Mortal, through his mortality.
 The life of flesh and the life of song!
 If one life worked the other wrong,
 What expiating agony
 May for him, damned to poesy
 Shut in that little sentence be—
 What deep austerities of strife—
 'He lived his life.' 'He lived his life.'³

¹ To the Dead Cardinal of Westminster.

² Epilogue, A Judgment of Heaven.

There is indeed a primal sympathy between the poet and the Creator. The poet and the mystic alone, Thompson holds, even as Plato did, can penetrate beyond the veil of appearance and have a vision of reality. "Creation's primal plot" stands revealed before him. His soul is a microcosm in which are revealed the workings of the great world in which he lives; his intellect directs the otherwise chaotic activities of his "still fluctuous sense." He is the great seer who "makes everything new." "Thou art," so Thompson exultantly addresses the poet,

Bold copyist who dost relin
The traits, in man's gross mind grown dim
Of the first masterpiece—
Remaking all in thy one day :—
And what thy maker in the whole
Worked, little master, in thy soul
Thou workest, and man knows it not.

The ideal, which Thompson ardently desires to inculcate, of the poet's nature and mission in life is closely akin to that of the mystic. No poet, according to him, can create his world of visionary and mystic Beauty unless he himself has an intuitive knowledge of the spiritual essences underlying the universe. Poetry is a mere unfolding of the spiritual and mystic experiences of man. And the poet himself is satisfied only when his poems catch the after-glow of his visions of God.

Only that, 'mid vain vaunt
Of wisdom ignorant,
A little kiss upon the foot of Love
My hasty verse has stayed
Sometimes a space to plant
It has not wholly strayed—

Indeed Thompson has his whole being concentrated on an earnest endeavour to realise, in the depths of his soul, the fountainhead of all light and all love. He sings out of the

fullness of his heart and feels an inner satisfaction in thus unburdening himself of the sweetest experiences of his life. He knows full well the uncongenial environment in the midst of which he has to strive. Yet he never loses heart. On the contrary an implicit faith in Divine Providence always upholds him even when he has to struggle hard with the world of modern ideas.

Yet shall a wiser day
Fulfil more heavenly way
And with approved music clear this slip
I trust in God most sweet.
Meantime the silent lip
Meantime the climbing feet.¹

The religious atmosphere through which the poet had to pass the most formative period of his life and the bitter experiences of his days of travail and distress made him uncommonly introspective. His study of Roman Catholic Mysticism and his association with Coventry Patmore strengthened the vein of mysticism which lay dormant in his personality. Often does the poet abstract himself from the outward world of sense and concentrate his entire being on the world of the spirit. In such moments of introspection he finds within himself depths wherein he is alone to the Alone—an inmost citadel of the human heart where God alone reigns; the deepest inmost soul of man of which he himself, in his ordinary moods, has no knowledge; the varitable

...Heart's heart, whose immured plot
Hath keys yourself keep not.²

Even love which can penetrate into and influence the conscious self of man has no entrance into these unconscious regions of the human mind. Here the human personality is brought

¹ Retrospect.

² A Fallen Yew.

face to face with its master, the *Oversoul*. It is here, that the human soul feels the presence and approach of God.

Its keys are at the cincture hung of God
 Its gates are trepident to his nod;
 By Him its floors are trod.
 And if his feet shall rock those floors in wrath
 Or blest aspersions sleek his path
 Is only choice it hath.¹

In these depths of his personality man feels the existence of spiritual essences and gains his spiritual sustenance from immortal moods and thoughts. His mystic experiences seldom appear on the surface of conscious life; only after intense moments of emotional fervour are they thrown upon its shores—

Fair are the soul's uncrisp'd calms, indeed,
 Endiapered with many a spiritual form
 Of bloomy-tinctured weed;
 But scarce itself is conscious of the store
 Suckled by it, and only after storm
 Casts up its loosened thoughts upon the shore.²

The soul of the poet always feels an inward urge, a hankering for union with the *Oversoul*. He is ever 'rapt towards the bodyless paramour.' The beauty of the earth, its radiance and colour, the fragrance of its flowers all tell him of his Divine Lover. They all vouchsafe unto him alluring glimpses of the countenance of his Beloved. Such glimpses influence his life and transform his entire personality. The whole universe cannot charm him; he lives in the world indeed but is not of it.

From the enticing smile of earth and skies
 I dream my unknown fair's refused gaze;
 And guesingly her love's close traits devise,
 Which she with subtile coquetries

¹ A fallen Yew.

² Sister Songs.

Through little human glimpses slow displays
 Cozening my mateless days
 By sick intolerable delays.¹

And so he lives an isolated life, unaccompanied by any mortal lover. He cannot feel any mortal passion. No love can move him except such as "winnows the tremulous Paradisical plumages."

The most significant characteristic of Thompson's mysticism is the idea that man does not hanker for God as God for him. In the midst of the darkest moments of his life the poet is always conscious of the pursuit of his Beloved. God is the "heavenly falconer," who tames with fearful glooms the haggard to his call. Overburdened with the weight of Divine love the human soul may try to escape from Him; but His quest is unrelenting. His feet ever follows the human soul wherever she may take shelter.

But with unhurrying chase
 And unperturbed pace
 Deliberate speed, majestic instancy
 They beat....." ²

In vain does man try to flee; in vain does he seek protection everywhere. He speeds up "vested hopes" and down "Titanic glooms of charmed fears." He prays to the powers of nature for shelter from this "tremendous Lover," but finds, to his dismay, his "own betrayal in their constancy." They are but servitors of his Divine Beloved, true and loyal to His behests alone. And as he flees past, his ears are smitten by the warning cry "Naught shelters thee who wilt not shelter me." He seeks consolation and rest in the company of innocent children but even there lurks the image of God. Nor can a life spent in intimate communion with nature save him. His scientific investigations into the fundamental principles of nature's life

¹ Sister Songs.

² The Hound of Heaven.

his efforts to "draw the bolt of nature's services," his endeavours to guide his life according to her moods—all prove fruitless.

"I" says Thompson,

".....made them shapers
Of mine own moods or woeful or divine;
With them joyed and was bereaven.
I was heavy with the even,
When she lit her glimmering tapers
Round the day's dead sanctities.
I laughed in the morning's eyes
I triumphed and I saddened with all weather,
Heaven and I wept together,
And its sweets tears were salt with mortal mind;
Against the red throb of its sunset-heart
I laid my own to beat,
And share commingling heat."¹

Yet nature cannot "slake the drouth" of his soul and, ever and

A voice comes yet more fleet—

Lo! naught contents thee who content'st not me.²

Perfect union with the Oversoul, the life unitive so significant a mystic experience, cannot be attained so long as the barriers of individual existence are not destroyed; and beautifully does the poet describe the entire process of this destruction of his selfhood before the insistent pursuit of his Divine Beloved. His soul loses itself. The armour of individualistic life which had so long separated herself from her Beloved lies in ruins around her. And then, and then alone, does she hear the sweet voice of God consoling her in the midst of utter annihilation. "The life which lies destitute and shattered about the soul," the poet feels, is, in reality, conducive to her welfare. She is rendered desolate and forelorn because such desolation is absolutely necessary for fine union with God. It is only when man confronts Divinity

^{1, 2} The Hound of Heaven.

completely shorn of all his powers that He calls man to His side. Man's powers are taken away so that he may seek and ultimately find them in God.

All which from thee I did but take,
 Not for thy harms.
 But just that thou might'st seek it in my arms,
 All which thy child's mistake
 Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home;
 Rise! clasp my Hand, and come! ¹

The life of a mystic and poet like Thompson is a life of discipline. He must not lead the life of common men. Their ways are not his. If he has painfully acquired the ideas prevalent in his age he must unlearn them. He must always remember that the outer world of existence is 'a world of shadows and not of realities and he must develop his personality accordingly. The precepts which he has to follow may often appear paradoxical but they are nevertheless true, true for the progress of the mystic soul. In the midst of the most uncongenial environments he must cling to hope, in the midst of the adversities of life he must exult.

Thou must hope for thou darest not despair,
 Exult for thou canst not grieve. ²

He must, indeed "plough the rock until it bear;" he must die to the world in order to live the eternal life of the spirit.

The mystic path is, according to Thompson, a path of sorrow and pain. The bitter experiences of his life had awakened the poet to the great significance of sorrow. He had felt even in the most unhappy moments of his life the sweetness of sorrow and could, consequently, assert with an emphasis born of conviction that "a world without joy were more tolerable than a world without sorrow." For, "sorrow is the Spartan sauce which gives gusto to the remainder viands of life, the broken meats of

¹ Hound of Heaven.

² By Reason of Thy Law.

love." She raises the soul of man to higher planes of existence and gives her "the gracious gift of sweetness." Hers is "beauty surpassing all objects in the universe." To a Christian whose highest embodiment of perfection is a Man of Sorrows she has an added glamour. She is not only beautiful but a perennial source of powers as well. "It was," Thompson very significantly observes, "after the Christ had wept over Jerusalem that He uttered some of His most august words; it was when His soul had been sorrowful even unto death that His enemies fell prostrate before his voice. Who suffers conquers; the bruised is the breaker."

Sorrow is indeed the "icy path which strings the slack sinews loosened with delight." In the world of the spirit again, she has a very significant part to play. She unlocks the treasure of wisdom of spiritual experience. It is with her "anointing oil" that the poet and mystic becomes master over the "mutinous principate of man's restless mind." Under her rigorous eyes alone do the spiritual powers "exercise their celestial virtue." She is the "portress of the gateway of all love." Hers is the "pentecosta flame" which consecrates the mother and the wife and illuminates this "love-way" which we call life. Above all, to a devout Roman Catholic like Thompson, she is the redeemer of mankind. The Pre-destined Man of Grief invested her with her bare and antique sceptre. His Crown of Thorns was a veritable crown of sorrow. To this "Queen of Calvary," terrible yet holy, the poet is a devoted votary. He has never neglected "her high sacrifice," never spared his "heart's children to her sacred knife." He yearns for her and would fain experience the mystic intimations which come to man through the way of suffering and misery. The poet indeed wants to perform "the extreme rite of abnegation" for he knows full well that man must bear aright this proving of God's "pure-willed ordeal" and submit himself absolutely to Providence. Not only does the poet await, with calm assurance in the midst of the sorrows of life, the light of Divine Presence but he exclaims with exulting certitude that at

the end of this vale of tears lies the vision Beatific of the Great Oversoul.

Lo, I proclaim the unavowed term
 When this morass of tears, then drained and firm
 Shall be a land
 Unshaken I affirm
 Where seven-quiored psalterings meet;
 And all the gods move with calm hand in hand,
 And eyes that knows not trouble and the worm.¹

In spite, however, of the pain and sorrow of the mystic path the soul of man ever reaches out to God and can never rest satisfied with anything less than union, absolute and complete, with the Oversoul. Man will search no more only when

Earth and heaven lay down their veil,
 And that Apocalypse turn the pale;
 When thy seeing blindeth thee
 To what thy fellow mortals see;
 When their sight to thee is sightless;
 Their living death; their light, most lightless.

The whole universe now appears linked into one great unity.
 The mystic vision. All things are so intimately associated together that we cannot "stir a flower without the troubling of a star." Sometimes these visions are heralded by "dainty dubious sounds" of melody,

Which first was faint as if in swoond
 Then burst so suddenly
 In warring concords all around
 That, whence this thing might be
 To see
 The very marrow longed in me.²

The Archetypal music of heavenly essences makes the human soul vibrant with mystic aspirations and soon it seems as if the

¹ By Reason of Thy Law.

² Sister Songs.

only to his spiritual eye to the "ear within the ear" but not to the "clay-sealed sense."² He contains within himself his own law; it is inscribed in letters of fire on the tablets of his heart. His own happiness is in his own self. Could he but interpret the longings of his own nature, could he but guide his activities he would, the poet assures us, know heavenly bliss. To realise herself the human soul must leave the beaten track of everyday life. She must deny the transient world of becoming and find her fullest realisation in the Oversoul.

Most proud,
When utterly bowed
To feel thyself to be
His dear non-entity
Caught '
Beyond human thought
In the thunderspout of him
Until thy being dim
And be
Dead deathlessly.¹

Man is thus both an animal and a spirit. The physical and the spiritual in the human personality are, according to Thompson, equally significant. It however required centuries for man to recognise the place and function of the Body in the evolution of human personality. As Thompson points out with just a touch of humour—

The physical and the
spiritual in Men.

Said sprite o' me to body o' me :
A malison on thee, trustless creature
Thou prat'st thyself mine effigy
To them which view thy much misfeature.
My hest thou no way slav'st aright
Though Slave-service be all thy nature :
An evil thrall I have of thee
Thou adder coiled about delight.²

¹ To Any Saint.

² Health and Holiness.

Nay more, the unfortunate body could not escape by obedience. She was castigated and mortified lest she should be pampered into stubborn independence. But modern scientific thought has, the poet is conscious, changed the entire out-look on life. Its discoveries and investigations have laid a just emphasis on the complexity of the problem. "We can no longer set body against spirit and let them come into grips after the light-hearted fashion of our ancestors. We realise that their inter-twinings are of infinite delicacy and endless multiplicity; no stroke upon the one but is innumerably reverberated by the other." However paradoxical it may appear to superficial view, "the co-operation of the body must be enlisted in the struggle against the body. It is the lusts of the healthy body which are formidable but to war with them the body must be kept in health." In fact, its health and redemption is the aim of all sanctity. The spirit

Must keep pace and tarry, patient, kind,
With its unwilling scholar, the dull tardy mind;
Must be obsequious to the body's powers,
Whose low hands mete its path, set ope and close its ways;¹

Such limitation is, indeed, necessary for its manifestation. The Titan is known "by his champed chain." "The splendid sun," the poet tells us, can never display its glory and splendour unless and until he dashes his broken ray on gross things. In fact,

Did not obstruction's vessel hem it in
Force were not force, would spill itself in vain.¹

Though Thompson recognises the value of the physical aspect of the human personality, he nevertheless always moves in a world of the spirit. Man is, to him, more a cherub than an animal. From his very childhood, the human soul is "a visible

¹ Sister Songs.

brightness on the chosen ark of his body and consequently, to his discerning imagination, childhood is not the mere plaything of an hour, nor are children mere 'beautiful images on the shores of life. He can never forget the potent influence of childhood on his blasted youth. The bright vision of the child,—a blossom, he calls her, fallen from the budded coronal of spring,—who saved him with her charity and love at a time when hopeless and forlorn he was grimly 'waiting the inevitable doom,' always lives in his memory. It makes him reverent in the presence of childhood. Nor can he ever forget that his Redeemer was Himself a divine Child. His mystic imagination

3. Childhood.

nurtured on such ideas of the Roman Catholic Church cannot but be conscious of the close and intimate relationship which exists between childhood and the Oversoul. The child always feels the influence of "divine o'ershadowings ;" its heart attracts, by its very beauty and mystic glamour, the presence of " Burning Spirits " who instil into it eternal ideals and moods.¹ Its smile is heaven-born, "native in its very heaven." Soon however the earth closes round it and its joy fades away.

Thompson's attitude towards womanhood is influenced by the same spiritual outlook. His beloved is, to him, a spirit, a soul rising like an inhalation to the Divine Presence. It is the spiritual element in her nature which attracts and sustains him. Once this source of strength dries up, his very life "perishes to the foodless root."² He can discern only the soul that shines in and through her, but not the beauty of her countenance. He can never paint her physical appearance as he knows only her spirit. In fact the soul of the beloved is, in his opinion, the only reality ; her physical attractions are mere "sexual veils" mere "habits of cloistral flesh." Her body is thus the vesture of her soul, the tabernacle where the spirit resides ; its limbs mere instruments,

¹ To a Poet breaking Silence.

² Manus Animum Pinxit.

servitors to carry out the behests of the sovereign lord within.¹ It is only a step more to recognise in the soul of woman an exalted being "for God grown marriageable." She is of the heaven, heavenly. Her slightest movement is fraught with spiritual glamour—

The heavens hid
Impend, at tremble of your lid
And divine advent shine avowed
Under that dim and lucid cloud.²

Equally spiritual is the influence she wields over human beings at large. In his idea of love Thompson is almost a Platonist. At the very first appearance of beauty his doubts and anxieties are laid at rest. The heart which had so long been tormented with the adversities of life rises superior to them all. He cries out in impetuous joy and welcomes from the depths of his being the first dawn of a newer life. His whole personality is wrapt up in the beloved. Every moment of his life, the most insignificant of his activities are all concentrated on her sweet presence.

The hours I tread ooze memories of thee, sweet,
Beneath my casual feet.
With rainfall as the lea
The day is drenched with thee ;
In little exquisite surprises
Bubbling deliciousness of thee arises
From sudden places,
Under common traces
Of my most lethargied and customed paces.³

His mind may be sick of the bustle and tumult of modern life, its strife and contending ideals may leave him weak and dis-tempered, yet the soothing presence of his beloved cures him of

¹ Her Portrait.

² Sister Songs.

³ *Ibid.*

all these diseases and distempers. Her influence becomes, as it were, an integral part of his deepest personality.

In all I work, my hand includeth thine
 Thou rushest down in every stream
 Whose passion frets my spirit's deepening forge ;
 Unhoodest my eyas-heart and fliest my dream ;
 Thou swingest the hammers of my forge ;
 As the innocent moon, that nothing does but shine
 Moves all the labouring surges of the world.¹

His is indeed a "chaste and intelligential love." It is reminiscent, like Platonic love, of the lover's antenatal life. Thompson the lover, almost always, transcends his earthly mortal existence and lives in the transcendental world of reality ; even in parting, the influence of the beloved lingers—

" At the rich odours from her heart that rise
 My soul remembers its lost paradise,
 And ante-natal gales blow from Heaven's shores of spice ;
 I grow essential all, uncloaking me
 From this encumbering virility.
 And feel the primal sex of heaven and poetry
 And, parting from her, in me linger on
 Vague snatches of Uranean Antiphon.²

The ecstasy which the lover feels at the first approach of the beloved or when she declares her love reminds us of Plato. The first kiss of love "touching long-laid expectance" goes up into one sudden transport of passion. The night itself wraps them round in "vibrant fore." The whole world feels the glow. It is hushed into silence and against the background of this transformed atmosphere of "impassioned calm" the passion of the poet seems to hang tremendously radiant in its own joy. The universe, its skies and hills, its great mysteries of life and death, yea God himself, become one with the lovers.³ This one

¹ *Sister Songs.*

² *Her Portrait.*

³ *Ultima.*

eternal moment of love's fulfilment, the poet celebrates in the exultant lines of many a song.

Time's beating wing subsided, and the winds
Caught up their breathing, and the world's great pulse
Stayed in mid-throb and the wild train of life
Reeled by, and left us stranded in a hush.

This moment is a statue unto love

- Carved from a fair white silence. ¹

The poet's love has both the height of ecstasy and the depth of misery. The absence of the beloved leaves him forlorn and disconsolate. His songs become dumb, his guardian angel no longer guides and comforts him. He yearns for her and hankers for the slightest token of her remembrance.² He worships her lifeless portrait and dreams of the past.³ Yet in the sorrow of parting, in the midst of all his misery, he feels a strange sweetness.

For nothing of me or around
But absent she did leaven,
Felt in my body as its soul
And in my soul, its heaven. ⁴

A love so spiritual cannot but be eternal. The lover that loves "with all his life" must also love "with all his death" too. Even when the beloved leaves this world of joys and sorrows, love does not die. On the contrary,

- There was no change in her sweet eyes
- Since last I saw those sweet eyes shine;
- There was no change in her deep heart
- Since last that deep heart knocked at mine

I joyed for me, I joyed for her,
Who with the past meet girt about:
Where our last kiss still warms the air
Nor can her eyes go out.⁵

¹ Her Portrait.

² A Carier Song.

³ Before her Portrait in Youth.

⁴ After Parting.

⁵ Dream-Trust.

The romantic poets had re-established nature in English literature. In their poems she was invested with deep spiritual

Nature and Man. significance for the soul of man. She was the

refuge of depressed humanity; she consoled the stricken heart of man when, weary from strife he came to her for solace and sympathy. She was also a mighty influence to form, chasten and ennoble those who came into intimate contact with her. There seemed to be a "pre-established harmony" between the soul of nature and the soul of man. This was nature's "holy plan." Man had fallen a victim to all the miseries of his life by ignoring this inherent harmony and so had to lament of "what man has made of man." The poet thus created nature in his own image and after his likeness. His own spiritual ideals invested nature with a glow and radiance which was, to a very great extent, an emanation from his own personality. The scientific spirit of modern times cannot, however, accept this subjective attitude towards the external world. It shatters the poet's dream and seeks to represent nature as she really is. The evolutionary process that it discovers in her gives an entirely different picture; and no modern poet can ignore the conclusions arrived at, after careful analysis and experiment, by the master-minds of the present age. A Tennyson has, consequently, to recognise nature's callousness to the individual and the type; and to portray her not only as a benign spirit but also as a cruel monster "red in tooth and claw."

Thompson is fully aware of the implications underlying the discoveries of science. He cannot accept the subjective outlook so common among romantic poets. "Nature," says Coleridge "has ministrations by which she heals her erring and distempered child." "It is notorious," retorts Thompson. "how ineffectual were her ministrations in the case of Coleridge himself.¹ In fact he finds nothing but an externalisation of the poet's own self in the so-called responsiveness of nature to human moods

¹ Nature's Inmost life

Nature has no personality of her own. She has no heart, only a beautiful exterior. "You speak and you think that she answers you. It is the echo of your own voice. You think you hear the throbbing of her own heart and it is the throbbing of your own."¹ He rejects the "conventional doctrine derived from Wordsworth and Shelley" that nature has "a heart of love" stealing out to man "through a thousand avenues of mute sympathy." On the contrary, he would rather echo Coleridge and say

Oh Lady! we receive but what we give
And in our life alone does nature live;
Ours her wedding garment, ours her shroud!

I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life whose fountains are within!

He is not "nature's natural." He will not worship her with "impious flatterings sweet." The spirit of nature and her communion with the human soul are mere shibboleths of poetic coteries which grew up here and there after "the great mouth of Rydal ceased." The poet receives no intimations of immortality from recollections of childhood. He finds no "divine gleams forgot" in the experiences of his early age. The virgin hills, the streams, the "verdant blooms"—all the beautiful aspects of nature appeal to the imagination of childhood indeed; but in their appeal there is no mystic element, no hint that "the soul cometh from afar and hath elsewhere its setting." It is "simple wonder in a wonderful sight" which the child feels as he gazes at the beautiful panorama of natural scenery around him. As he grows older, he may hanker after the fresh joy in nature which he has lost. He may want to knit again the broken chain

To run and be to the sun's bosom caught
Over life's bended brows prevail
With laughter of the insolent nightingale
Jocund of heart in darkness.¹

¹ Of Nature, Land and Plaut.

But if he seeks refuge in nature from human ills he will be greatly disappointed. Nature cannot heal the wounds of the human heart nor can she give unto the stricken soul of man the balm which he sorely needs. Is nature then, as scientists often say, a mere inert mass uninspired by the "Breath Divine"? On the contrary it is the unfolding of the Divine to the Human mind. "The supreme spirit creating reveals his conceptions to man in the material forms of nature." "An ideal wakes in the Omnipotent Painter; and straightway over the eternal dikes rush forth the flooding tides of light and the blue heaven ripples into stars; nature from Alp to Alpine flower, rises lovely with the betrayal of the Divine thought. An ideal wakes in the Divine Poet and there chimes the rhythm of an ordered universe. An ideal wakes in the Omnipotent Musician and creation vibrates with the harmony from the palpitating throat of the bird to the surges of his thunder as they burst along the roaring strand of heaven." Nature is indeed the Divine Idea "taking to itself flesh."¹ It is the vesture, the veil which conceals and at the same time reveals the Eternal. The world's unfolded blossom smells of God.²

The world of nature is, like the Sun itself, the

" Resplendent and prevailing Word
Of the unheard." ³

It is the mere "image" of the Eternal creator and receives its splendour and glory from its "aboriginal sire" who exists "beyond death and resurgence of our day and night." It is instinct with Divine life and man can approach it only through its Creator God. Nature, as Thompson very pertinently points out, "lives in the life of God and in so far and so far merely as man himself lives in that life does he come into sympathy with nature and nature with him."⁴

¹ Nature's Immortality.

² From the Night of Forebeing.

³ The Orient Ode.

⁴ Nature's Immortality.

" For know, this Lady nature thou hast left
Of whom thou fear'st thee reft,
This Lady is God's daughter, and she lends
Her hand but to his friends
But to her father's friends the hand that
thou wouldst win."

A. K. SEN

STORM MAJESTY

I love to watch the darkness creep about
The earth when storms blow salty from the sea.
When shadows' feet are heavy, and each tree
Bends back its wind-drenched boughs—when flashes flout
Their threatening zigzag streaks, or when pools sprout
Like toadstools, here and there, I do not flee.
The shrill and strident tones are in a key
To which the wind and whistling winds cry out.
It is on nights like these that I can hear
The pavements answer cries of pounding walls ;
And I can see the dim stars disappear
As though some unseen hand of midnight squalls
Had thrown them from the inky sky to clear
The space for Vulcan's forge and flaming halls.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A WORLD-RELIGION

The existence of many diverse beliefs among men may hinder, but cannot for all time prevent, an approximation to a future universal religion. As every religion contains some truths, and as all truths combined constitute Reality or God, so until all truths are apprehended and accepted by men, it will not be possible for them to arrive at one ultimate religion. However, since God is one, it may be correctly assumed that men shall be finally led to Him through their belief in one true religion. Thus until that ultimate state is reached it is not proper for any person, since man does not possess perfect knowledge, to reject the truths that exist in religions other than his own. As all religious beliefs are in a state of flux and as religions are ever advancing and shall ever advance in the apprehension of truth, so any religion, however advanced it may be at its best, is but an attempt at the establishment of a perfect relation with God. Therefore, it may be hoped that in the remote future it will not be impossible for men to arrive at one universally accepted religion.

As in all living organisms the old and decayed cells are incessantly eliminated for the formation of newer cells and bodies, similarly the genius of religion, if religion is to be deemed a living organism, shall ever be active in its life-history to lead its many existing forms towards perfection; and when their diversities disappear, all religions will merge in one. Thus every man has an indispensable part to play in the progress towards the world-religion. It is, therefore, to be hoped that all men, in their longing for a closer relation with God through their increased knowledge of truth, will always help the future progress towards a final religion, for religion is the adaptation of the law of perfection to spiritual life. The advent of a finally perfected religion will remove all the religious differences of men

and pave the way for the establishment of concord and goodwill among them for ever.

Unity and infinity are the two aspects of God. Thus diverse religious beliefs are accounted for, and men are justified in adhering to them for a time. The universe is God's visible expression. Behind His infinite manifestations He lies hidden. Men know Him as the Hidden One. The Hebrew sage calls Him Jehovah, or one whose name is "I am that I am." According to the Brahmanic Rishi, He is the one from whom words come back failing to comprehend Him; in other words, "He is what He is." So God invisible, inconceivable, and unutterable cannot be formulated in words but can only be worshipped in spirit as Truth, Love, Wisdom, Power, etc., that is to say, in some of the attributes which are most prominently suggested as belonging to Him.

The Brahmanic Rishi says, "God is attained by truth." Christ says, "God shall be worshipped in spirit and in truth." There is but one good test for the ascertainment of truth. If men find that some statements about God and their duty towards Him, made by different prophets or interpreters of God in different ages and climes, substantially agree with one another, then they should take such statements to be truths coming from God. All individuals do not possess spiritual discernment in an adequate degree, but only those who are specially endowed by God with this gift have the power of declaring truths to the rest of mankind. Confucius said that his work was to indicate rather than to originate. The Buddha said that he showed only the old way. Christ said that he declared nothing but what he had heard from his Father. Muhammad said that he proclaimed the will of Allah as it had come to him. Thus, taking the statements, of these chosen men of God as the models of God's declaration to His children, we may assume that they satisfy the test of truth and contain the essential ingredients of the religion which men should accept. If this is done, a world-religion will be established for the whole human race.

The Vedas, perhaps the first scriptures to recognize the Fatherhood of God—an endearing aspect to personality in which man invoked God for His blessings—contain a fundamentally monotheistic belief. In the Vedic religion the phenomena of Nature, such as the sun, the fire, the air, etc., were worshipped as God's semblances. In some passages of the Vedas they are said to be different names of the one and the same Deity, as God is the only longed-for of men and "inhabits their praises," to Whom alone all worship goes. But it seems that in course of time when the worship of the phenomena of Nature failed to satisfy the hearts and minds of some men, when their knowledge of God had undergone considerable change, they began to grumble and ask, "Who is the real object of our worship"? ("Kasmai Devaya Havisha Vidhemah.") It is supposed that failing to get any satisfactory answer, they left their native land and migrated from India to another country, expecting that there they would be better able to practise their religion according to their conscience. The scholars who maintain this theory base their view upon an interpretation, different from that of Sayana, of certain passages which are found in the Vedas. But as to the correctness of the interpretation I have my doubts, as such an interpretation does not seem to fit in with the context. The old Vedic religion, grand and simple as it was observed in the worship of the invisible Brahman through His manifestations, has now become a religion merely in name, recorded in book but observed little in practice. From the Vedic conception of the immanence of God in Nature sprang that of Him in humanity, and from it came the identification of Him with it, and this led to the doctrine of pantheism which now possesses half the heart of Hindu India.

Hinduism, which is a combination of diverse old and new beliefs and ideas, and of observances of rites, ceremonies and customs of the largest section of the people of India, gradually sprang up after the decline of the faith of its old Aryan inhabitants in Vedic religion which was its original source. In it

may be found almost every kind of religious thought or sentiment that has ever existed in the conception of man, and even now it is assimilating some new thoughts and sentiments. Thus it may be considered a repository of almost all shades of religious idea or belief, old and new,—a fact which leads one to think that Hinduism, though very old, is not yet a fossil religion, but is one which continues to be a living organism capable of drawing in new light for its own further advancement. We know it was in full vigour when the Buddha preached his religion. So taking it to be at least 1,000 years older than Buddhism its age may now be estimated at about 3,500 years.

Hinduism, which in a sense is a term convertible with Brahmanism, consists of the worship of the three principal gods, namely, Brahma—the creator, Vishnu—the preserver, and Siva—the destroyer. There are also lesser deities such as Durga—the goddess of energy, Saraswati—the goddess of learning, Lakshmi—the goddess of prosperity, and Ganesh—the god of wisdom. Besides, the sun and the fire are worshipped, and the cow is regarded with veneration. The Brahmana who is said to have come from the mouth of Brahma, occupies the sacerdotal place amongst the people and receives the highest reverence. Rama and Krishna are worshipped as the incarnations of God. The Hindu is a firm believer in the doctrines of pantheism, re-birth and fatalism. Believing as he does in the unity of God with the universe, he apprehends God's oneness in His manyness. He believes that all inequalities in his present life are explained by the deeds done by him in a former birth, many of which are necessary for attaining perfection, and without which his oneness with God cannot be realized. He also believes that all that he does and all that happens to him have been pre-determined in heaven. Thus in a sense every Hindu is a philosopher not only in mind but also in his daily practice. The Hindu, who is in general spiritually advanced, avers that he does not worship the images themselves

that he sees before him, but the powers and attributes of God that they visualize. Some scholars of Indology opine that the worship of the Hindu pantheon in its present form was not prevalent in India before the Greek invasion, but was introduced there by the Greeks who in their own country worshipped their gods in images. The Hindu who by his religious faith has learnt to be liberal-minded towards all faiths, believes that salvation is not restricted to a particular form of conception of God, but can be attained by all His children by diverse ways, if only they devoutly seek Him. In his view the Hindu scriptures, namely the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagavat Gita, etc., are all living utterances of God and contain such unique spiritual teaching and ethical instruction about man's duty towards God and his fellow-beings that for his *mukti* it is not necessary for him to seek the help of any other religion. It only concerns him to strive to develop his *bhakti* towards God and compassion towards all creatures. Thus it appears that the essential features of a good religion are the constituents of Hinduism. It is the most die-hard of religions and also the longest-lived in the world, which has survived the onslaughts of Buddhism, Mahomedanism and Christianity for about two centuries and a half.

Zoroasterism, or the religion founded by Zoroaster about 1000 B.C. and contained in the Zend Avesta, is a form of monotheism that is found in the Vedas of the ancient Aryan. It is believed that the Parsis, who originally belonged to the ancient Aryan stock then inhabiting Northern India, migrated owing to some religious difference with their brethren to Persia where Zarathustra founded his new religion. This conclusion is sustained by the similarity that is noticed in the forms of worship of Zoroastrian and Vedic religions. As in the Vedas the worship of God is combined with that of Nature, so it is in the religion of the Parsi. The Parsi is taught to face some luminous object such as fire, while worshipping God and to regard it as His visible emblem. Owing to this, in the mind

of the Parsi there is a peculiar instinct of awe felt towards light and fire, as many Christians feel regarding the Cross. The creed of the Parsi is embodied in the belief in one God to whom he addresses his prayer. Another important tenet of his religion is contained in the observance of the three things, namely, pure thought, pure word, and pure deed. He believes in the judgment of God, the reward of virtue and punishment of vice. Zoroasterism is a religion in which monotheism has been maintained unchanged from its beginning down to the present day.

Buddhism, which next demands our attention, is perhaps the grandest philosophical doctrine that has ever been presented to the human race. In its days of glory it paved the way, perhaps more than any other religious system, for a life of rigid, unselfish service, not of humanity only, but of all creatures on earth. Buddhism teaching, as it does, the noble path of life and good work without the expectation of any reward whatsoever, in this world or in the next, stands unparalleled in the history of religion. But owing unfortunately to its reticence about the existence of God, its theory of No-soul and the theory of the Law of Causation eternally working and producing all things,—principles not comprehensible to the ordinary intellect,—its hold on the minds of men gradually slackened in the course of time. Buddhism flourished in full vigour for several centuries in the land of its birth, as had been foretold by its great founder. At present it exists in a feeble form in some parts of India, such as Burma and the Himalayan regions. In Ceylon, China and Japan it now prevails in considerably modified forms.

Besides the principal cause, namely, its reticent, or rather its negative attitude towards a supreme spiritual being in the universe, several other causes contributed to the practical disappearance of Buddhism from India. Thus although the beautiful tenets of the religion and the lovable personality of its great founder

had originally roused the affection of the people to an overwhelming extent, its teaching gradually became repugnant to them as their old religious instincts, habits and predilections re-asserted themselves, accustomed as they had been to the worship of Brahman from a hoary antiquity. The second cause of its decline in India was probably the conduct of the rulers of the country, who, after embracing Buddhism, totally disregarded their political obligations and adopted strict asceticism. The situation was made worse by the indifference shown by Buddhist citizens towards political concerns, an attitude very different from that of the people of the West, who, on their conversion to Christianity, never thought of remouncing their political duties. Yet another cause of the decline of Buddhism possibly was the natural desire on the part of the people, after the subsidence of their original enthusiasm, to revert to a matter-of-fact existence. Just as many followers of Christ who had left their homes expecting the advent of the kingdom of their national God, became disillusioned after his death and settled down to ordinary life, so after the death of the Buddha the bulk of the people, who in their first religious frenzy had given up the pleasures of family life and all worldly concerns largely reverted to their former ways of life and their previous associations. Thus the old Brahmanic form of worship, so attractive in its spectacular aspect, whose influence over the hearts and minds of the people had greatly diminished owing to the impact of the new religious thought, re-asserted itself and succeeded largely in dissipating the power of Buddhism in India. At last the caterpillar of foreign invasion finished what the Brahmanic cankerworm had left, and the Buddhist institutions were devastated and their adherents dispersed all over the country.

It is remarkable that, while all the other religions of the world extended to other countries by means of conquest, Buddhism was the only one which did so without having a recourse to arms, and that though it now holds within its fold about the one-third of the whole human race yet there are many others who, without

professing to be Buddhists in faith yet are ardent lovers of the teachings of the Buddha.

Let us now consider the religion of the Jews. This religion, generally regarded as monotheistic, was not so before the time of Abraham. The monotheistic form of worship among the Jews was a later phase of their religion. Their primitive faith, when they were in Central Asia, was a kind of Nature-worship which included human sacrifice. In connection with their worship of Nature and the Seasons, they observed the feasts of the Harvest, Easter and In-gathering. The feasts of the new Moon, and Sabbath were also held by them. The number seven, a relic of star-worship connected with the seven planets, was considered sacred. The Jewish festivals as well as the weeks, months and years were all regulated by this number. As the Jews were not an isolated nation in the midst of aliens but were a branch of the Semitic people who had migrated from Central Asia towards the West, so naturally their form of worship became similar to that of their surrounding peoples; that is to say, it was polytheistic. Hence we find that the Jews worshipped the gods of the Amonites, the Edomites, the Moabites, the Phœnicians and the Philistines, down to the time of their Babylonian captivity. During the times of Kings Solomon, Ahab, Ahaz, etc., such gods as Molech, Chemosh, Astoreth and Baal were worshipped with human sacrifice along with Jehovah, their national God. The Jews were also polytheistic in practice when they lived in Egypt, for we find Aaron, in order to satisfy the old polytheistic craving, made a golden image of a bull and declared that it was their God Jehovah who had brought them out of Egypt. After this, although from time to time several prophets rising amongst the Jews bitterly denounced their idolatrous worship, they continued to be addicted to their abominable practice. However we noticed that, for the first time in their religious history, monotheism was rigidly enjoined in the Mosaic Law to be their natural form of worship, when connection was established between their religion and moral life. At last, about two thousand years ago, Christ rising among the Jews, filled with

the spirit of God, and intending to reform the Jewish religion, declared that man's salvation lay in nothing but in the performance of his duty of love towards the one God and man, in obedience to Him as He delighted more in the observance of duty than in ceremony and sacrifice. Christ preached with such power and authority that there scarcely remained anything of the old Jewish religion except its monotheism as inculcated by Father Abraham, and the priests of his time, unable to bear with him, crucified him to death in revenge.

Coming to Muhammadanism, we find that it is a monotheistic religion. It stands almost unrivalled in its teaching about obedience to God. The old spirit of Father Abraham, who is said to have proceeded to slay his son, as a sacrifice to God, still actuating the devout Moslem of to-day, he considers it his highest duty to do everything that he believes to be the behest of Allah. Abraham taught the unity of God with no mediators, though he expressed the view that from time to time according to the needs of the world, teachers had been and would be sent by God to reveal His will to mankind. When Muhammad took up his mission the people of Arabia were sunk in the worst practices of the perverted forms of Judaism, Christianity, Idolatry and Fetichism. So the theory that whatever is good in Muhammadanism is borrowed from Christianity cannot be sustained in the light of recent investigations. The teaching of Christianity that Christ is God is repudiated in the Koran.

Muhammad professed at the outset of his religious career to belong to the sect called Abrahamite, the followers of which believed in one God and were guided by the Law, the Gospels, and certain rolls of Abraham and Moses. The teaching of Abraham, as found in the Talmud, consisted in the belief in the existence of one God who rules the universe with mercy and loving kindness and alone disposes of the destinies of men. He declared that idolatry, even when combined with the worship of God, was to be regarded with abhorrence. He also taught that God helped the oppressed and the persecuted. Man, according to

Him, must pray to God alone, serve Him in love and obediently perform all His commands even at the sacrifice of his life and those of his dear ones. We also read in the Talmud that he who is not merciful to his fellowmen is not of the children of Abraham. Mercy and kindness are not to be withheld from any man, but extended to every human being on earth, irrespective of birth, creed or nationality. Noble teachings are these for the guidance and elevation of man.

To his religion Muhammad gave the name Islam, from which is derived the word Muslim which means one who, in obedience to God, strives for righteousness with all his heart and strength. In Islam Church and State are found so closely identified that the life of the believer is controlled by the constitution of society and government which are believed to be divinely established. But though founded with high motives, though the personality of its founder was great, and though it was endowed with an ardent religious faith, yet it is regrettable that many followers of Islam regard all reforms as acts of rebellion against divine enactment. However, it must be said to the credit of this religion that teaching, as it does, the unity of God, Islam has functioned in engendering a remarkable spirit of unity amongst its followers. Another noteworthy feature of Islam is that it has succeeded in almost extinguishing the use of intoxicating liquor amongst its followers, an achievement which no Christian country has so far been able to accomplish by legislation.

Brahmoism is not a new religion, but is—if I may be permitted to use the metaphor—the new wine of advanced thought put into the old Vedic bottle. It draws its inspiration from the Upanishads and the Vedanta which were subsequent developments of the old Vedic Religion. It, however, differs from the Vedic religion in this that it has discarded the worship of the powers of Nature. But the way in which the Brahmo religion is practised does not seem likely to enable it to continue long its hold

on the minds of men. Its lack of power and its divorce from the realities of life are due to its too scholastic manner of treating of the Deity. Such intellectualism alone is not enough to save and elevate. Besides, with its too much of divinity and too little of humanity, it is deprived of the blessings of the God of religion. Thus the genius of Brahmoism is being strangled and it is becoming more a religion of the pulpit than of life. Its rich thoughts and teachings, unfortunately lying confined within the Church, bear no fruit for the outer world. But if Brahmoism could learn from the religion of Christ who based the love of God upon the love of man and enjoined the practice of it in actual life, then Brahmoism might be rid of this unwholesome feature which at present hinders its vigorous growth. The highly uplifting moral teaching of Christianity that its followers have to suffer with their fellow-beings in love, as God identifying himself with the universe suffers with it in love, which has elevated their conduct and character, producing glorious bands of self-effacing saints in Christendom in the last 2000 years, has no parallel in Brahmoism and this has impeded the moral and spiritual advance of the Brahmo. A fuller infusion of the spirit of Christ can remove its disadvantages and make it a beautiful religion. One great merit of Brahmoism is that it is not founded on myths and dogmas, and this fact encourages the hope that the essentials of this religion, modified in the light of experience, will enter into the composition of the future world-religion.

Lastly, we come to a great living religion, perhaps the greatest of all living religions, namely, the religion which is associated with the name of Christ. Christ based his religion essentially upon the love of God and man, taking sufficient care against any subsequent misrepresentation of his teaching. But unfortunately after the death of Christ, St. Paul introduced a new doctrine of Trinity which he designated his "New Gospel." In it he declared that Christ was the second person in the Godhead, which Christ had never said he was. Christ was a real man amongst

men. Since in the Old Testament God said that He had none beside him and also in the New Testament Christ taught that God was one, the teaching of St. Paul was a blasphemy and a repudiation of the declaration of Christ. The essence of St. Paul's philosophy was that a belief in Christ, as the son of God, was all that was necessary for man's salvation, as Christ by his superfluous virtue had stood for man before God as his accepted ransom and substitute. The same small-mindedness as had led the ancient Jew to make their Jehova a tribal Deity led St. Paul to make God a sectarian Deity available only for the salvation of the Christian. This is quite contradictory to the whole teaching of Christ, who said "Do this and live." In other words, Christ taught that man's salvation was to be secured not by any creëd, but by his change of heart and actual deed of love. The beautiful religion of Christ in its subsequently perverted form now counts among its followers a large proportion of the human race and unfortunately passes for the original religion that was preached by him.

Christ based man's love of God—whom he cannot see—upon the love of man—whom he sees. He said that God could not be served except through His children. According to His teaching the religion of deed came before the profession of creed. So it may be deduced that the absence of creed was an essential feature of His religion. Thus we find that sectarianism had no place in what he taught. Christ taught that "abundant life" or salvation could only be earned by man's loving sacrifice of life for his fellowmen. Though this seems to be a paradoxical statement yet it is in perfect conformity with the nature of God, who in His infinity and love has identified Himself with His whole creation and suffers with it. Christ exhorted man to strive to live the life of God, the highest life that can be lived by him. Christ lived it, dying a tragic death in fulfilment of the divine law of love which he had preached. Christ is dead ; His material body is dust. But his divine spirit of loving sacrifice still animates and shall always

animate every man who comes in contact with it, and it shall enable him to live like him and give him such conduct and character as would be approved of God. Christ, while he was on earth, said, "You are truly my disciples if you love one another." His spirit still whispers the same to man.

It is noteworthy that Christ's teaching summed up in the love of man is typical of what was preached before him by the hierarchy of prophets and teachers of God for the uplift of the human race. In it our problem finds a creditable solution upon which a universal religion can be built. But as no religion has existed in one form for more than two thousand years, we may presume to aver that the Christianity of the present day, based mainly as it is upon St. Paul's teaching shall, despite its otherwise highly moral character, cease to live in the near future. The disintegration of Christianity now proceeding is bound to continue, until shorn of its traditional and dogmatic drapery, it will be reduced to its fundamental elements as preached by its divine founder,—the common essentials of all religions worthy of the name.

If we find to-day that considerable material, moral and spiritual advancement has taken place in Christian countries its cause should be properly attributed to the influence of the unique personality of Christ and the exquisitely uplifting nature of his teaching, as recorded in the Gospels of his disciples, but not to the doctrine of St. Paul which is a subversion of monotheism, and is also contrary to the Law of Progress under which God has placed His universe.

Christ enjoined his disciples to seek and find the truth that they may be set free ; in other words he taught that by the attainment of the knowledge of truth man is able to attain salvation, being delivered from the bondage of sin, superstition, tradition, old authority, prejudice and false notion, which delude him and darken his understanding regarding Truth or Reality. It is noteworthy to find that Christ's definition of the meaning of salvation is similar to that of the Hindu Rishis and of the

Buddha who averred that ignorance was the cause of all human miseries and that man's deliverance from it, or the liberated state of his soul, was salvation or *mukti*. We also find that Christ called his disciples "the light of the world." As after the entrance of light into a room from all directions no corner thereof is left in darkness, so he anxiously expected that his disciples after opening the windows of their souls on all sides and being themselves filled with the fullest light of truth would be able to lead all men to truth. But it is to be deplored that as the teaching of the Christian Scriptures after Christ's death has been that there is nothing more to know beyond what the Fathers said and that the Christian should hold fast "the faith" once delivered to the saints, it has made him not only a non-seeker of truth but also a withstander of it, whereby the onward march of Christianity has been seriously impeded whilst the other religions of the world, not so hampered, are free to advance towards perfection.

When Christ taught to seek and find the truth for liberation or salvation by the use of the future tense he implied that the truth was not then yet fully attained by his disciples and even his own teaching then delivered to them should not be considered complete and final for all time, and he emphasized that men's further knowledge of God on their deliverance from ignorance about the mysteries of life would afterwards help their attainment of the realization of their true place in the universe in relation to God. Whether such realization be called liberation or salvation, it can only be gradual. From another saying of his, namely, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," we may rightly infer that, as he then found his disciples ignorant of many deeply important truths of life the knowledge of which would be vitally essential for them, he hoped that more knowledge would gradually dawn upon them in the light of their future experience, and so believing that time was not yet ripe for them to hear about the *mysterium tremendum* of life, he purposely kept silent.

We may reduce the whole religion of Christ to two duties, namely, one towards God and the other towards man. As God is Spirit and Truth, He taught man to seek and worship Him in spirit and truth; and as man is spirit and matter, he taught him to love man in spirit and serve him by body's act of love, so that his whole being might be uplifted and saved.

Faith is the spiritual experience of man at a certain stage of his life. Thus faith is, at its best, man's religious adjustment for a time, as it is then considered by him the means of attaining Reality—the aim of religion. By faith the believer's spiritual ideas are advanced and his conception of and relation to God are better apprehended. By it also his moral conduct in relation to his fellowmen is improved. Thus faith is necessary for man's spiritual advancement. But man's adherence to a particular form of faith, for all time, should not be considered by him as his unalterable duty, for forms are not permanent things but vary with experience. So faith being an experiential thing, if in a man's life an ancient faith is still adhered to in spite of the indication of newer light, then it becomes a source of danger. Also, as faith is belief in a thing which though not seen yet exists, so faith in a thing which does not exist is a delusion, and no man should for ever labour under it.

Christianity was apposite before its reconstruction by St. Paul. But if after the advent of newer light and fresh revelation St. Paul's new teaching is still believed in and adhered to, then the ethical and spiritual progress of the believer becomes impeded, inasmuch as the further gift of God not being availed of by him and his intellect and reason are disregarded, his condition becomes imperilled.

Thus if the traditional Christianity now prevalent, which was promulgated by St. Paul and his associates and disciples about two thousand years ago, is not now revised in accordance with the light of the experience of modern times, it will be unworthy of the acceptance of man at the present day. Therefore, the present

condition of Christianity as a religion, may be regarded as one of crisis.

The intellectual problems of religion are dependent on man's conscious relation to a Higher Being. Science and religion are engaged in discovering his right relation to God through the adjustment of the faith that can lead to Him. Between these two co-ordinates Reality holds high its being in eternity. But if faith begotten of the imagination of man, the mother of senseless creeds and lifeless ceremonies, inconstant and changing, in which the spiritual is conceived in the experience of the material, shrouded in half light and half darkness, is still adhered to in one unaltered form for all time by men who are conscious of not being born on earth only to suffer and decay, but whose desire is to leave it in a condition better than what they found it and to enter into a better hereafter,* then it becomes a source of danger in their spiritual life. So faith, the foundation of religion, must be the belief in a thing which though not seen yet exists and can lead to salvation. Faith must not be a riddle, as faith in a thing that does not exist cannot save, for it is nothing but a delusion. In Hinduism, in Islam and in Christianity salvation is said to be attained by faith. But faith in Christianity requires belief in the Trinity of the Godhead, while in the two former religions it means belief in the unity of God. Thus there is a fundamental distinction between the faith that is in Christianity and that is in Hinduism and Islam. In Hinduism and Islam God is believed to be one without a second or a third. But if God is more than one as in Christianity, why was it not so discovered and declared by His prophets and chosen servants who had come before St. Paul, or how is it that God kept His children so long deprived of this great truth about Him upon which depended their salvation ?

Reason, the highest gift of God to man, indicates that conceived in one aspect God is one, but viewed in another aspect He appears to be many. But as man's imagination may lead him

to fanciful concepts so he is endowed with benign reason which mercifully intervenes between him and his imagination to save him from false conclusions. Christ said that the seeker of truth would be freed from delusion, that is to say, he would solve the riddle of salvation. Thus the faith which is not rooted in truth should not be persevered in by man for ever, but it should be a progressively conscious adjustment of his relation to God through experience which is calculated to lead to Reality or his attainment of the highest spiritual blessing. So progressive humanity in search for Reality shall always proceed towards the fountain-head of truth which is never closed.

Every faith is good in its initial stage as it constitutes some advance in the thoughts and ideas of man about God for the moment. But as religion cannot but be an experiential thing, so if traditional Christianity is not altered according to man's present light in order to evaluate and improve it, it will continue to operate injuriously as a sepsis in its body. The actual position of Christianity of the present day seems to be that though the old edifice is still standing, yet its structure has become so dilapidated with age that it is now in a tottering condition and has become unfit for habitation in safety. No wonder that we find that it has lost its old reverence and affection in many a heart and fails to give that peace and satisfaction which is expected from it. Religious cynicism has singed the hearts of many, and not a few schisms of the nature which "distinguishes and divides a hair 'twixt south and southwest sides" not infrequently crop up and cause interminable cleavage in the Church. If a considerable number of men still profess to belong to the Church, it is because they have not found any suitable institutions to resort to for their spiritual edification. If traditional Christianity, as it has prevailed since the death of Christ, is still found to uphold some power in some places it is largely because of rich endowments and of the support lent it by the State. Deprive it of the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed and it is more than likely that traditional Christianity

will gradually disintegrate as other old religions have disintegrated in the past.

Man's spiritual progress cannot be held in check by any artificial measures, however powerful they may be. The universe of power that lies within the spirit of religion will sweep away all obstacles before it on its onward march. As in all previous religions so also in traditional Christianity, we may predict that all that is dross and of ephemeral value shall be thrown overboard as jetsam for safe sailing towards the goal to which it is destined. As man's religious adjustment can only be sustained by that which is true and rational, so man cannot for ever remain content with a religion unless he finds it to be logically theological, besides being philosophical in essence. Though in rituals, institutions and old imaginative materials one religion may differ from another for a time, yet in the essential constituents of a world-religion there must be unanimity. So in our quest for a universal religion, we should seek what is the most valid, rational and spiritual in experience, and until this is found, man's religion will be but a search for a religion—a mere wayfarer's glimpse of God. In the light of ever newer experience man's future religion will be gradually and more fully evolved. Thus it may be assumed that the measure of man's knowledge about God will be the measure of his progress towards the goal.

However, in the religion of Christ we find that there are stored up priceless truths, the essential elements of man's true religion, declared to the world by God's chosen servants from hoary ages. But as the ever-advancing world is concerned only with the best lived men and their teachings, so it is to be noted that Christ did not think it necessary for him to attempt to establish any relationship with God higher than that of His other children. In fact, when on one occasion some one called him good, he at once declined to be called so, saying that as God only was good he should not be associated with Him in that respect. By this Christ made himself more adorable amongst men than he would have been if he had accepted the distinction.

Divested of the Divinity which the church thrust upon Christ after his death, he will ever remain the supreme teacher for making the unique contribution to ethics that can uplift humanity and make it perfect as desired by God. But though Christianity of the present day, like all religions of old, will dissolve in time, yet we may safely premise that the basic principle of Christ's teaching—the refined gold of true religion—shall become the chief constituent of an ever-advancing religion which shall gradually mould the final religion of the world and through which shall be accomplished the Divine scheme for the salvation of the human race.

If salvation is the goal of religion, in it must lie what God has spoken about the means of its attainment through His chosen prophets and teachers in all ages and climes. There are truths revealed in all religions ; but in the most essential of them must lie the will of God, living in obedience to which shall be secured man's ever-lasting happiness. Therefore, as in the ever-advancing universe all religions are marching towards perfection, it is not fair to make a disparaging comparison between one religion and another at any particular period of its life-history.

In our search for a world-religion we have been forced to examine the fundamental elements of all the principal religions that have existed in the past. We notice that there is a harmony which runs like a thread through the teachings of all the prophets and teachers of God. This harmony lies in the teaching about the perfection of man's love of God and man. This is the rich inheritance that the world owes to Vyasa, Confucius, Zoroaster, the Buddha, Abraham, Moses, Christ, Muhammad and others who have taught man his one supreme duty, namely, the practice of the love of God and man, by which means alone can the attainment of his ultimate happiness be possible. The teaching of Christ being peerless, we are justified in taking it to be the supreme model to be followed for the establishment of a world-religion. In the observance of the principles of Christ lies the foundation of a universal religion

leading to the ultimate happiness of the whole human race. When this universal religion is established, all men of the East and the West, the North and the South, being filled with the spirit of God and knowing their duty and practising it in life will embrace one another in love, exclaiming, "We have found Him Who is joy and happiness Eternal realizing what it is to be saved." Then will all accept God as their only Saviour, Priest, Sacrifice, Truth, Knowledge, Love and the Seed of good, and know their own selves as His temples.

I have hitherto dwelt upon the need for the unity of one belief and worship of God, basing man's happiness upon its establishment. But on close consideration it will be perceived that in reality below men's religious diversities on the surface, there is a *stratum* of fundamental unity. For, whether God is worshipped as One by the Zoroastrian, the Muhammadan and the Brahmo, or as in the Trinity by the Christian, or as many by the Hindu, God alone is worshipped and none else—by him who seeks Him, as He alone is the Saviour and the Creator of all living creatures. Since no man has seen God and knows exactly what God is, even a mental conception of God may not be His true portrayal; therefore, the conclusion of theology is but a conclusion arrived at through the inadequate and imperfect senses of man. But there is no doubt that He "who inhabiteth the praises of Israel," also inhabiteth the praises of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Muhammadan, the Christian and even of him who worships Him through the powers of Nature, images, symbols or in any form or manner whatsoever; and that He who seeth the fruit in the bud, in the day of His ingathering in His infinite mercy casting none away will make His "pile complete." As all rivers running straight or meanderingly, quickly or slowly, direct their courses towards the ocean and in the end flow into it, so the worship of every man reaches God, the only object of worship, for all that His children need and seek is God's saving kindness and blessing. Though men by their national characteristics, ways of thinking and passions

may differ from one another, yet God is one and not divided like them. Unconsciously of one another, across green fields or trackless deserts, inhabited places or howling wildernesses, through smooth or rugged paths, straight or devious ways, all are wending with more or less erring feet onward towards the same shrine,—their one objective on reaching which their wanderings ended, their thirst satisfied, they will rest and their joy will begin in a beginning which know no end. While there are innumerable differences in the various religions for the purpose of worship which have estranged the children of God, the method of proceeding from the manifest to the unmanifest, from effect to cause—which directly appeals to the hearts of many devotees cannot be lightly disposed of as contemptible merely for its simplicity. Though to man's vaunted philosophy it may appear to be a faulty or even an offensive concept about a moral God, yet it may be assumed to be God's acceptable sacrifice in as much as man's philosophy is still a search for truth and man's mind is not yet the mind of God. So as all men alike are endeavouring to attain salvation, at any stage of their religious progress, it is not proper to predict what they may attain afterwards in the end, for all are of God and God is of all. But though by the establishment of one universal religion the worship of God may be advanced to a more spiritual form than at present and thereby humanity will be further uplifted, yet it may be predicted that it will not accomplish man's ultimate happiness, in as much man will not be happy until God be happy, for God and the universe are one. Though it appears certain that that state of man will be a more advanced one, yet it will be, at its best, merely a more onward one leading towards the final goal. But when the fullest knowledge of God, who is Love, will be possessed of all men and assimilated in their nature, then their whole being will be changed to like that of God and their conduct will be like His. When all men will love God and men and be beloved of God and men, then their happiness will be fully attained and they will live like God as desired by Him.

As in the universe there is one Law for its progress and perfection and that Law is Love, and as others are implementary to it, so the impulse of love implanted by God within man will also impel him towards attaining perfection. Those whose hearts are filled with the love of God love all as God loves all. As God is Truth purpose so also all seekers for truth respect all seekers for truth like themselves and as such they think that as they have not come to the end of the knowledge of truth so they do not think that their religious views only are unmistaken, unlike them who think theirs are correct. But if the latter will ponder over their attitude towards those whom they cannot endure that even in their hearts sways the same longing for spiritual blessing as in their own and who also ardently desire to worship the same Being like themselves—Whose name no one knows but whose realm is in the hearts of all, and who in his infinite love and mercy desires to save all, then they will keep away from religious strifes with others who also aim at spiritual elevation like themselves.

Though it is true that man's material condition has much improved upon what it was countless years ago, yet it is now found that, morally and spiritually, humanity stands almost where it had stood at first. Despite man's great advancement in knowledge, culture and civilization the same old animal nature still rages in his heart to the sorrow of God, Who is Love and Holiness. Malice, selfishness, hate, brutality, rapacity and other abhorrent vices still govern his acts towards his fellowmen. Though vices in public are avoided, yet they are freely indulged in in private; though killing of citizens is condemned, yet in the battle-field the slaughter of man is not only permitted but even considered a deed of glory by individuals and nations. All this is done in repudiation of the light of God within man which is the source of his religion. For the attainment of the highest spiritual ideal man's wills and acts, that is to say, his whole nature, will have to be made good, and for this his moral elevation is indispensably necessary. Desiring the moral uplift of man God

has been sending His Messiahs to the world from the earliest times, as has been declared in the Christian and other Scriptures of the world. If it is believed that the kind and quality of life which Christ lived on earth is the best, then man must live that kind and quality of life, as God has given all help to enable him to live like Christ.

• It is thus apparent that, unless and until the whole nature of man is changed from top to bottom, he will not enjoy the blessed state of perfected happiness. Even if all the peoples of the world be religiously united in one belief and worship, they will be yet far from the goal. The practice of love of man by man can alone lead to man's perfection and his highest happiness, fulfilling God's scheme for the salvation of humanity. The universality of religion will be its precursory condition.

G. C. GHOSH

TWO CINQUAINS

I

Night birds
Softly warble
Sighing songs when stars
Scintillate no more but hide
In clouds

II

Twilight
Lilac perfume
Faintly tinted heaven
Cascades of silver songs of nightingales
And you.....

LOUISE A. NELSON

Reviews

Side-lights on Western Civilisation. By K. C. Sen. The Deshbandhu Publishing Co., Ltd., 74, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. 1931. Price, Rs 8

This is a full discussion on western civilisation and not mere 'side-lights' as the author would have us believe. In the course of more than a dozen chapters the author has reached the conclusion that western civilisation is not worth being considered as a type of civilisation, because it is more concerned with provincialism, with things western, and is not cosmopolitan in spirit, not universal in its tendencies. Nationalism, according to him, is closely associated with the exploitation of weak races and if by any miracle (nothing short of that would do) western civilisation ceased to be nationalistic and looked up to be humanistic, that would mean its decay. Christianity at first tried to strangle this civilisation, but failed miserably and succeeded merely in retarding its advance by a few centuries and perhaps by a slight orientation. It is mainly based on primitive pragmatism and can thrive only on exploitation—social, economic, political and theological. The empire of property, masculinity, divinity and raciality is then described and discussed in detail.

Adam's curse has been shifted on to other peoples: the white man, trying to shake off the burden of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, has got hold of other nations to earn his bread for him. The pressure of population made him an easy prey to the dismal devil who glared in the dark and groped for means of revenge on God. Mr. Sen describes how this was possible by pointing out eloquent references to Negro slavery and to large-scale Negro transport. "On their way across the Atlantic the poor wretches suffered horrible torments being packed as closely as the sufferers in the Black Hole of Calcutta, in nearly as stifling an atmosphere, so that large numbers died on the way." This he quotes from Mr. H. G. Wells, and by way of comment adds pertinently, "seeing that fifty thousands of Negroes were annually transported across the Atlantic, and seeing further that the slave trade lasted for two hundred years, it may be calculated that ten million Negroes of both sexes were in all treated to the horrors of the Black Hole on the bosom of the Atlantic. Whether the proportion of the dead fell short of that of the tragedy of Calcutta is not known. "The fact that the burial of the dead was inexpensive and informal probably had something to do with the indifference with which the death

of a Negro was looked upon in the same way as a coster-monger looks upon a rotten fruit in his basket (p. 383).'' This is not all, though slave-trade had been abolished, and abolished only when it was found to be unprofitable, slave-breeding, both by other slaves and by white masters, followed deliberately as an industry and a profitable industry, was for some time the fashion. These aspects have been carefully marshalled by the writer and it is not strange that the result is a scathing condemnation of the western civilisation which has, in his opinion, exploited Christianity itself.

It is a thought-provoking book and very suggestive. A bigger type in print would have been more convenient to the general reader and there are occasional signs of careless proof-reading. The general impression before one begins to read is that of heaviness but as we make some progress through it we find ourselves mistaken; the author is clear in his ideas as well as in his expressions.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Oriente Portuguese : Nova Goa, 1931.

The Archaeological Department of Portuguese India has published a review of its exploration work and has brought out also photographs of old buildings and maps and plans of the city of Goa. The review contains four Articles: (1) "The Old Capitals of Goa," by Professor Pissurlencar, (2) "Churches, Convents and Chapels in the Old City of Goa," by R. M. Teles, (3) "Goa in 1777—an Attempt at Reconstruction," by Capt. A. Delduque da Costa, (4) "The Capitals of Portuguese India," by A. B. de Bragança Pereira, President of the Archæological Department, and evidently the inspirer of the enterprise. These accounts are not without their interest for the student of Indian history who must have been struck by the activity in the East of this pioneer European nation. The Portuguese came to this country and got a foothold before other European nations, but their brilliant promise remained only a promise and is to-day a subject of antiquarian interest; the Mandovi winding its way in and out retains its charm as ever, but the Council Hall in Pamjim, the Municipal Hall in Ilhas, the Republican Avenue in New Goa—all these merely convey, with deep significance, the impression—"Imensa gloria dorme!"—"an immense glory sleeps!" If the archæological department succeeds in spreading this impression far and wide in ranks of students of history, it will have done its work and the sponsorship of the idea of the Review by His Excellency the Governor General

Craveiro Lopes on October, 10, 1931, will have borne its result, and will have contributed to the advanced studies on the subject for which the times seem to be propitious.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

School and Sects in Jaina Literature.—By Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L. Published by the Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

This nicely got-up monograph, Visva-bharati Studies No. 3, gives an account from original sources of the doctrines and practices of philosophical schools and religious sects mentioned in the canonical literature of the Jainas. It is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the references to the Ājīvikas, the various Brahmanic schools, such as Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Sāśvatavāda, the Purāṇas, and the Upanisads, to Ājīṇasaṣṭha-, Tājīvatacchira-, and Nāstika-vādas, Buddhism, as well as to other minor schools. The second part deals with the three hundred and sixty-three subdivisions made by the Jainas of the Kriyā-, Akriyā-, Ajñāna-, and Vinaya-vādas. The third part deals with the references to various religious sects including that of Pārśva, to schismatic schools, and to Nirgrantha criticism of heresies. Full references to the sources including the commentaries have been given and Buddhist and Brahmanical parallels utilised.

Mr. Sen's monograph is not an ambitious work. The various names of other schools and sects mentioned in this particular literature have already drawn the attention of many serious scholars and the enigmas connected with them have partly been explained by Jacobi, Hoernle and the present reviewer. The great usefulness of Mr. Sen's publication lies in its elaborate textual study of the passages containing references to and giving descriptions, however slight or misleading, of these schools and sects.

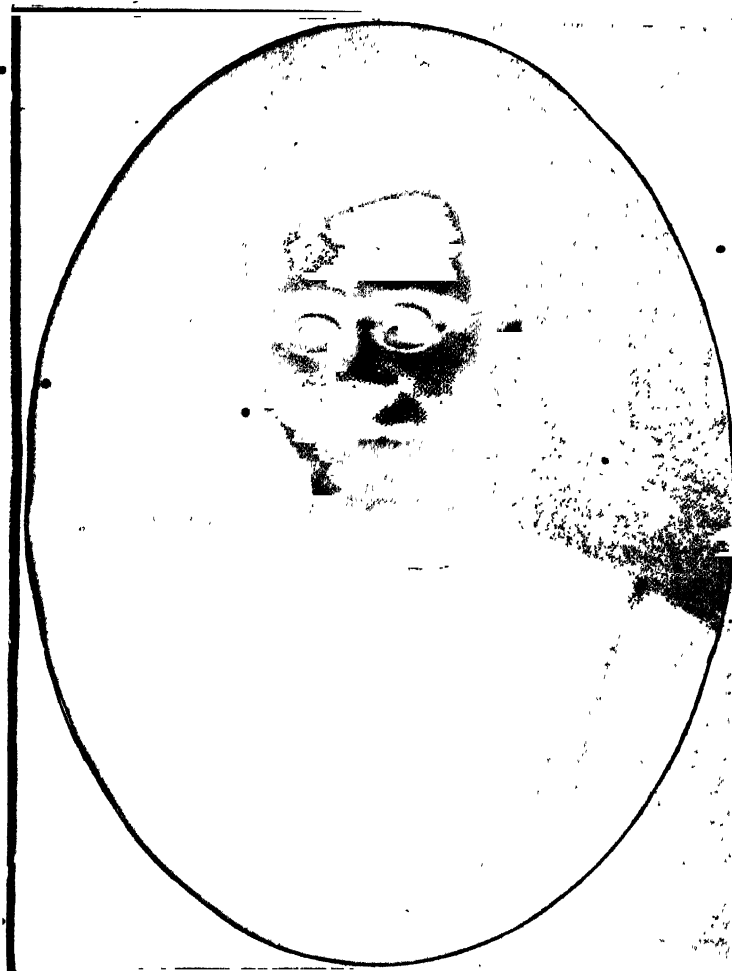
It may be noticed that Mr. Sen's study has been fruitful in that it has served to bring some new facts to light, *e.g.*, in connection with the Ājīvikas and others. How far the term "schools" can be seriously applied to certain doctrines attributed to others by the Jainas, in many places without the mention of the person or persons, is still a point in dispute. It may be that the Jainas had a peculiar mania for multiplying the names which are likely to be found to be based upon their own classification and intellectual gymnastics. It cannot perhaps be denied at the same time

that behind these overdone classifications of the Jainas there might have been some definite historical developments in the intellectual and religious life of ancient India without reference to which these Jaina classifications are creations of pure imagination.

The canonical literature of the Jainas remains yet an unexplored field, and Mr. Sen's monograph may be looked upon as a clear specimen of just the kind of work that should be done before we undertake the bolder task of tackling the Jaina canon as a whole.

B. M. BARUA

The Calcutta Review



HE LATE MR. P. GANGULI

Ourselfes

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : THE EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

The 8th death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th May last at the Durbhanga Building where the friends and admirers of the great son of Bengal assembled to pay homage to his cherished memory. Time fails to bedim his hallowed memory or assuage the poignant grief of his loving admirers—a fact which was most prominently brought out on that solemn afternoon. Long before the appointed hour people streamed into the building and when the ceremony commenced there was hardly any room on the spacious staircase or the landing. The marble bust of Sir Asutosh was tastefully decorated with green foliage and white lotuses round which the people gathered with bare feet and sorrowful countenance. The mellow light of the evening—the atmosphere heavy with the scent of burnt incenses—the leaping flames in the blazing braziers—genuineness and sincerity of feeling depicted on the countenances of the people assembled—gave the whole scene a most solemn and sombre touch. Amidst pin-drop silence the chanting of a Vedic hymn suddenly burst forth in sweet and melodious cadence—marking the beginning of the solemn ceremony—the rhythm and the pauses making a striking appeal to all present. Then followed three songs specially composed for the occasion and sung with a catholicity which touched directly the heart-strings of the entire assembly. The Vice-Chancellor then proceeded to garland the bust as a token of love, affection and gratitude and in doing so recounted the activities, the achievements and the greatness of the beloved Master. Tears rolled down his cheeks; he faltered in his

speech and with voice choked with grief and emotion he concluded by calling upon the assembly to pray for the departed soul. The whole assembly stood up in solemn silence and with heads bent and tears streaming from their eyes the people prayed and prayed intensely for the space of two minutes in all earnestness. The ceremony ended with *Kirtan* in the Durbhanga Library Hall and the assembly dispersed late in the night.

May the University for which he lived and worked thrive in years to come and attain the ideal so dear to his heart!

THE LATE MR. PANCHANAN GANGULI

We are extremely sorry to have to record with deep grief the sudden death at the very early age of thirty-seven of our colleague Mr. Panchanan Ganguli, M.A., who passed away on the 11th of April, 1932, at his Calcutta residence after a prolonged illness of eight months. A very promising career has thus been abruptly cut short by premature death and we are filled with a sense of a personal loss. He endeared himself to us even when he was a student in 1917 and 1918 in the Post-Graduate English classes by his conscientious work, ability and character. His was a distinguished academic career. He occupied the highest place at his B. A. Examination in 1916 and stood first in Group B at the M. A. Examination of 1919, having taken the same degree in Group A in the previous year. He had served in the meantime for a short period as Professor of English at the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, in 1918. He was appointed a lecturer in the Post-Graduate English department of the Calcutta University in 1920 and at once made his mark as a successful teacher by his extraordinary devotion to duty. He charmed every one that came into contact with him by his simplicity, candour and amiable and sweet disposition and was equally loved and respected by his numerous students

and his colleagues. He was the principal earning member of a fairly large Hindu family and it is painful to note that he has left his wife and children ill-provided. Having lost his father while quite young Panchanan had to struggle hard in life and he managed to win his way steadily by dint of a persevering will. Though English was his chosen subject he was deeply versed in Sanskrit Philosophy and got from Benares the title of *Saraswati*.

In offering our most sincere condolence to the bereaved family we particularly feel for the poor young widow and the aged mother.

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MR. AMRITALAL BASU : UNIVERSITY OFFICIAL'S
43 YEARS' SERVICE.

By the retirement of Mr. A. L. Basu, Superintendent, Registrar's office, the University is going to lose the services of one of its oldest servants. Mr. Basu joined the University as a junior clerk as early as August, 1889, and during this long period of 43 years he had the honour of serving under nineteen Registrars, among whom may be mentioned the names of Mr. Charles Tawney, Dr. P. K. Ray, Mr. K. C. Banerjee and Dr. Thibaut. He attended no less than 45 Convocations and saw 18 Vice-Chancellors and more than a dozen Chancellors including seven Viceroys.

Mr. Basu was appointed Superintendent of the Registrar's office in 1921. In recognition of his long and faithful services the Senate of the University has granted him a bonus of Rs. 5,000 in addition to the pension which he has earned.

DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS

The following have been fixed as dates for the commencement of the next I.E and B.E. Examinations :—

I.E., Section A	...	...	...	July 4th and 5th
I.E., Section B	...	...	...	July 11th to 15th
B.E., Non-Professional, Civil Engineering	...	...	...	July 4th to 6th
B.E., Non-Professional, Mechanical Engineering	...	...	...	July 4th and 5th
B.E., Professional, Civil Engineering	July 12th to 15th
B.E., Professional, Mechanical Engineering	July 11th to 15th

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THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR THE YEAR 1931

The Nagarjuna prize for the year 1931 has been awarded to Mr. Nirmalapada Chattopadhyay.

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We deeply regret that an article entitled "The Political Philosophy of Rousseau" received by us from one of our contributors, Mr. C. V. Hanumantha Rao, M.A., B.Ed. of Samalkota, Madras, over his signature and in his handwriting, appeared in the May issue of our Review which is now discovered to be a verbatim reproduction of "Chapter XI. Rousseau : Introduction. The Social Contract," pp. 253-263, of a book named "Political Philosophy from Plato to Jeremy Bentham" by Dr. Geza Engelmann, translated from the German by Karl Frederick Geiser, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College, with an Introduction by Oscar Jászi, Ph.D. We are awaiting a reply from our contributor in question to whom the matter has been referred. In the meantime we offer our sincere apology to the publishers of the book, Messrs. Harper and Brothers, New York and London.

